BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

OF THE

MOST EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN

GREAT-BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, TO THE PRESENT TIMES:

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT,

AND DIGESTED IN THE MANNER OF

Mr. BAYLE's Hiſtorical and Critical DICTIONARY.

THE SECOND EDITION,

With CORRECTIONS, ENLARGEMENTS, and the Addition of new LIVES:

By ANDREW KIPPIS, D.D. F.R.S. and S.A.

With the Aſſiſtance of the Rev. JOSEPH TOWERS, LL.D.

And other GENTLEMEN.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

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J. DEBRETT, W. LOWNDES, S. HAYES, W. FOX, AND J. EVANS.

MDCCLXXXIX.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

TO

Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart.

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,

AND EMINENTLY DISTINGUISHED,

AS A ZEALOUS CULTIVATOR, AND ARDENT PROMOTER,

OF

PHILOSOPHICAL AND NATURAL KNOWLEDGE,

THE FOURTH VOLUME OF THE

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA

IS INSCRIBED,

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE ASSISTANCE DERIVED FROM HIM

WITH REGARD TO A PRINCIPAL ARTICLE IN THE WORK,

AND IN SINCERE TESTIMONY OF PERSONAL RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

BY HIS MOST OBLIGED,

AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

AUGUST 15, 1789.

ANDREW KIPPIS.

PREFACE

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME OF THE SECOND EDITION.

THE general nature and deſign of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA have been ſufficiently explained in the Prefaces to the preceding volumes. What, therefore, I conſider as at this time principally neceſſary, is to mention ſome circumſtances more immediately relative to the volume which is now preſented to the public.

Perhaps the great length of Captain Cook's article may ſeem to require ſome obſervation. It never was my intention to give a ſhort account of that illuſtrious Navigator, whoſe diſcoveries and adventures furniſh ſuch a copious fund of inſtruction and entertainment. If the narrative had been written ſolely for the Biographia, I do not think that it would have been much ſhorter than it now is. Having, however, been requeſted to publiſh a ſeparate life of the Captain, I determined to inſert it in the preſent work, without mutilation. In fact, long as it is, it is only an abridgement of what is contained in a great number of large volumes. But to have given an abridgment of an abridgment would have rendered the article jejune and imperfect, and would have deprived my readers of what they had a right to expect:—ſuch an exhibition of the real character and the important tranſactions of Captain Cook, as is ſuitable to the nature and deſign of our undertaking.

With regard to the length of this and other articles, it deſerves particularly to be conſidered, that the Biographia is not intended for the preſent age alone, but alſo for poſterity. Narratives, which, on account of their recording recent facts that are generally known, may be thought by ſome critics to be too much extended, will become of more and more conſequence in proceſs of time. The numerous volumes of Captain Cook's Voyages, for inſtance, with their minute nautical details, will be leſs ſtudied, by the generality of readers at leaſt, in a future courſe of years, than at preſent, when the tranſactions they relate are freſh in the memory, and have excited an univerſal attention. But many perſons of the next and ſucceeding generations, will be ſatisfied with ſhorter accounts, and be pleaſed with ſuch a hiſtory as is here offered to the public; and which, though no more than an abridgment, is, nevertheleſs, purpoſely rendered ſo large as to ſatisfy their curioſity, and to enable them fully to conceive how extraordinary were Captain Cook's Diſcoveries, and how eminent his abilities and character.

The obſervations now made will apply to another article, of very conſiderable extent, which is that of Chatterton. The queſtion whether this wonderful young man was the author of the poems that have been aſcribed to Rowley, is one of the moſt curious literary queſtions that has been agitated in any age or country. But the diſcuſſion of it is diffuſed through a number of publications and pamphlets, that in time will become ſcarce. It will, therefore, be no ſmall gratification to poſterity to find ſuch an ample hiſtory of the controverſy in the Biographia Britannica.

Upon the ſame principle, it is part of our plan to give copious accounts of the writings of learned men, if they have been in any degree eminent. This is the only way of doing them that full juſtice, to which, by their merits, they are entitled. From the accumulation of new books, and the revolutions of literary faſhion, even works of no ſmall reputation come to be neglected. I could produce numerous proofs of the truth of this aſſertion, were it my preſent buſineſs

to enlarge upon the ſubject. Many valuable productions which, in my youth, it would have been a diſgrace to a man of education not to have read, are now, in a conſiderable degree, laid aſide. They have been diſplaced by others, that will ſhare the ſame fate. The works that are ever freſh, and ever young, are, comparatively ſpeaking, ſmall in their number, and limited in their objects. It is in repoſitories like ours, that our deſcendants will ſee the worth of their predeceſſors, and the figure they made in their day.

I ſhould have added with reſpect to Chatterton, that Mr. Croft, who originally propoſed to write his life, was too much engaged in his own grand undertaking, to be able to do it in the time I wiſhed; and the matter could not be delayed any longer. I applied, therefore, to my ingenious and learned friend, the Rev. Dr. George Gregory, to take the taſk upon him; and I may venture to ſay, that he has diſcharged it in a manner that will give univerſal ſatisfaction. The fairneſs and candour with which he has ſtated the evidence on both ſides, is entitled to particular praiſe. Mr. Croft will diſcern, with pleaſure, the aid that has been derived from his "Love and Madneſs" in drawing up the article.

As I proceed in the work, I have ſtill greater and greater reaſon to mention with gratitude the aſſiſtance which I continue to receive. The names of ſeveral reſpectable Gentlemen will occur in their proper places. To Michael Collinſon, Eſq; the Rev. Dr. Conybeare, Sir Joſeph Banks, Sir Hugh Palliſer, the Rev. Mr. Huntingford, the Earl of Buchan, and a Gentleman who wiſhes to conceal his favours, my thanks are particularly due.

For communications of a more general nature, I am greatly indebted to Lord Arden. His Lordſhip has moſt obligingly permitted me to have the inſpection of the Manuſcript Biographical Collections of his noble grandfather, the firſt Earl of Egmont. The uſe I have already been able to make of theſe valuable materials, will be ſeen in the Addenda and in other places. By the continued favour of Lord Arden, great advantage may be derived to the Biographia, with regard to future articles.

I muſt here expreſs, with the ſincereſt concern, the loſs which this work has ſuſtained, by the deceaſe of two excellent and learned friends, the Rev. Mr. Duncombe of Canterbury, and John Baynes, Eſq; of Lincoln's Inn. Mr. Duncombe watched over the Biographia with a kind of parental tenderneſs. The Corrigenda and Addenda will diſplay the attention that he paid to the laſt volume.

There are three lives in the preſent volume, for which I am wholly indebted to the gratuitous communications of my friends. Mr. Richardſon, Profeſſor of Humanity in the Univerſity of Glaſgow, well known by ſeveral elegant publications, and eſpecially by his admirable Eſſays on ſome of the Characters of Shakeſpeare, has favoured me with the article of Craig, a late excellent Divine in Scotland. Mr. Hayley, whom I muſt ever mention in terms of the higheſt affection and reſpect, has given me the Life of Craſhaw the Poet. Through the good offices of my worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Chriſtie, I have obtained from Mr. Chalmers, of Throgmorton Street, an account of Alexander Cruden. All theſe articles will ſpeak for themſelves, and ſhow that they conſtitute valuable ornaments of the work. With reſpect to the Life of Cruden it muſt be mentioned, that having happened to put it into a wrong drawer, it ſlipped my memory when it ſhould have been introduced in p. 544. I have, therefore, annexed it to Chatterton, in the Appendix to Letter C.

The Preface to the preſent volume cannot be diſmiſſed without ſaying ſomething concerning the long delay of its appearance; and the rather, as I formerly expreſſed ſo ſtrong a belief of a more ſpeedy publication. What I then advanced, was written with the greateſt ſincerity; but unexpected hindrances have occurred. In the firſt place, I beg leave to recite a remark which I have made in my Life of Dr. Lardner. It is as follows: "Thoſe who are not themſelves "engaged in important and extenſive literary undertakings, can have but an "imperfect conception of the difficulties to be ſurmounted, the diſappointments "to be incurred, the books to be procured and waited for, the dates to be ſet-"tled, the facts to be aſcertained, and the various other cauſes which often

" occaſion delays, that muſt be far more unpleaſant to the writer than they " can poſſibly be to any reader whatever."

In the ſecond place, I muſt requeſt that the immenſe quantity of new matter now publiſhed may be taken into conſideration. This fourth volume includes only 218 pages of the old work. The freſh materials occupy conſiderably more than two thirds of the book; and the vaſt diſproportion of what has been furniſhed by myſelf will ſtrike every reader. The additions to the former articles, which, in many caſes, will be found ſo great, are, with the exception of a ſingle inſtance, entirely my own. This, I muſt be permitted to ſay, is a very important and difficult part of the undertaking; and whoever ſhould attempt to conduct the Biographia without particularly attending to ſo weighty an object, would deprive it of the perfection and uſefulneſs to which it ought to be carried. The mere inſertion of new lives would not atone for ſo capital a defect.

Thirdly, I ſhould ſtill have been able to have finiſhed the volume much ſooner, if it had not been for a particular circumſtance. Partly with a view to accelerate the work, I gave up an employment I had long held, as one of the Tutors in Coward's Academy, then ſubſiſting at Hoxton. But, ſince that time, another inſtitution, of a more extenſive and important nature, having been formed amongſt the body of people with whom I am immediately connected, my aſſiſtance in it was thought to be deſirable. Accordingly, it hath demanded my time and my labour, and will continue to demand my principal attention. Whatever part, therefore, I may hereafter take in the Biographia, I will no longer make any promiſes concerning it, or be amenable to the public, with regard to the appearance of the ſucceeding volumes. But no delay of the work is hence to be apprehended: for the proprietors have determined to call in ſuch effectual aid as ſhall entirely preclude diſappointment and complaint.

A. K.

FARTHER

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

TO THE

First Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

ADDISON (Joseph), p. 63.

IN Sir John Hawkins's Life of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, there is the following paſſage concerning Addiſon. "I find an opinion gaining ground not much to the advantage of "Mr. Addiſon's ſtyle, the characteriſtics *whereof* are feebleneſs and inanity. I ſpeak of "that alone, for his ſentiments are excellent and his humour exquiſite. In ſome inſtances "he adopts vulgar phraſe, as when he calls an indiſcreet action *a piece* of folly, and too "often uſes the expletive verb *along*, thus, Come *along* with me. Yet I am not willing "to deprive him of the honour implied in Johnſon's teſtimony, 'that his proſe is the 'model of the middle ſtyle.' But if he be but a mediocriſt, he is ſurely not a ſubject of "imitation; it being a rule, that of examples the beſt are always to be ſelected (*a*)." Sir John Hawkins, whenever he ſpoke of Addiſon, ſeemed doomed to be unfortunate. That he ſhould be ſo ignorant of the diſtinctions of language laid down by all the rhetoricians, as to ſuppoſe that Dr Johnſon intended to characterize Mr. Addiſon as a mediocriſt in compoſition, would be incredible, were it not aſcertained by the fact.

(*a*) Life of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, p. 270, 271.

Mr. Heron, in his "Letters of Literature," has made ſome remarks upon Mr. Addiſon's Critical Errors. But, at the ſame time, he acknowledges that Addiſon is one of his moſt favourite writers, and that nothing but his ſacred love of critical equity could have induced him to execute the ungrateful taſk he had undertaken. "The beſt "writers," adds Mr. Heron, "are perhaps the moſt liable to faults of a certain kind, in "like manner as fertile ground is, where no grain is ſown, fertile of weeds. Strong "weeds ſpeak a rich ſoil, nearly as much as ſtrong corn; yet they ought to be rooted "up that they may not injure the harveſt (*b*)." In a preceding letter, Mr. Heron declares, that Addiſon is a proſe writer of the firſt rank (*c*). The opinion of this author, who is not uſually laviſh of his praiſes, forms a contraſt, that does no honour to the judgment of Sir John Hawkins.

(*b*) Letters of Literature, p. 420—428.
(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 419.

Warburton, in a letter to Mr. Concanen, inſerted in the Supplement to Shakeſpeare, has pointed out ſome places in which Mr. Addiſon has taken the ſentiments of his Cato from the works of Cicero (*d*).

(*d*) Supplement to Shakeſpeare, vol. i. p. 223, 224.

Lord Egmont, in his manuſcript collections, has related an inſtance of Mr. Addiſon's jealouſy with regard to his reputation. Having heard that a Gentleman had for his diverſion turned eight lines of Cato into burleſque, he could not reſt, till, by the interpoſition of a friend, he prevailed upon the author to burn them. As to Mr. Addiſon's principles, he told Lord Egmont, that an honeſt Engliſhman is a Tory in church matters, and a Whig in politics.

ADRIAN IV. p. 67.

In Mr. Berington's Hiſtory of the Lives of Abeillard and Heloiſa, there is an entertaining account of this Pope. The concluſion is as follows: "Thus, in the midſt of an "agitated ocean, of which he himſelf was the principal mover, comfortleſs and diſſatisfied, lived Adrian the Fourth. He ſaw the end of four years and nine months, "when he died in 1159, eſteemed by the Roman Court, whoſe patrimony he had increaſed by ſome conſiderable acquiſitions, and praiſed for his diſintereſtedneſs, which "he carried to a pitch of affected inſenſibility; for he permitted his mother, who ſaw him "raiſed to the Popedom, and who ſurvived her ſon, barely to ſubſiſt on the alms ſhe "collected in the church of Canterbury (*a*)."

(*a*) Hiſtory, &c. P. 353—360.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

AKENSIDE (MARK), p. 107.

Sir John Hawkins, in his Life of Johnſon, has drawn Dr. Akenſide's character ſomewhat at large; and it is, with a few exceptions, highly to the Doctor's advantage. "Akenſide," ſays Sir John, "was a man of religion and ſtrict virtue, a philoſopher, a "ſcholar, and a fine poet. His converſation was of the moſt delightful kind, learned, "inſtructive, and, without any affectation of wit, chearful and entertaining (*a*)."

(*a*) Life of Johnſon, p. 242—248.

ANDREWS (LAUNCELOT), p. 188.

In the Britiſh Muſeum, is a manuſcript diſcourſe, by Biſhop Andrews, againſt a ſecond marriage, after ſentence of divorce with a former match, the parties then living. It was written in 1601 (*a*).

(*a*) Ayſcough's Catalogue, p. 291.

ANSON (GEORGE), p. 221.

In this article, p. 216, we have ſpoken of the Hiſtory of Anſon's Voyage as having been written by Mr. Robins, though it was publiſhed under the name of Mr. Walter, Chaplain to the Centurion. A general and uncontradicted report had for many years prevailed, that the work was drawn up by Mr. Robins. Nor was this report one of thoſe vague rumours the original and foundation of which cannot be aſcertained; for it was grounded on poſitive teſtimony. Dr James Wilſon had publicly aſſerted the fact, in the ſhort account of Mr. Robins, which he prefixed to his edition of the mathematical tracts of that ingenious writer. We have not the book at hand; but the following extract from the Monthly Review for November, 1761, will be ſufficient for our purpoſe. "But that literary performance of Mr. Robins, which obtained the greateſt ſhare of "public notice, though the real writer did not appear, was the compilement of Lord "Anſon's Voyage to the South Seas, publiſhed in the name of Mr. Walter, Chaplain to "the Centurion. Mr. Walter, it is true, had compiled, as we are now informed, a "detail of this important voyage; but, upon inſpection, it being found to be little more "than extracts from the Journals, Mr. Robins was employed to compleat an entire new "work; which is the voyage in the preſent form; and which is deſervedly and univerſally "conſidered as a Maſter-piece (*a*)."

(*a*) Monthly Review, vol. xxv. p. 335, 336.

Thus has the matter hitherto ſtood. But ſo late as the preſent year (1789), and a few days previouſly to the writing of this note, a letter upon the ſubject has been put into our hands by Mr. John Walter, Bookſeller at Charing Croſs. It is addreſſed to that Gentleman by Mrs. Walter, the widow of the publiſher of the voyage, and is as follows:

"SIR,

"I am informed that the Biographia Britannica inſinuates that Mr. Robins, and not "Mr. Walter, was the writer of Lord Anſon's Voyage round the world.

"I ſhall therefore take it as a favour, if you will put me in the way of correcting "ſo great a miſtake. During the time of Mr. Walter's writing that voyage, he viſited "me almoſt daily previous to our marriage, and I have frequently heard him ſay how "cloſely he had been engaged in writing for ſome hours to prepare for his conſtant at"tendance upon Lord Anſon at ſix every morning for his approbation, as his Lordſhip "overlooked every ſheet that was written. At ſome of thoſe meetings Mr. Robins "aſſiſted, as he was conſulted in the diſpoſition of the drawings; and I alſo know that "Mr. Robins left England (for he was ſent to Bergen-op-zoom) ſome months before the "publication of that book; and I have frequently ſeen Mr. Walter correct the proof "ſheets for the printer.

"You may perhaps wonder that Mr. Walter never took any ſteps to contradict the aſ"ſertion; but that wonder will ceaſe, when I tell you that for four years before his "death (which was in 1785) he laboured under very ſevere and painful illneſſes, and "therefore never heard any thing but newſpaper ſquibs, which he looked upon with "contempt. But as it now appears to be publiſhed in a work that will be handed down "to poſterity—that Mr. Walter was not the real author; I think it a duty incumbent "upon me to endeavour to clear his memory from any imputation of duplicity. Nor "can it be ſuppoſed that any man would write a book for another to ſhare the greateſt "part of the advantages. Theſe and many other reaſons make me apply to you, as I "ſhould ſuppoſe that, as a relation to the deceaſed, you would be anxious for his fame, as "well as,

"SIR,

"Your moſt humble ſervant,

"June 16th, 1789. "JANE WALTER."

We ſhall make no other comment on this letter than to obſerve, that it is highly worthy of attention. If it ſhall give ſuch full ſatisfaction to our readers, as to convince them that Mr. Walter was the writer of the voyage in its preſent form, we ſhall rejoice in having had an opportunity of doing juſtice to an injured character.

ATTERBURY (FRANCIS), p. 348.

In 1787, Mr. Nichols publiſhed a fourth volume, in octavo, of "The epiſtolary Correſpondence, Viſitation Charges, Speeches, and Miſcellanies, of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury, D. D. Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter. With Hiſtorical Notes." From this publication ſeveral farther particulars may be learned concerning that eminent Prelate.

Lord Egmont, upon the authority of Biſhop Sherlock, relates, that Atterbury, in early life, was of Whig principles, and that the firſt perſon who diverted him from his bias to thoſe principles was Biſhop Burnet, who, in King William's reign, prevented his being made Chaplain to the Earl of Portland. Some time after the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, when a breach fell out between the Earl of Sunderland and Lord Townſhend, Dr. Atterbury entered into connections with the former Nobleman, and promiſed to ſupport all his meaſures, on condition of his ſucceeding to the Biſhopric of Wincheſter, on the death of Sir Jonathan Trelawny. When that event happened, Atterbury was with Lord Sunderland at five o'clock in the morning, to claim his promiſe. The Earl, it ſeems, either could not or would not keep his word; for Trimnell obtained Wincheſter; and the Biſhop of Rocheſter ſo deeply reſented the diſappointment, that he threw himſelf entirely into the worſt of the Tory ſchemes. This Dr. Sherlock ſaid he knew to be true; to which he added, that Atterbury, from his youth, ſet out with a reſolution to be a great man at any rate.

Some extraordinary effects are related, by Lord Egmont, of this Prelate's reſtleſs temper. When he was in the Pretender's ſervice, he procured to himſelf the charge of paying the penſions allowed to the Chevalier's half-ſtarved adherents at St. Germain's. This was a very poor and unthankful office; and yet, becauſe he could not be eaſy without ſome employment or other, he did not reſt till he got General Dillon diſplaced, who had it before; repreſenting, by ſundry letters to his Maſter, that Dillon defrauded theſe perſons. Nay, there was not a nurſe wanting to any of the Pretender's children, then at Rome, but the Biſhop would take upon him, from France, to recommend a woman, deſcribing her temper, complexion, hair, and other circumſtances. Lord Egmont juſtly obſerves, that theſe are things which were ſcarcely to be believed, excepting by thoſe who were in the ſame place with him when the tranſactions paſſed.

BARCLAY (JOHN), p. 589.

A ſketch of the Life of John Barclay has been compoſed by Sir David Dalrymple, Bart. Lord Hailes. Not having had the good fortune to meet with it, we cannot, at preſent, make that uſe of the reſpectable and learned Author's production which we could have wiſhed to have done.

K.

FARTHER

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

TO THE SECOND

Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

BAXTER (Andrew), p. 27.

A Valuable correſpondent, with a particular reference to note [*D*], has ſent us the following remarks upon this article.

" No one likes ſcepticiſm leſs than I do, and yet the life of *Andrew Baxter*, from the " information of his ſon, makes one a ſceptic. I knew his manner of life ſo well, that I " was confounded at ſeeing that he ſpake German and Dutch with eaſe, that he was " elegant in his dreſs, and that the Ladies at Utrecht were much pleaſed with his conver- " ſation. He underſtood Low Dutch, which he told me was a good language, but " hardly ever ſpake a word of it; and, I dare ſay, never uttered a ſentence of German " in his life. His dreſs was plain and ſimple, not that of a priggiſh Frenchman, but of " a mathematician who was not a ſloven. I am pretty well perſuaded, that while in the " Low-Countries, he never had any converſation with women, of lower or higher degree, " unleſs it were to aſk for the bill, at an ordinary, or deſire the ſervant-maid to bring up " turf for his chimney. As to his *preſiding* at an ordinary, *that* alſo is a mere illuſion— " his ſon did not know Mr. Baxter ſo well as I did, while he reſided at Utrecht. I " remember very well that his ſon only ſaw him for a few days, whereas I ſaw him daily " for more than two years. I do not think that he was afflicted with the gout at all: " he generally obſerved a regimen on account of the gravel, for he ſuffered much by what has " been termed *flagellum eruditorum*. In ſhort he was a plain, decent, good-humoured man, " who paſt all his time, but what was beſtowed at his meals, in meditation and ſtudy; " and his manner of life was, on the whole, the reverſe of what his ſon, from imperfect " and tranſient obſervation, ſuppoſed it to have been."

BEAUMONT (Lewis), p. 86.

Mr. Hutchinſon, in his Hiſtory and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, has given a copious account of this Prelate (*a*). The Biſhop's intereſt was powerful; but, throughout the whole of his life, he appears to have been in himſelf a very inſignificant character, both in Church and State (*b*).

(*a*) Vol. i. p. 266—284.
(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 275.

BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, p. 100.

In the Supplement to the Edition of Shakeſpeare's Plays publiſhed in 1778, it is ingeniouſly and deciſively ſhewn by Mr. Steevens, that Shakeſpeare had no hand in writing the play of the " Two noble Kinſmen." It has not been proved, by evidence of any kind, that he had the ſlighteſt connection with Beaumont and Fletcher (*a*).

(*a*) Vol. ii. p. 169, &c.

BEK (Anthony), p. 148.

A large account of this Prelate may be ſeen in the firſt volume of Hutchinſon's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Durham, p. 228—258.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

BENNET (HENRY), EARL OF ARLINGTON, p. 193.

In the Supplement to the third volume of "State Papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon," is a more copious account of Sir Henry Bennet's character than that which is given in the noble Hiſtorian's Life and Continuation (*a*). It is too long to be inſerted in this place.

(*a*) Supplement, p. lxxx—lxxxiv.

BENTLEY (RICHARD), p. 247.

"Let me now gather," ſays Mr. Boſwell, in his Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, (p. 201) "ſome gold duſt,—ſome more fragments of Dr. Johnſon's converſation.—He "ſaid, he thought very highly of Bentley; that no man now went ſo far in the kinds of "learning that he cultivated; that the many attacks on him were owing to envy, and to "a deſire of being known, by being in competition with ſuch a man; that it was ſafe "to attack him, becauſe he never anſwered his opponents, but let them die away. It "was attacking a man who would not beat them, becauſe his beating them would "make them live the longer. And he was right not to anſwer; for, in his hazardous "method of writing, he could not but be often enough wrong; ſo it was better to leave "things to their general appearance, than own himſelf to have erred in particulars."

BERKLEY (GEORGE), p. 262.

A few ſtrictures on Biſhop Berkley's ſyſtem of ideas occur in the firſt volume of Lord Monboddo's "Origin and Progreſs of Language (*a*);" and a very elaborate examination of that ſyſtem may be ſeen in the ingenious and worthy Dr. Reid's "Eſſays on the Intellectual Powers of Man (*b*)."

(*a*) P. 119-122. 134.

(*b*) P. 156—185.

BIRCH (THOMAS), p. 323.

Sir John Hawkins, in his life of Johnſon, has given a ſhort account of Dr. Birch, favourable as to character, but ſevere with reſpect to his ſtyle (*a*). The Doctor's language, it is true, was not ſtudiouſly elegant, nor indeed very animated; but, in general, it was natural, eaſy, and unaffected. It is pleaſant enough, and a curious circumſtance in the hiſtory of the human mind, that Sir John Hawkins ſhould have preſumed to criticize the ſtyle of our writers.

(*a*) P. 206—210.

BORLASE (WILLIAM), p. 426.

In the Addenda prefixed to our third volume, we have ſaid, upon the authority of the Gentleman's Magazine, that Dr. Borlaſe was Vice-Warden of the Stannaries. But the Rev. Mr. Penneck hath informed us that this is a miſtake. It was the Rev. Walter Borlaſe, Doctor of Laws, the elder brother, who was Vice-Warden of the Stannaries. The Rev. William Borlaſe, the ſubject of our article, never held that office: neither was he Doctor of Laws, as is aſſerted, p. 424, but Doctor of Divinity.

BOYD (MARK ALEXANDER), p. 459.

Lord Hailes has written a Life of Mark-Alexander Boyd, in which he appears with leſs ſplendour than in the accounts that have been given by Sir Robert Sibbald and other writers. In this reſpect his Lordſhip diſplays greater accuracy and greater judgment. With regard to Boyd's "Epiſtolæ Heroidum," Lord Hailes thinks that they are puerile, flimſy, and incorrect; but of the "Hymni" he entertains a better opinion. Theſe he owns to be a work of merit, and that the beauties of the performance do more than atone for its defects. In Boyd's Copy-Book of Letters, preſerved in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, there is one very remarkable, concerning theological ſubjects, addreſſed to a young friend. His Lordſhip gives an extract from it, and declares, that if there were nothing of the works of Boyd extant but this Letter, he might ſtill be pronounced to have been a man of genius. "His Life," ſays Lord Hailes, "affords an important leſſon, "and which cannot be too frequently inculcated on young minds, that perſeverance in "ſtudy is neceſſary for all who aim at becoming uſeful."

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOYLE (JOHN), EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY, p. 527.

Of this Nobleman Dr. Johnſon ſaid, that he was a feeble-minded man. Upon the publication of Dr. Delany's *Remarks* on his Book concerning Swift, he was ſo much alarmed that he was afraid to read them. Dr. Johnſon comforted him, by telling him that they were both in the right; that Delany had ſeen moſt of the good ſide of Swift,—Lord Orrery moſt of the bad.—If his Lordſhip had been rich, Dr. Johnſon declared that he would have been a very liberal patron. "His converſation was like his writings, neat "and elegant, but without ſtrength. He graſped at more than his abilities could reach; "tried to paſs for a better talker, a better writer, and a better thinker, than he was "(*a*). It will be remembered, that Dr. Johnſon was perhaps too ready to depreciate the abilities of thoſe perſons whoſe minds were not ſo energetic as his own.

(*a*) Boſwell's Journal of a Tour to he Hebrides, p. 291, 292.

BOYS (JOHN), p. 531.

By the favour of the Rev. Dr. Pollok, of Grittleton, near Chippenham, Wilts, we are enabled more accurately to ſpecify the work of Mr. Boys mentioned in note [*G*]. The Doctor has a copy of this very ſcarce book, which is in 12*mo.* and the title of which is, "Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliiſq; recentioribus Collatio in Quatuor Evangeliis et "Apoſtolorum Actis, in qua annon ſæpius (*) —— juſta ſatis Cauſa hi ab illo diſceſſerint "Diſquiritur. Autore Johanne Boiſio, Eccleſiæ Elienſis Canonico. Opus Auſpiciis Re-"verendi Præſulis, Lanceloti, Wintonienſis Epiſcopi, τὲ μακαρίτε, cæptum et perfectum." Londini Typis T. Roycroft, Impenſis R. Beaumont, 1655.

(*) The word happens to be torn in Dr. Pollok's Paper.

Dr. Pollok has farther informed us, that J. C. Wolfius, in his Curis Philolog. T. i. Prefatio, p. 11. ſays of this book, "Liber infrequentiſſimus et rariſſime occurrens." See, likewiſe, Vogt. Cat. Lib. rar.

BRIGGS (HENRY), p. 589.

Dr. Charles Hutton, in his Introduction to his "Mathematical Tables," has made a curious and important diſcovery, highly to Mr. Briggs's honour. It is, that he was the inventor of the famous *binomial Theorem*, hitherto univerſally aſcribed to Sir Iſaac Newton, and alſo of the *differential Calculus*, which, in England at leaſt, has always been given to the ſame author; but which John Bernoulli, after diſputing the claim of Sir Iſaac, gave to M. Paſcal, who was not born till long after it had been taught by Mr. Briggs. That Sir Iſaac Newton looked on theſe two Diſcoveries as his own, cannot be juſtly diſputed; and Dr. Hutton ſeems fully ſatisfied that he was utterly ignorant of what had been done, on theſe heads, by Briggs. The Doctor aſſigns, as a reaſon for ſuppoſing ſo, that Newton owed almoſt every thing to genius, and very little to reading; which is undoubtedly the caſe (*a*).

(*a*) Monthly Review, vol. lxxiv. p. 314.

BROUGHTON (HUGH), p. 613.

From Mr. Ayſcough's Catalogue it appears, that many Theological Manuſcripts by Hugh Broughton are preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum (*a*).

(*a*) Catalogue, p. 25—27.

BROWNE (SIR THOMAS), p. 637.

In the Britiſh Muſeum are a great number of Sir Thomas Browne's Manuſcripts, on different ſubjects. The titles of them may be ſeen by referring to Mr. Ayſcough's Catalogue; and they will ſerve ſtill farther to evince the extent and variety of Sir Thomas's learning. There are, likewiſe, in the ſame noble repoſitory, ſeveral manuſcripts of his ſon's, Dr. Edward Browne.

BROWNE (SIMON), p. 647.

Some manuſcripts by Mr. Simon Browne are in the Britiſh Muſeum; and among the reſt, a Verſion of the Pſalms, from the firſt to the thirteenth (*a*).

(*a*) Ayſcough's Catalogue, p. 27.

BUCHANAN (GEORGE), p. 688.

Teſtimonies without end might be collected, to the excellency of Buchanan as a ſcholar. We ſhall content ourſelves with adding one ſhort paſſage, from Dr. Johnſon's Journey to

the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland, p. 5, 6. "At an hour ſomewhat late we came to St. "Andrews, a city once archiepiſcopal; where that Univerſity ſtill ſubſiſts in which "philoſophy was taught by Buchanan, whoſe name has as fair a claim to immortality as "can be conferred by modern latinity, and perhaps a fairer than the inſtability of ver-"nacular languages admits."

BULL (JOHN), p. 695.

In the third volume of Dr. Burney's admirable Hiſtory of Muſic, very lately publiſhed, ſome account is given of Dr. John Bull. His abilities on the organ and virginal appear to have been truly wonderful. It is remarkable that Dr. Bull is the only perſon on the liſt of Muſic Profeſſors at Greſham College, who ſeems to have been able to inform by theory, or amuſe by practice, thoſe who attended the muſical lectures (*a*). A ſtriking perverſion this of a noble inſtitution! and highly to the diſhonour of the electors.

(*a*) Gen. Hiſtory of Muſic, vol. iii. p. 106, 107.

We refer to Dr. Burney's work for an account of William Bird, an excellent muſical compoſer and practitioner in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the Firſt (*b*). This eminent Muſician would have had an article in the Biographia, if the editor, at the time of the publication of the ſecond volume, had been ſufficiently acquainted with his merit.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 83—98.

K.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

TO THE THIRD

Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

BURNET (THOMAS), p. 20.

A Gentleman, who has not informed us to whom we are endebted for the obligation, has favoured us with the following ſtricture upon this article.

" The authors of the Biographia Britannica have fallen into a ſmall miſtake with re-
" ſpect to the editions of Burnet's Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ. The original writer of the
" life having aſſerted that the ſecond edition was printed in 1733, Dr. Kippis was naturally
" led to conclude that the dialogue between Eve and the Serpent appeared only in the firſt
" edition: The fact is, the ſecond edition, which is in my poſſeſſion, bears date 1728,
" and contains the offenſive dialogue in queſtion, which has, therefore, probably been
" read by more perſons than Dr. Kippis apprehends. This edition of 1728 contains alſo
" the two letters *ad virum clar.* A. B. in which the author profeſſes his willingneſs to
" give up every haſty and indiſcreet expreſſion which may be found in his work: and
" adds, *Et colloquium illud inter Evam et Serpentem, quod nonnullis diſplicere audio;*
" *vel ſiquid ſit præterea cognatæ indolis, amputari et abſcindi ſine dolore patiar.* It
" ſeems that in 1733 he kept his word. The dialogue is indeed ridiculous enough, and
" I do not wonder at its giving offence to the greater part of the Clergy of his day. At
" preſent, I ſuppoſe, his remarks will be deemed acute and ſenſible."

BURNET (GILBERT), p. 41.

To the account of Biſhop Burnet's writings it may be added, that he was the author of a pamphlet in Defence of the Partition Treaty, for which Lord Somers was impeached (*a*).

In p. 38, we have ſaid, that we know not what became of the Biſhop's two daughters; Mary and Elizabeth. This defect, by the aid of that valuable correſpondent whom we have ſo often mentioned, we are now able to ſupply. Mary was married to David Mitchel, Eſq; the nephew of Admiral Mitchel, well known in the days of King William. She was a woman of a ſingular genius; what in French would be called *naive*, and in Engliſh, an *oddity*. Her temper was friendly and benevolent; ſhe ſpake what ſhe thought ſtrongly; and was not free from prejudices of the Whig kind. The children ſhe had are all now deceaſed. Elizabeth, the Biſhop's other daughter, became the wife of Mr. Weſt, Chancellor of Ireland in the reign of George the Firſt, and was the mother of Richard Weſt, Eſq; the companion of Mr. Horace Walpole and Mr. Gray. There are no deſcendants left of Biſhop Burnet. The laſt was honeſt Captain Burnet of the Navy, and *he* was only a natural ſon of Governor Burnet's. But he had an *animus paternus* to the Burnet family.

(*a*) From the information of the Rev. Dr. Flexman.

Sir Thomas Burnet was diſtinguiſhed for the evenneſs of his temper; of which the following inſtance is recorded. Dining with a friend, the coachman, who was waiting, ſpilt ſome ſoup or gravy on his cloaths. While they were rubbed, he ſaid, with great good humour, " Let me adviſe you, friend, for the future, to *greaſe* nothing but your " wheels (*b*)."

(*b*) From the communications of Mr. Duncombe.

Notwithſtanding the large additions that have been made to Biſhop Burnet's Article, it might ſtill be increaſed, were we to accumulate all the various ſtrictures which have been made on this Prelate and his writings. We ſhall content ourſelves with taking notice of what has been ſaid by a few recent authors. Dr. Warton, in his Eſſay on Pope, (vol. ii. p. 293, 294) has quoted, without diſapprobation, a very ſevere, but, in our opinion, a very unjuſt character, which is given of the Biſhop's Hiſtory of his own Time, by the late Mr. Hampton, the tranſlator of Polybius.

Dr. Johnſon thought more candidly upon the ſubject. Taking up the Biſhop's hiſtory, he ſaid, " The firſt part of it is one of the moſt entertaining books in the Engliſh language;

" while he went about every where, ſaw every where, and heard every where. By the " firſt part, I mean ſo far as it appears that Burnet himſelf was actually engaged in what " he has told; and this may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed (*c*)."

(*c*) Boſwell's Journal, p. 353.

Mr. Alexander Cunningham appears to have had the utmoſt diſlike to Burnet. Indeed, in his Hiſtory of Great Britain, lately publiſhed, he always expreſſes himſelf with ſo much malignity concerning our Prelate, that it confutes itſelf, and clearly proves that, in this caſe, he did not write from a regard to truth, but from perſonal enmity.

BURTON (JOHN), p. 49.

" As to Dr. Burton of Eton," ſays our correſpondent, " the way in which he became " the huſband of Mrs. Littleton was well known at the time. He found the widow and " her daughters at the parſonage houſe, and deſired them to remain there. Some time " after, a neighbouring clergyman happened to call on him, and found Mrs. Littleton " ſhaving John Burton. He told him that the thing was indecent, and ought to be ſet to " rights. Burton propoſed marriage, and was accepted. From my memory of the Lady, " ſhe was not young; a faded genteel little woman. In ſome of his Greek effuſions he " calls her φαννιδιον."

BUSBY (RICHARD), p. 56.

Buſby's face, on his monument, is ſaid to have been copied from a caſt taken after his death, as he would never ſit for his picture (*a*).

(*a*) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

Once, in a large company, Dr. Buſby ſat at table between Mrs. South and Mrs. Sherlock. The converſation turned upon wives. Dr. Buſby ſaid that he believed wives, in general, were good; " though, to be ſure, there might be a bad one *here*, and a bad " one *there* (*b*)."

(*b*) From our other correſpondent.

BUTLER (JAMES), DUKE OF ORMOND, p. 80.

Among the various letters of the Marquis of Ormond, that occur in the Clarendon State Papers, there is a very curious one to Sir Edward Hyde, relative to the character of King Charles the Second, in the time of his exile. It is dated on the 27th of January, 1657-8, and is as follows: " I muſt now freely confeſs to you, that what you have written " of the King's unſeaſonable impatience at his ſtay at Bruges, is a greater damp to my " hopes of his recovery than the ſtrength of his enemies, or the weakneſs and backward- " neſs of thoſe that profeſs him friendſhip. Modeſty, courage, and many accidents may " overcome thoſe enemies, and unite and fix thoſe friends; but I fear his immoderate " delight in empty, effeminate, and vulgar converſations, is become an irreſiſtible part " of his nature, and will never ſuffer him to animate his own deſigns and other's actions " with that ſpirit which is requiſite for his quality, and much more to his fortune.

" This to any but to you or him, from any (unleſs a very few) but from me, or from " me at any other time were too bold a lamentation, for ſo God knows it is. *That* God " bleſs him, and fit him for his work (*a*)."

(*a*) Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 387.

Unhappy indeed was the ſituation of ſuch virtuous men as Ormond, Hyde, and Nicholas, in the ſervice of ſo profligate a maſter. While they ſuffered exile and poverty for their adherence to his cauſe, they had no conſolation ariſing from his good qualities; and in the proſpect of his reſtoration, they had few hopes of an uſeful and honourable reign.

BUTLER (SAMUEL), p. 93.

In the European Magazine, for September, 1788, (p. 175, 176) is the following anecdote concerning this writer. " Butler, the author of Hudibras, though he was a man of " extraordinary wit and fancy, though his merits deſerved a much better fate, is ſaid to " have ſtarved; which extremity of poverty was owing to his own pride and folly. His " neceſſities were too well known to all his acquaintance, to leave him a poſſibility of con- " cealing them from them; and yet his pride was ſo intolerable, that it was the moſt " difficult thing in the world to compel him to accept of any aſſiſtance, though offered in " the moſt friendly and genteel manner.—There was a Gentleman of his acquaintance, " and of a conſiderable fortune, who over a bottle one night had made a cleanly convey- " ance of a purſe of a hundred guineas into his pocket, which he did not at all perceive. " The next morning Butler, finding it there, was extremely uneaſy, and conſidered what " company he was in the day before, and found that it could be nobody but the very

" Gentleman that did it. He dreſſed himſelf, and went to his chambers, and carried " with him the money; charged him with the affront, and went away in a pet, leaving " the money behind him."

This ſtory is extracted, by the Editor of the European Magazine, from a book now rather uncommon, entitled, " Miſcellania Aurea, or the Golden Medley," printed in 1720.

Some of the inhabitants of the pariſh of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, having lately heard that ſo eminent a man as Butler had been buried in the church-yard, and regretting that neither ſtone nor inſcription recorded the event, entered into a ſubſcription to erect ſomething to his memory. Accordingly, they have had a monument put up in the portico of the church, bearing the Poet's buſt, which was taken from that erected by Alderman Barber, in Weſtminſter Abbey. The following lines were contributed by Mr. O'Bryen, and are engraved on the ſtone beneath the medallion.

" A few plain men, to pomp and pride unknown,
" O'er a poor bard have raiſed this humble ſtone,
" Whoſe wants alone his genius could ſurpaſs,
" Victim of zeal! the matchleſs Hudibras!

" What tho' fair freedom ſuffered in his page!
" Reader, forgive the author—for the age—
" How few, alas, diſdain to cringe and cant,
" When 'tis the mode to play the ſycophant!

" But oh! let all be taught from Butler's fate,
" Who hope to make their fortune by the great,
" That wit and pride are always dangerous things,
" And little faith is due to Courts and Kings (*a*)."

(*a*) Gentleman's Magazine, for 1786. p. 1145.

BUTLER (JOSEPH), p. 103.

We have ſaid (p. 101, 102) that our Prelate's charge, printed at Durham, is the only one of his publications which ever produced him a direct literary antagoniſt. This, however, does not appear to be ſtrictly true; for, in the year 1737, there was publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled, " Remarks on Dr. Butler's ſixth Chapter of the Analogy of Religion (*a*)."

(*a*) Gentleman's Mag. vol. vii. p. 374.

Another miſtake into which we were led, was the ſaying, that the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Forſter was the Biſhop's Executor and *Reſiduary Legatee*. He was Executor, but not Reſiduary Legatee. What remained, after the five hundred pounds given to the Society for propagating the Goſpel, was ordered to be equally divided among all the Biſhop's nephews and nieces by conſanguinity, and their children. His direction for the burning of his manuſcripts was thus expreſſed: " It is my poſitive and expreſs will, that all my " Sermons, Letters, and Papers whatever, which are in a deal box directed to Dr. Forſter, " and now ſtanding in my Library at Hampſtead, be burnt without being read by any " one, as ſoon as may be after my deceaſe (*b*)."

(*b*) From the information of the Rev. Peter Forſter, of Hedenham, Norfolk.

A ſecond edition of our Prelate's Charge to his Clergy, was publiſhed in 1786, by Dr. Halifax, then Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter, but now of St. Aſaph; together with a large Preface, giving ſome account of the character and writings of the author. In this Preface, which contains many uſeful and important obſervations, the Right Reverend Editor has entered into an elaborate defence of Dr. Butler, againſt the accuſation of his having died in the Communion of the Church of Rome. We thought it ſufficient, very briefly to take notice of a calumny, which originated in bigotry and folly, and which had almoſt ceaſed to be remembered; and we think ſo ſtill. If we had entertained a different opinion, it was in our power to have related ſeveral particulars concerning the controverſy, which were not known to the Biſhop of St. Aſaph.

BYROM (JOHN), p. 123.

As the Fellows of Trinity College, in Cambridge, are allowed to hold their Fellowſhips, without taking orders, eight years, it is probable that Mr. Byrom did not quit his ſo ſoon as is repreſented in p. 121, but that he held it till his marriage (*a*).

(*a*) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

CALAMY (DR. EDMUND), p. 145.

To the account of the French Prophets it may be added, that one of them went to Sir Thomas Parker, Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench, and told him, from the *Lord*, that

that he was to iſſue a *Noli proſequi*, with regard to ſome of his brethren. The anſwer was, that if he had come from the *Lord*, he would have been directed to the Attorney-General, whoſe buſineſs it was to do ſuch things.

Several compoſitions of Mr. Nicholas Fatio, chiefly of an aſtronomical nature, may be ſeen in the ſeventh and eighth volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine.

CAMDEN (WILLIAM), p. 175.

This year (1789) has appeared, in three volumes, folio, an edition of Camden's Britannia, tranſlated from the edition publiſhed by the author in 1607, enlarged by the lateſt diſcoveries, and illuſtrated with a new ſet of maps, and other copper-plates, by Richard Gough, Eſq. The work is the reſult of many years travel, inquiry, and labour. Of Mr. Gough I have no reaſon to ſpeak with perſonal reſpect: but not any circumſtance of that kind ſhall ever induce me to depart from the exerciſe of juſtice or of candour; or prevent my declaring, that, from his eminent character as an Antiquary, and the extent of his topographical knowledge, there can be no doubt but that his edition of the Britannia is a performance of great conſequence and value.

CAMPBELL (JOHN), DUKE OF ARGYLE, p. 208.

The circumſtance of his falling out of a window, mentioned in p. 200, is certain. He was then at Lethington, in Lothian, where his grandmother, the Ducheſs Dowager of Lauderdale is underſtood to have reſided. The Duke of Argyle had but an imperfect recollection of the accident. All that he could remember was as follows: "He had been taken to viſit "his grandfather while in priſon. The harſh ſound of iron bolts, when the priſon doors "were opened and ſhut, affected him much. Having been left in a room at Lethington "by himſelf, he heard ſome ſound of the opening of a door like that which he had heard "in priſon. This terrified him, and in his confuſion, he flew to an open window, and "fell over." That this happened at the very hour of his grandfather's execution, is probably no other than a popular and ſuperſtitious ſtory.

The Duke of Argyle's monument was erected by his widow, and coſt three times the ſum that had been left by Sir Henry Fermer (*a*).

(*a*) From our former correſpondent.

In p. 202, read, "by the loſſes ſuſtained at the battle of Almanara."

CAMPBELL (ARCHIBALD), EARL OF ISLAY, AND DUKE OF ARGYLE, p. 209.

He ſold his regiment, and with the price was allowed to purchaſe the office of Juſtice-General for Scotland, held by the old Earl of Cromerty.

In p. 209, for "Highlanders," read "Highland Gentlemen who had been engaged in the Rebellion." "It is fit," ſays our valuable correſpondent, ſo often referred to, "that impartial hiſtorians ſhould reprobate the cry of the day as to *Highlanders* and *Re-*"*bels* being ſynonymous. More Highlanders appeared in arms, during the Rebellion in "1745, *for* Government than *againſt* it. Had the Highlanders been unanimous on the "ſide of the Pretender, he would have marched with 20,000 men, inſtead of 5,500, into "England."

It is added by our correſpondent, that Lord Chatham took credit to himſelf, in Parliament, for the meaſure of employing in the Royal Army the natives of the Highlands who had been formerly diſaffected; and that "Something might have been made of ſo mixed "a character as that of Archibald, Duke of Argyle, in which there were great abilities "with great weakneſſes; ambition, checked by caution; activity, overpowered by indo-"lence; and a ſpirit of minuteneſs, little conſiſtent with extenſive knowledge."

CAMPBELL (JOHN), DR. p. 215.

Dr. Campbell looking once into a pamphlet at a Bookſeller's ſhop, liked it ſo well as to purchaſe it; and it was not till he had read it half through, that he diſcovered it to be his own compoſition. This he told the late Mr. David Hume (*a*).

(*a*) From the ſame correſpondent.

Dr. Johnſon, in a converſation during his Tour, ſaid, "I think highly of Campbell. "In the firſt place, he has very good parts. In the ſecond place, he has very extenſive "reading; not, perhaps, what is properly called learning, but hiſtory, politics, and, in "ſhort, that popular knowledge which makes a man very uſeful. In the third place, he "has learnt much by what is called the *Vox viva*. He talks with a great many people."

Dr. Johnſon one day called on Dr. Campbell, and they talked of Tull's Huſbandry. Dr. Campbell ſaid ſomething, and Johnſon began to diſpute it. "Come," ſaid Dr. Campbell, "We do not want to get the better of one another: we want to increaſe each other's ideas." This Dr. Johnſon took in good part, and the converſation then went on coolly and inſtructively (*a*).

(*a*) Boſwell's Journal, p. 405, 406.

CAPEL (ARTHUR), LORD CAPEL, p. 226.

This Nobleman ordered that his heart ſhould be preſerved and kept at Haddam-Hall, till his Royal Maſter was buried with due funeral honours, which he was ſure muſt ſoon happen from the reſtoration of his ſon. His Lordſhip directed that then his heart ſhould be laid at Charles the Firſt's feet. When Haddam-Hall was in part pulled down, about the year 1701, the heart was found in a ſilver box, embalmed with ſpices; and, by the direction of the ſecond Earl of Eſſex, it was buried as near Lord Capel's body as poſſible (*a*).

(*a*) Communicated by the late Dr. Paul Wright, from the papers of the late Pulter Foreſter, Eſq.

CAPEL (ARTHUR), EARL OF ESSEX, p. 232.

Paul Bomeney, who is repreſented, p. 228, as a French ſervant, that was ſuppoſed to have murdered the Earl of Eſſex, is ſaid by others to have been an Italian, and that his proper name was Bomini (*a*).

(*a*) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

CARTE (THOMAS), p. 269.

"Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond," ſaid Dr. Johnſon, "is conſidered as a Book "of Authority, but it is ill written. The matter is diffuſed in too many words; there is "no animation, no compreſſion, no vigour. Two good volumes in duodecimo might "be made out of the two in folio (*a*)."

(*a*) Boſwell's Journal, p. 367.

CARTERET (JOHN), LORD CARTERET, EARL GRANVILLE, p. 280.

Earl Granville, amidſt all his ſtruggles for place and power, had an affectation of ſaying, "I love my fire ſide;" which humour was well expoſed by Mr. Hawkins Browne, in a copy of verſes, entitled, "The Fire Side: a paſtoral ſoliloquy." Lord Carteret's letter on the Battle at Dettingen was much ridiculed at the time, and the only excuſe for it was his Lordſhip's intoxication—not merely with joy (*a*).

In giving his judgment concerning men of high office in the ſtate, Earl Granville ſometimes ſpoke too incautiouſly for a politician. Having been aſked who wrote the King's ſpeech in a certain year, he ſaid, "Do you not ſee the *blunt* pen of the *old Attorney?*" meaning Lord Hardwick.

It was not always in his power to conceal the pangs of diſappointed ambition. He made a preſent of a copy of the Polyglot Bible, which the Doctor got bound in an elegant manner. When Lord Granville ſaw the book in its new dreſs, he ſaid, "You have "done with it as the King has done with me: He made me fine, and he laid me by (*b*)."

In Lord Egmont's manuſcripts are ſome curious traits of Earl Granville's character. He was one of thoſe politicians who make religion ſubſervient to the ſtate. The conſidering the kingdom of Chriſt as a ſeparate kingdom from thoſe of this world he counted abſurd. On the contrary, he maintained that Chriſtianity is incorporated with civil government as ſand with lime, each of which by itſelf makes no mortar. Where he imagined that the public intereſt might receive prejudice by Chriſtianity, he was againſt its being taught. He hoped, therefore, never to ſee our Negroes in America become Chriſtians, becauſe he believed that this would render them leſs laborious ſlaves. On the ſame principle, he was againſt any attempts to convert the American ſavages. In learning Chriſtianity, they would fall into the uſe of letters, and a ſkill in the arts being the conſequence, they would become more formidable to the plantations. Purſuing a ſimilar train of reaſoning, Lord Granville wiſhed to God that the Pope might never turn Proteſtant, or the Italians ceaſe to be Papiſts, for then we ſhould ſell them no fiſh. He was glad that the Clergy ſent abroad to our Plantations were immoral and ignorant wretches, becauſe they could have no influence over the inhabitants, as better and wiſer men would have; and who would uſe that influence, for the purpoſe of inſpiring the Planters with a ſpirit of independence on their mother country. He was hoſtile to the ſcheme of ſending Biſhops to America. Theſe, he thought, would labour to bring the ſeveral ſects to one religion; whereas the ſecurity of that people's dependence on England he conceived to ariſe from

(*a*) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

(*b*) From the communications of our other correſpondent.

their mutual diviſions. He was an enemy, likewiſe, to the improvement of our Colonies in learning. This, he ſaid, would take off their youth from wholly attending to trade, fill them with ſpeculative notions of government and liberty, and prevent the education of the ſons of rich Planters in England, where they contract a love to this kingdom, and when grown old, come back and ſettle, to the great increaſe of our wealth. Even at home he was againſt charity ſchools, and was not for having the vulgar taught to read, that they might think of nothing but the plow, and their other low avocations. Such were Earl Granville's political ſentiments, concerning which our readers will make their own reflections.

CHAUCER (GEOFFREY), p. 481.

We learn, from the European Magazine, that, in a periodical work, called "The Univerſal Viſitor, or Monthly Memorialiſt," conducted by Chriſtopher Smart and Richard Rolt, there was printed a life of Chaucer, by Dr. Johnſon. In this piece the Doctor declares, that Chaucer, if not the greateſt, was, without controverſy, the moſt univerſal genius that ever exiſted. Whether he wrote in proſe or verſe, ſeriouſly or humorouſly, he was equally himſelf; equally incomparable: and when we reflect, that he had the language in a manner to make as he wrote it, what amazement does it afford! There is not a ſingle ſpecies of poetry in which this great man has not left ſome ſpeciments of his excellency. Dr. Johnſon then proceeds to confirm his aſſertion by particular inſtances (*a*).

(*a*) Europ. Mag. vol. vii. p. 83. 178, 179.

CHEYNE (GEORGE), p. 499.

It was in conſequence of Dr. Pitcairn's advice, that Mr. Cheyne was induced to quit the ſtudy of theology for that of phyſic. He was at that time a Tutor in a private Gentleman's family (*a*).

(*a*) From the correſpondent ſo often mentioned.

CHICHLEY (HENRY), p. 505.

The ſmall figures of the Apoſtles and Cardinal Virtues, on Archbiſhop Chichley's tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, are ſuppoſed, from the elegance of the ſculpture, which is ſuperior to any then known in England, to have been carved in Italy (*a*).

In 1783, a Life of Henry Chichelé, accurately and neatly written, founded on the beſt authorities, and containing an appendix of original papers, was publiſhed by Mr. Spencer, Fellow of All Souls College. The laſt ſection concludes with a brief, but elegant ſummary of the Archbiſhop's character.

(*a*) From Mr. Duncombe's communications

CHUBB (THOMAS), p. 532.

It has been ſuggeſted to us, by our valuable correſpondent, that Whiſton's Memoirs ought to have been quoted. We have referred to them for a particular fact; but it might have been added, that they contain Mr. Whiſton's view of Chubb's character and writings.

CHURCHILL (JOHN), DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, p. 565.

Page 554. Battle of Malplaquet. It has been objected to the Duke of Marlborough, that he might have attacked the French ſooner, before they had entrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, by which he would have rendered the victory leſs bloody. But this objection will vaniſh, when it is known that ſuch was his Grace's intention and propoſal, but that he waved it in deference to Prince Eugene, who inſiſted on their waiting for the troops that had been employed in the ſiege of Tournay. The event, however, did credit to the Duke's judgment; for though thoſe troops were near enough to have joined them, yet they actually did not, as they were not wanted till after the victory was gained. Of this Mr. Duncombe was aſſured, by Colonel King, who was preſent.

Page 565. When Sarah, Ducheſs of Marlborough, deſired two poets, Mallet and Glover, to write the Duke's Hiſtory, ſhe added a ſarcaſtic, but needleſs proviſo, that none of it ſhould be in verſe. One trait of her character was her reprinting and diſperſing, among the Electors of St. Alban's, a large edition of a fooliſh comedy, entitled, "Love in a Hollow Tree," of which the noble author (Lord Grimſton) had called in all the copies (*a*).

(*a*) From Mr. Duncombe's communications

In

In the "Sylva, or the Wood," a recent and agreeable publication, are printed, as curioſities, without alteration of grammar, orthography, or punctuation, two letters of the Ducheſs, from her own hand writing. "She was of a ſtrong underſtanding and uncommon "ſagacity," ſays the author, "which I premiſe to juſtify my wonder at the ſtrange "neglect of education among the females; for her woman would have written as well, "and perhaps better." According to the ſame author, the Ducheſs, though oppreſſed with the infirmities of age, and almoſt bed-rid, would continue ſpeaking to Mr. Hooke the Hiſtorian, for ſix hours together. "She delivered to him, without any notes, her "account in the moſt lively as well as the moſt connected manner: and, though the "correction of the language was left to Hooke, yet the whole is plainly animated with "her ſpirit; and, as ſome philoſophers have ſaid of ſoul with regard to body, ſhe was "*tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte* (*b*)."

(*b*) Sylva, p. 241—245.

CIBBER (COLLEY), p. 592.

Page 584. The Nonjuror. "It has juſtly been obſerved," ſays Mr. Duncombe, "and ſhould have been repeated, that the character of a Nonjuror is here ſtrangely "miſtaken, and is as far from being a juſt object of ridicule as hypocriſy is from "conſcience."

To the poetical ſquibs that were thrown at Colley may be added the following lines:

"In merry old England it once was a rule,
"The King had his Poet, as well as his Fool.
"But now we're ſo frugal, I'd have you to know it,
"That Colley can ſerve both for Fool and for Poet."

But Colley was no more a Fool than he was a Poet (*a*).

In Davies's Life of Garrick, and eſpecially in his "Dramatic Miſcellanies," a great deal is ſaid concerning Colley Cibber. The concluding chapter of the laſt mentioned work is wholly devoted to this ſubject (*b*).

(*a*) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

(*b*) Dramatic Miſcellanies, vol. iii. p. 409—482.

CLARKE (SAMUEL), p. 610.

Our ingenious and worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. Hall, has favoured us with a number of original letters, written to Dr. Clarke, by ſeveral learned men of his time. The ſhorteſt of them, and the only one which is in Latin, we ſhall tranſcribe. It contains a very zealous approbation of the Doctor's ſcriptural doctrine of the Trinity.

"Domine doctiſſime!
"Scripturalem tuam Doctrinam de Trinitate perlegi, nec in re quapiam aut S. Scrip-"turæ aut rectæ rationi inveni diſſonam, ſed utrique maxime conſentaneam: Firmiſſimé "credo veritatem te depinxiſſe unicam, ideoq; reddo tibi gratias immortales pro præs "tantiſſimo illo libro, et ut tota eccleſia Anglicana eandem agnoſcat et profiteatur fidem, "ſemper fuerit votum et preces,

Datæ ſunt 2^do^ die, Februarii, A. D. 1719^no^.

"Devinctiſſimi et humillimi tui ſervi,
"ROBERTI BLAKEWAY."

CLEIVELAND (JOHN), p. 633.

In note H, p. 630, there is a conſiderable miſtake in the extract from the Critical Review. The author confounds *David Leſley*, a Gentleman of noble birth, and who could write better than moſt of his contemporaries, with *Alexander Leſley*, an illiterate ſoldier of fortune, although a much abler man than the other (*a*).

(*a*) From the communications of our correſpondent.

CLIFFORD (GEORGE), EARL OF CUMBERLAND, p. 642.

In Skipton Caſtle, there are a variety of pictures, on the borders of which are deſcriptions of the perſons painted. Theſe pictures include the principal perſons and connections of the Clifford family, and the deſcriptions throw a good deal of light on the hiſtory of that family. In ſome of the portraits, books are repreſented ſtanding or lying. From the titles of theſe books, and from the catalogue of thoſe contained in Lady Anne Clifford's library, (a copy of which we have been favoured with by Sir William Muſgrave) may be collected what was the kind of reading that prevailed among people of rank at that time.

The

The larger number of the works mentioned are devotional, moral, and poetical. Hiſtorical books and romances occupy but a ſmall part of the catalogue.

A large and elegant encomium on Anne, Counteſs of Dorſet, Pembroke and Montgomery, is given, by Mr. Gilpin, in his "Obſervations chiefly relative to pictureſque beauty, made in the year 1772, in ſeveral parts of England, particularly the mountains and lakes of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland."

CLIVE (ROBERT), LORD CLIVE, p. 663.

Several anonymous ſtrictures, we underſtand, have been made upon this article. All we ſhall ſay is, that it is not our cuſtom ſpecifically to relate facts without expreſs and poſitive authority. If any Gentleman of character can give us farther information concerning Robert Lord Clive, and will authenticate it with his name, he will find that we are not afraid of recording truth.

COKE (SIR EDWARD), p. 702.

In the late edition of Coke upon Littleton, by Mr. Hargrave and Mr. Butler, will be found a compleat delineation of our great Lawyer's abilities and character as a legal writer.

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3	† COLET (John), Divine, and Founder of St. Paul's School	1466	1519
12	† COLLIER (Jeremy), Divine, Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, and various Writer	1650	1726
20	*** COLLINS (John), Mathematician	1624	1683
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34	*** COLLINSON (Peter), Naturaliſt, Antiquary, and excellent Citizen	1693-4	1768
43	† COLSTON (Edward), eminently beneficent man	1636	1721
45	† COMBER (Thomas), Divine	1645	1699
48	COMPTON (Sir William), Anceſtor of the preſent Earls of Northampton	1481	1528
49	COMPTON (Spencer), ſecond Earl of Northampton, Warrior	1601	1643
51	COMPTON (James), third Earl of Northampton, Warrior	——	1681
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247	† COOPER (Anthony-Aſhley), firſt Earl of Shafteſbury, Stateſman	1621	1682-3
*266	*** COOPER (Anthony-Aſhley), third Earl of Shafteſbury, moral and polite Writer	1670-71	1712-13
261	*** COOPER (Samuel), Miniature Painter	1609	1672
262	*** COOPER (John Gilbert), Miſcellaneous and poetical Writer	1723	1769

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270	† Corbet (Richard), Prelate and Poet - -	——	1635
273	*** Coryate (Thomas), Traveller - -	1577	1617
281	† Cosin (John), Prelate - - -	1594	1671-2
289	*** Costard (George), Divine and learned Writer -	1710	1782
294	† Cotes (Roger), Mathematician and Aſtronomer	1682	1716
297	† Cotton (Sir Robert), Antiquary - -	1570	1631
305	*** Cotton (Charles), Miſcellaneous and Poetical Writer	1630	1687
308	Covel (John), Divine - - -	1638	1722
310	† Coverdale (Miles), Prelate - -	——	1567
311	*** Courayer (Peter-Francis), Divine - -	1681	1776.
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324	*** Courten (Sir William), eminent Merchant -	——	——
327	*** Courten (William), eminent Merchant -	——	——
334	*** Courten (William), Naturaliſt and Collector -	1642	1702
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358	*** Coward (William), Medical and Metaphyſical Writer	1656	1724
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382	*** Cowper (William), Earl Cowper, Lord Chancellor of England, Stateſman - -	——	1723
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401	*** Cox (Sir Richard), Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Hiſtorical Writer - - -	1650	1733
414	*** Craig (William), Divine - -	1709	1783
418	† Cranmer (Thomas), Archbiſhop of Canterbury	1489	1555-6
427	*** Crashaw (Richard), Poet - -	——	1650
432	† Creech (Thomas), Claſſical Scholar, and Poetical Tranſlator	1659	1701
434	Cressey (Hugh-Paulin, or Serenus), Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, and Controverſial Writer -	1605	1674
437	† Crew (Nathanael), Lord Crew, Prelate -	1633	1721
441	*** Crichton (James) the Admirable -	1551, or 1560	1582, or 1583
456	Crispe (Sir Nicholas), Eminent Citizen -	1598	1665-6
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629		DAVENANT (John), Prelate - -	——	1641
631	†	D'AVENANT (Sir William), Poet - -	1605	1668
647	†	D'AVENANT (Charles), Civilian, and Political Writer	1656	1714
652		D'AVENANT (William), Tranſlator - -	——	1681
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D

THE

LIVES

OF THE

MOST EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN

GREAT-BRITAIN, and IRELAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

COLE (Henry), a perſon of conſiderable learning in the XVIth century, was born at Godſhill in the Iſle of Wight, and educated in Wykeham's School near Wincheſter (*a*). From thence he was choſen into New-College, Oxon, of which he became perpetual Fellow in 1523, and there ſtudying the Civil Law, took the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, March 3, 1529-30 (*b*). Then he travelled into Italy, and improved himſelf in his ſtudies at Padua, being a zealous Roman Catholic. Notwithſtanding this, upon his return to England, he acknowledged King Henry VIII. to be the ſupreme head of the Church of England (*c*). In 1540, he took the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law (*d*); and the ſame year reſigned his Fellowſhip, being then ſettled in London, an Advocate in the Court of Arches, Prebendary of Yatminſter Secunda in the church of Sarum, and about the ſame time made Archdeacon of Ely (*e*). On the 11th of September, 1540, he was admitted to the Rectory of Chelmsford in Eſſex; and October the 5th following, collated to the Prebend of Holborn, which he reſigned April 19, 1541; and was the ſame day collated to that of Sneating, which he voiding by ceſſion on or before March 22d next enſuing, was on that very day collated to the Prebend of Wenlakeſbarne (*f*). In 1542, October the 4th, he was elected Warden of New-College; and in 1545, made Rector of Newton Longville in Buckinghamſhire (*g*). Soon after, when King Edward VI. came to the crown, Dr. Cole outwardly embraced, and preached up the Reformation, frequented the Proteſtants ſervice, and communicated with them. However, altering his mind, or being diſguſted at ſome of the proceedings then taken, he reſigned his Rectory of Chelmsford in 1547; and in 1551, his Wardenſhip of New-College; and the year following, his Rectory of Newton Longville (*h*). After Queen Mary's acceſſion to the crown, he became again a zealous Roman Catholic; and in 1554, was made Provoſt of Eton College, of which he had been Fellow (*i*). The ſame year, June 20, he had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred on him (*k*); and was one of the Divines that diſputed publicly at Oxford with Archbiſhop Cranmer, and Biſhop Ridley (*l*). He alſo preached the funeral ſermon before Archbiſhop Cranmer's execution (*m*). Moreover, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to viſit the Univerſity of Cambridge; was elected Dean of St. Paul's the 11th of December, 1556; made (Auguſt 8, 1557) Vicar-General of the Spiritualties under Cardinal Pole, Archbiſhop of Canterbury;

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 196; and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 132.

(*b*) *Idem*, Faſti, vol. i. col. 46.

(*c*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*; and Repertorium Eccleſiaſtic. &c. by Ric. Newcourt, vol. i. Lond. 1708, fol. p. 49.

(*d*) Faſti, vol. i. col. 64.

(*e*) Wood, Ath. and Newcourt, *ubi ſupra*.

(*f*) Newcourt, vol. i. p. 158. 211. 222.

(*g*) Newcourt, and Wood, *ubi ſupra*, p. 49, and col. 196.

(*h*) Newcourt, *ib.* and Wood, col. 197.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. col. 197.

(*k*) *Idem*, Faſti, vol. i. col. 81.

(*l*) Fox, Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, vol. ii. p. 1428, &c.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 1885, 1886. It was on the 21ſt of March, 1555-6

and the 1st of October following, Official of the Arches, and Dean of the Peculiars; and in November ensuing, Judge of the Court of Audience. In 1558, he was appointed one of the Overseers of that Cardinal's Will (*n*). In the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was one of the eight Catholic Divines who disputed publicly at Westminster with so many Protestants [*A*], when that Queen was about to settle a reformation in the Church of England (*o*). He distinguished himself then, and afterwards, by his writings in favour of Popery [*B*]. But that disputation, wherein Dr. Cole was spokesman, coming to nothing, he was deprived of his Deanery (*p*), fined five hundred marks, and imprisoned (*q*). He died in, or near, Wood-street Compter in London, in December 1579 (*r*). The famous Leland hath eternized his memory among other learned men of our nation (*s*). He is elsewhere called, 'A person more earnest than wise (*t*).' But R. Ascham highly commends him (*u*) for his learning and humanity [*C*].

(*n*) Newcourt, *ubi supra*, p. 49.

(*o*) Annals of the Reformation, &c. by J. Strype, vol. i. 2d edit. 1725, p. 87.

(*p*) Wood, and Newcourt, *ubi supra*.

(*q*) Strype's Annals, *ubi supra*, p. 95.

(*r*) Wood, Ath. col. 197.

(*s*) In his Principium ac illustrium, &c. in Anglia virorum Encomia, &c. Lond. 1589, p. 79.

(*t*) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 144.

(*u*) Epistol. l. iii. epist. 17.

[*A*] *He was one of the eight Catholic Divines who disputed publicly at Westminster with so many Protestants.*] Those eight Roman Catholic Divines, were, White, Watson, Baine, and Scot, Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Coventry and Litchfield, and Chester; and the Doctors Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, Langdale, Harpsfield, and Chedsey, Archdeacons of Lewis, Canterbury, and Middlesex. The Protestant Divines, were, John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, David Whitehead, John Jewell, John Aylmer, Richard Cox, Edmund Grindal, Robert Horne, and Edmund Guest (1). The points then disputed upon, were, 1. Prayers in an unknown Tongue. 2. The Church's Authority to appoint, change, and take away Ceremonies. 3. Whether in the Mass there was a propitiatory Sacrifice (2).

(*v*) Annals of the Reformat. &c. by J. Strype, vol. i. as above, p. 87.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 89. 91, &c. Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. ii. B. iii.

[*B*] *He distinguished himself by his writings in favour of Popery.*] They were, I. Disputation with Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley, at Oxford, in 1554. II. Funeral Sermon, at the Burning of Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (3). III. Letters to John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, upon Occasion of a Sermon that the said Bishop preached before the Queen's Majesty and her honourable Council, *anno* 1560. *Lond.* 1560, in a thick 8*vo.* printed afterwards among Bishop Jewell's works. IV. Letters to Bishop Jewell, upon Occasion of a Sermon of his preached at Paul's-Cross on the second Sunday before Easter in 1560. V. Answer to the first Proposition of the Protestants, at the Disputation before the Lords at Westminster (4).

(3) Both printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as above.

(4) Printed in the Collection of Records, at the end of Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. P. ii. B. iii. No. 43; and in Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. edit. 1714, p. 414, &c.

[*C*] *But R. Ascham highly commends him for his learning and humanity.*] In the following words. *Tantum ego & communi omnium voci de tua eruditione, & frequenti Morysini sermoni, de tua humanitate semper tribui, doctissime humanissimeque Cole, ut imperitus ipse si te non colerem, & inhumanus si non amarem, merito videri possim* (5), i. e. 'I have heard so much by common 'fame of your learning, and by Mr. Morysin of your 'humanity, that I must renounce all pretensions to 'learning if I did not esteem you, and be altogether 'inhuman if I did not love you.' M.

(5) Epistol. R. Aschami, lib. iii. Epistola D. Colo.

COLES (Elisha), author of the Dictionary, was born in Northamptonshire about the year 1640 (*a*). Towards the end of the year 1658, he was entered into Magdalen-College in Oxford, but left it without taking a degree; and retiring to London, taught Latin there to youths, and English to foreigners, about 1663. Afterwards he continued that employment with good success in Russel-street, near Covent-Garden; and at length became one of the Ushers of Merchant-Taylors School. But being there guilty of a very great fault (*b*), he was forced to withdraw into Ireland, from whence he never returned. He was a curious and critical person in the English and Latin tongues, did much good in his profession, and wrote several useful and necessary books for the instruction of beginners. The titles of them are as follows: I. 'The Compleat English Schoolmaster: 'or, the most natural and easy Method of spelling and reading English according to the 'present proper Pronunciation of the Language in Oxford and London, &c.' *Lond.* 1674, 8*vo.* II. 'The newest, plainest, and shortest Short-hand, containing, first, A brief Account of the Short-hand already extant, with their Alphabets and fundamental Rules. 'Secondly, A plain and easy Method for Beginners, less burdensome to the Memory 'than any other. Thirdly, A new Invention for contracting Words, with special Rules 'for contracting Sentences, and other ingenious Fancies, &c.' *Lond.* 1674, 8*vo.* III. "*Nolens Volens*: or, you shall make Latin whether you will or no, containing the 'plainest Directions that have been yet given upon that Subject.' *Lond.* 1675, 8*vo.* With it is printed, IV. 'The Youth's visible Bible, being an Alphabetical Collection (from the 'whole Bible) of such general Heads as were judged most capable of Hieroglyphics; illustrated with twenty-four Copper-Plates, &c.' V. 'An English Dictionary, explaining the difficult Terms that are used in Divinity, Husbandry, Physic, Philosophy, Law, 'Navigation, Mathematics, and other Arts and Sciences. Containing many Thousands 'of hard Words (and proper Names of Places) more than are in any other English Dictionary or Expositor: Together with the Etymological Derivation of them from their 'proper Fountains, whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, or any other Language.' *Lond.* 1676, 8*vo.* reprinted several times since. VI. 'A Dictionary, English-Latin, and 'Latin-English [*A*]; containing all Things necessary for the translating of either Language into

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 680.

(*b*) What it was, is not expressly mentioned any where.

[*A*] *A Dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-English.*] Mr. Robert Ainsworth (1) gives the following character of that book. 'He [the author] hath indeed 'considerably enlarged the English-Latin part, which 'containeth many more English words and phrases 'than any Latin Dictionary published before his 'time. But not a few of those words are now entirely obsolete, many of them interpreted in a 'wrong sense, and worse translated into Latin. And 'the Latin-English part is very defective both with 'regard to the several senses of the Latin words, and 'the citation of the Roman writers proper to fix their 'authority.' M.

(1) Preface to his *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ Compendiarius.*

*** [Coles's Dictionary continued to be a school-book in very general use, for some time after the publication of Ainsworth's Thesaurus. But it hath fallen, I believe, almost into total neglect, since abridgments

'into the other. To which End many Things that were erroneous are rectified, many 'Superfluities retrenched, and very many Defects supplied. And all suited to the meaneſt Capacities, in a plainer Method than heretofore: Being for Eaſe reduced into an 'Alphabetical Order, and explained in the Mother-tongue. And towards the compleating the Engliſh Part, (which hath been long deſired) here are added a thouſand of 'Words, Phraſes, Proverbs, proper Names, and many other uſeful Things mentioned in 'the Preface to this Work.' *Lond.* 1677, 4*to.* reprinted ſeveral times in 8*vo.* the 12th edition was in 1730. VII. 'The moſt natural and eaſy Method of learning Latin, by 'comparing it with Engliſh: Together with the holy Hiſtory of Scripture-War, or the 'Sacred Art Military, *&c.*' *Lond.* 1677, 8*vo.* VIII. 'The Harmony of the Four Evangeliſts in a metrical Paraphraſe on the Hiſtory of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.' *Lond.* 1679, 8*vo.* reprinted afterwards. IX. 'The Young Scholar's beſt Companion: 'or, an exact Guide or Directory for Children and Youth, from the A, B, C, to the 'Latin Grammar, comprehending the whole Body of the Engliſh Learning, *&c.*' *Lond.* 12*mo.* (*c*).

(*c*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*, col. 680, 681.

abridgments of Ainſworth have appeared, by Mr. Thomas and other perſons. The men, however, who have been benefactors to the cauſe of learning, ought to be remembered with gratitude, though their writings may happen to be ſuperſeded by more perfect productions. It is no ſmall point of honour to be the means of paving the way for ſuperior works.

There was an Eliſha Cole, or Coles, contemporary with the compiler of the Dictionary, who was a Nonconformiſt Divine, and wrote a treatiſe on God's Sovereignty. I do not introduce him becauſe I think either the author or the book worthy of particular notice, but to mention a circumſtance relating to myſelf. The work, which is compoſed in the higheſt ſtrain of Calviniſm, upon what is called the ſuperlapſarian ſcheme, was put into my hands, when thirteen or fourteen years of age, by ſome zealous friends, to inſtruct and confirm me in the doctrines it contained. The reading of it, however, produced a contrary effect. The author ſtated the objections to his opinions concerning abſolute election, reprobation, and other points, and endeavoured to remove them; but to me his objections appeared ſtronger than his anſwers; ſo that I owe to Cole on God's Sovereignty my firſt renunciation of Calviniſm. The book is yet in ſome vogue, amongſt readers of a certain claſs.] K.

COLET (JOHN), a very learned Divine, and founder of St. Paul's School, London, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Colet, Knt. [*A*], twice Lord-Mayor of London, by Chriſtian his wife, a gentlewoman of good birth, probably of the family of Knevet (*a*). He was born in the pariſh of St. Anthonine's, now better known by the name of St. Antholin's, within the city of London, in the year 1466 (*b*). It is taken for granted, that he had his firſt education at St. Anthony's School, then the moſt eminent in London, but now utterly decayed (*c*). In 1483, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and in all probability to Magdalen-College, where there were, at that time, one or more of his ſurname (*d*). After having ſpent ſeven years in the ſtudy of Logic and Philoſophy, he took his degrees in Arts, being then thoroughly acquainted with M. T. Cicero's works, which he had moſt carefully peruſed; and alſo no ſtranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared, making the one ſerve as a commentary to the other [*B*]. He was moreover ſkilled in every branch of the Mathematics (*e*). Having thus laid a good foundation of learning at home, he went and travelled abroad, for his farther improvement; firſt to France, and then to Italy: and ſeems to have continued in thoſe two countries from the year 1493 to 1497 (*f*). But before his departure, and indeed when he was but of two years ſtanding at the Univerſity, being nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe, namely, on the 6th of Auguſt, 1485, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Denington in Suffolk [*C*], to which he was preſented by Sir William Knevit, Knt. and his Lady, and kept it to his dying day (*g*). He was alſo preſented, by his own father, on September 30, to the Rectory of Thyrning in Huntingdonſhire, to which he had inſtitution, October 2, 1490 (*h*); but he reſigned it before the latter end of the year 1493 (*i*), probably before he ſet out on his travels. Being come to Paris, he improved himſelf there by the converſation of learned men; particularly of Robert Gaguin, the

(*a*) The Life of Dr. John Colet, by Sam. Knight, D.D. edit. Lond 1724, 8vo. p. 1. 8.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 8. See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, vol. i. B. iii. p. 15, 16.

(*c*) Knight, *ibid.* p. 8. Stow and Strype, *ubi ſupra*, B. ii. p. 120, 121. Dr. Knight is miſtaken when he ſays, 'That this ſchool bare the name of his own pariſh,' p. 8. for the one was St. Anthonine, and the other St. Anthony. This St. Anthony's School was in Threadneedle-ſtreet, near the place where the French Church now ſtands. Stow, *ubi ſupra*, B. i. p. 163.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 11.

(*e*) Wood, *ibid.* Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ, *Id.* Jun. 1521.

(*f*) Knight, p. 23.

(*g*) Ex Regiſtro Jac. Goldwell, Epi. Norvicen. l. xii. fol. xvi. *ap.* Knight, p. 20.

(*h*) Reg. Ruſſel Epi. Lincoln. apud eundem, p. 21.

(*i*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir Henry Colet, Knt.*] Sir Henry Colet was a younger ſon of Robert Colet, of Wendover, in Buckinghamſhire, Eſq; and born in that county at the manor of Hale. He was bred a Mercer in London, where he got very conſiderable riches (1). In the year 1477, he was the elder of the two Sheriffs of London; and in part of the years 1486, and 1487, Lord-Mayor of that city: as he was again, a ſecond time, in part of the years 1495, and 1496 (2). By his wife Chriſtian, he had two and twenty children, eleven ſons, and eleven daughters (3). He died in 1510, and was buried at Stepney: but his widow lived to bury her only ſon the Dean, being then above ninety years of age (4). Sir Henry was a great benefactor to his pariſh church of St. Anthonine's; and, in Mr. Stow's time, the pictures of him, and his wife, ten ſons, and ten daughters, were in the glaſs window on the north ſide of that church (5). John, who is the ſubject of this article, was the firſt-born; and within a few years became the only ſurviving comfort to his parents (6).

(1) Life of Dr. J. Colet, by S. Knight, as above, p. 1, 2.

(2) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, vol. ii. B. v. p. 124, 125, 126.

(3) Polydore Verg. Hiſt. Ang. l. xxvi. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(4) *Ibid.* and Knight, p. 7.

(5) Survey of London, &c. as above, B. iii. p. 36.

(6) Knight, p. 8. 10.

[*B*] *He was no ſtranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared,* &c.] But he was forced to read them only in their Latin tranſlations (7). See below, note [*D*].

(7) *Idem*, p. 14.

[*C*] *When he was but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe——he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Denington,* &c.] This practice of taking livings, while thus under age, has generally prevailed in the Church of Rome, and was one of thoſe many abuſes, which have been removed by the Reformation. But if Mr. Colet did enter upon a cure of ſouls before he could ſufficiently conſider the weighty charge belonging to it, he atoned for it, by his extraordinary care, when he came to a more mature age (8). The order of an Acolythe is one of the ſeven orders in the Church of Rome, as may be ſeen in all the rituals.

(8) Knight, p. 21.

Hiſtorian,

Hiſtorian, who raiſed in him an earneſt deſire of being acquainted with Eraſmus, the honour of his age. He became alſo acquainted with the celebrated Budæus, and Mr. Deloine, who procured him what he wiſhed, by recommending him to Eraſmus (*k*). In Italy, he contracted a friendſhip with ſeveral eminent perſons; eſpecially with his own countrymen, William Grocin, Thomas Linacre, William Lilly, and William Latymer, who were learning the Greek tongue (then but little known in England) under thoſe great maſters, Demetrius, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, and Pomponius Sabinus (*l*). As he knew himſelf very little of it when he left Oxford (*m*), he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himſelf in that language [*D*]. And, having devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, he read, whilſt abroad, the beſt of the ancient Fathers, particularly Dionyſius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambroſe, and Jerome (*n*). But he very much deſpiſed St. Auguſtin, which ſhowed his good ſenſe and judgment (*o*). In the courſe of his ſtudies, both at home and abroad, he ſometimes looked into D. Scotus, and T. Aquinas, and other ſchool Divines. He alſo ſtudied both the Civil and Canon Law. Moreover, there was not one book relating to the Hiſtory and Conſtitution of Church and State, which he did not carefully peruſe. And, in order to poliſh and improve his ſtyle, and qualify himſelf for an elegant Preacher, he frequently read ſuch Engliſh Poets as were then extant (*p*). During his travels, he was preſented to the Prebend of Botevant, in the cathedral church of York, into which he was inſtalled by proxy, March 5, 1493-4 (*q*). He was alſo made Canon of St. Martin's Le-Grand, London, and Prebendary of Good-Eaſter, in the ſame church (*r*). Upon his return to England in 1496, or 1497, he was ordained Deacon December 17, and Prieſt the 26th of July following (*s*). He had, indeed, before he entered into orders, great temptations, both from his natural diſpoſition, and otherwiſe, to lay his ſtudies aſide, and give himſelf up to all the gaieties of the Court [*E*]: but he curbed theſe idle inclinations (*t*); and, after having ſtaid a few months with his father and mother at London and Stepney (*u*), he retired to Oxford (*w*). Here he did not ſpend his time in idleneſs, but undertook to read public lectures, without any ſtipend or reward, on St. Paul's Epiſtles [*F*], which were crowded with hearers, and much admired (*x*). And in this place he had the pleaſure of contracting an acquaintance with the immortal Eraſmus, (who came to Oxford about the end of the year 1497) which ended in the ſtricteſt intimacy imaginable, and continued to the end of their lives (*y*). The time when Mr. Colet expounded St. Paul's Epiſtles, was in the years 1497, 1498,

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 23, 24.

(*l*) Knight, p. 24.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 14.

(*n*) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ, *ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) *Ibid.* See alſo Dr. Knight, p. 12.

(*q*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 12. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1727, 4to. p. 123.

(*r*) Dr. Knight, *ubi ſupra*, p. 22. Notes, p. 9.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 22.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 27.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 25.

(*w*) *Idem*, p. 20.

(*x*) *Ibid.* and p. 50; and Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

(*y*) Knight, *ubi ſupra*, p 31. 37.

[*D*] *As he knew very little Greek when he left Oxford, he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himſelf in that language.*] For at ſchool he had no opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, nor ſcarcely in the Univerſity, at his firſt coming thither. Such was the infelicity of thoſe times of ignorance, that the Greek language was not taught in any of our grammar-ſchools; nor was there imagined to be any great need of it in the two Univerſities, by the generality of ſcholars. Even to love or encourage the ſtudy of it, was looked upon as hereſy. Hence the proverb (9), *Cave à Græcis, ne fias Hæreticus. Fuge literas Hebræas, ne fias Judæorum ſimilis*, i. e. 'Take 'care of Greek, leſt you become a heretic. Avoid 'Hebrew, that you may not become like the Jews.' And for this reaſon thoſe very few that underſtood Greek were afraid to teach it, leſt they ſhould be thought to propagate hereſy (10). As for Oxford, nothing was known there but Latin, and that in the moſt depraved ſtyle of the ſchoolmen. Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, was the firſt who taught Greek in that Univerſity; and from him the famous Grocin learned the firſt elements thereof. In Cambridge, Eraſmus was the firſt who taught the Greek grammar. And ſo very low was the ſtate of learning in that Univerſity, that in 1485, nothing was taught there but Alexander's *Parva Logicalia*, the old axioms of Ariſtotle, and the queſtions of Scotus, all in Latin; till in proceſs of time, the Mathematics were brought in, and Ariſtotle in Greek, with ſeveral authors, whoſe names had not been heard of before (11). Linacre and Grocin were the only two Engliſhmen then able to teach Greek. Soon after, Bernard André, a native of Tholouſe, opened a ſchool for that language in London. But the firſt Engliſhman who, in any public ſchool, taught Greek as well as Latin, was William Lilly, in St. Paul's School; the founder whereof, Dean Colet, ſeeing the neceſſity of having a tolerable knowledge of the Greek tongue, in order to proceed the better in his theological ſtudies, did ſhun no pains, nor thought himſelf too old to learn it, or at leaſt to improve himſelf therein (12).

(9) Eraſmi Adagia.

(10) See Knight, p. 15.

(11) Eraſmi Epiſt. Henrico Bo..illo, Cal. Sept. 1516.

(12) Coleti Epiſt. Eraſmo, edit. Baſ. 1521, p. 91. See Dr. Knight, *ubi ſupra*, p. 14—19.

[*E*] *He had——great temptations——to lay his ſtudies aſide, and give himſelf up to all the gaieties of the Court.*] And, indeed, he was endued with ſome natural propenſities, that ſeemed fitter for a public life at large, than for the confinement of a college, or a gown. For he had naturally a ſpirit exceeding high, and impatient of the leaſt injury and affront. He was too much addicted to love, and luxury, and ſleep, and mightily diſpoſed to an air of freedom and jocoſeneſs, and had a tincture of avarice in him. But he conquered himſelf, and brought his high ſpirit to be ſubject to reaſon; ſo that he could bear a reproof even from his own ſervant. His diſpoſition to love, ſleep, and luxury, he reſtrained by a continual abſtinence from ſuppers, a ſtrict ſobriety, a cloſe application to his ſtudies, and by a ſerious and religious converſation. So that by his philoſophy, his ſacred ſtudies, his watchings, and faſtings, and devotions, he preſerved himſelf every ſtep of his whole life from the pollutions of the world. And yet whenever opportunities offered themſelves, either of jeſting with facetious perſons, or talking familiarly with the female ſex, or of appearing at feaſts and entertainments, there nature would break forth. For which reaſon, he very much forbore acquaintance with laymen, and eſpecially all public entertainments: where, if neceſſity brought him, he picked out ſome learned friend, and talked Latin with him, to avoid the prophane diſcourſe of the table. And in the mean time he would eat but of one diſh, and take but one or two draughts of beer, refraining commonly from wine: which yet he reliſhed, if very good. There never was a more flowing wit; and, for that reaſon, he delighted in the like ſociety: but even then, he choſe rather to divert to ſuch diſcourſes as ſavoured moſt of religion. He was a great lover of little children, admiring their pretty innocence and ſimplicity (13).

(13) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

[*F*] *He undertook to read public lectures, without any ſtipend or reward, on St. Paul's Epiſtles.*] And though he had neither taken nor deſired any degree in Divinity, there was not a Doctor in Divinity, or Law, no Abbot, nor any other dignitary, but came gladly to hear him, and took notes of his lectures (14). For, at this time, it was a new thing to have any readings upon the Scriptures (15).

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) See Knight, p. 50, &c.

1499,

1499, &c. (z). In the year 1501, he was admitted to proceed in Divinity, or to the reading of the ſentences (a). In 1502, he became Prebendary of Durnesford, in the church of Sarum: and on the 20th of January, 1503-4, he reſigned his Prebend of Good-Eaſter (b). In 1504, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (c); and May 5, 1505, was inſtituted to the Prebend of Mora, in the cathedral church of St. Paul (d). The ſame year and month, he was made Dean of that church (e), without the leaſt application of his own (f); at which time he reſigned the Vicarage of Stepney, the date of his admiſſion to which doth not appear (g). Being raiſed to this ſtation, he reformed the decayed diſcipline of his cathedral church, and brought in a new practice there, the *preaching* himſelf upon Sundays, and all ſolemn feſtivals. In this courſe of preaching, he did not take a deſultory text out of the Goſpel or Epiſtle for the day, but choſe a larger ſubject; as St. Matthew's Goſpel, the Creed, or the like, and made ſucceſſive ſermons upon them, till he had gone through the whole. That his church might be conſtantly ſupplied, he called in to his aſſiſtance other learned and able perſons, particularly William Grocin, and John Sowle, who read Divinity-Lectures. At laſt he procured a ſettlement for ever, for ſuch a lecture to be conſtantly read in St. Paul's cathedral, three days in every week, by the Chancellor of the church, or his ſufficient deputy (h). Theſe Divinity-Lectures raiſed in the nation an enquiry after the Holy Scriptures, which were, in a manner, laid aſide for the School-Divinity, and ſo prepared a way for the Reformation. And what helped to promote it, was the contempt which Dean Colet expreſſed for the religious houſes, the abuſes he ſhewed were in them, and the danger of impoſing celibacy on the Clergy (i). This way of thinking, and the Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts, which were then looked upon as heretical and impious, expoſed him to the hatred of the Clergy, and to a perſecution from Dr. Fitz-James [G], Biſhop of London (k). For, preaching frequently at St. Paul's, and before the King, and in other populous aſſemblies, he would not refrain from ſpeaking, with ſome freedom and boldneſs, againſt the vulgar ſuperſtitions and prevailing corruptions in the church; whereby he incurred the indignation of the Biſhop, who was a rigid and ſuperſtitious man, and had for a long while looked upon him with an evil eye (l). But the Dean's troubles and perſecutions ſeemed only to have rendered him more devout and charitable, and weaned him from the world. Having therefore a plentiful eſtate, without any very near relations, and having already diſpenſed the yearly produce of it in the occaſional demands of piety and charity, he reſolved, in the midſt of his life and health, to conſecrate the whole property of it to ſome ſtanding and perpetual benefaction (m). And this he performed, by founding St. Paul's School in London [H], which hath produced ſeveral learned and ingenious men (n). For

(z) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(a) *Idem*, Faſti, vol. i. col. 4.

(b) Knight, *ubi ſupra*, p. 21.

(c) Wood, Faſti, vol. i. col. 7.

(d) Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. &c. vol. i. Lond. 1708, p. 180.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 46. Wharton. Hiſt. de Epiſc. & Decan. Londin. &c. p. 233, edit. Lond. 1695, 8vo.

(f) Knight, p. 62.

(g) Newcourt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 46.

(h) Eraſmi Epiſt. and Dr. Knight, *ubi ſupra*, p. 66. 69, 70.

(i) Knight, p. 71, 72.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 86, 87, 88, 89, &c.

(l) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

(m) Knight, p. 97.

(n) *Ib.* p. 102, &c. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ. See alſo Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. vol. i. edit. 1720, B. i. p. 163, &c.

[G] *The Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts——expoſed him to——a perſecution from Dr. Fitz-James.*] His Lectures and Sermons being chiefly employed in opening the ſenſe of the Scriptures, then called the New Learning, he came to be counted a perverſe Heretic, at leaſt to be ſuſpected of the crime of heretical pravity. The Biſhop, upon this ſcore, accuſed him to Archbiſhop Warham, as a dangerous man; and calling in the aſſiſtance of two other Biſhops, of equal bigotry, and no leſs virulence, he began to create Dean Colet a great deal of trouble and vexation, uſing no other weapon but that of the charge of hereſy, then reckoned the moſt fatal engine for the deſtruction of an enemy. So the Biſhop drew up the following Articles againſt him. I. That the ſaid Dr. Colet had taught, that images were not to be worſhipped. II. That he had preached againſt the temporal poſſeſſions of the Biſhops, by denying that the repeated exhortation of Chriſt to Peter, to *feed his ſheep*, could be at all meant of hoſpitality, but of an exemplary life, and good doctrine; becauſe the Apoſtles were then poor, and not able to be hoſpitable. III. That he had preached againſt ſome men's reading their ſermons in a cold unaffected manner, whereby he muſt needs mean to reflect upon the Biſhop himſelf, who, by reaſon of his old age, had taken up that way of preaching. But Archbiſhop Warham, who knew the integrity and worth of Dr. Colet, diſmiſſed him, without giving him the trouble of putting in any formal anſwer. However, the Biſhop not ſatisfied with that fruitleſs attempt, endeavoured afterwards to ſtir up the King, and the whole Court, againſt Dean Colet (16). Nay, we are told, that he was not only in trouble, but ſhould have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary (17); and that, ſome years after his deceaſe, his body had like to be taken up, and burnt (18).

(16) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

(17) Biſhop Latymer's Sermons, edit. 1595, 4to. p. 174.

(18) J. Bale, Image of both Churches, C. XI. and Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. n. 63.

[H] *And this he performed, by founding St. Paul's School in London.*] This ſchool was founded between the years 1508 and 1512, ſome years being taken up in purchaſing the ſite, removing the incumbrances, erecting the new pile of buildings, providing ſuitable maſters, and ſettling the endowment in truſt for ever (19). This is the reaſon why our Hiſtorians vary ſo much about the exact year of its foundation: for ſome (20) place it under the year 1508; others in 1509 (21); others in 1510 (22); and, finally, others in 1512 (23). The worthy founder dedicated it to the honour *of Chriſt Jeſus in his childhood:* and ordained, that there ſhould be in it, an High-maſter, a Surmaſter, and a Chaplain, who ſhould teach gratis one hundred and fifty-three children, divided into eight claſſes. He endowed it with one meſſuage, and two ſhops, in Soper's-lane; ſix tenements in St. George's pariſh in Pudding-lane; two meſſuages in Bridge-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Magnus; four ſhops; ſome tenements without Aldgate, and all their appurtenances; manors, lands, and tenements in Buckinghamſhire; the manor of Vach in Barton, and that of Berwicke; lands in Colcheſter; ſeveral fields and tenements, the places where they lie not expreſſed, only the occupiers names; a barn; four acres of land, the backſide of White-hart-ſtreet; eight acres in London-field; nine acres, and gardens near it, with ſeveral tenements, amounting then in all to 122*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* ½ a year, but now much improved. The Company of Mercers were appointed Truſtees (24). The High-maſters of this School, from the firſt to this time, have been theſe:—1. William Lilly, appointed by the founder in 1512.—2. John Rightwyſe, choſen in 1522.—3. Richard Jones, in 1532.—4. Thomas Freeman, in 1549.—5. John Cook, M. A. in 1559.—6. William Malin, or Malim, in 1573.—7. John Harriſon, M. A. in 1581.—8. Richard Mulcaſter, in 1596.—9. Alexander Gill, ſenior, in 1608.—10. Alexander

(19) Knight, p. 102.

(20) Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. Angl. l. xxvi. Alex. Nevil, Annal. ad finem, Nordovici.

(21) Geo. Lilii, Chronic. ſub anno 1509.

(22) Cooper's Chronic. and Hollinſhed's Chron. under the year 1510.

(23) Wood, Ath. vol. i. col. 12.

(24) Knight, Appendix to Dr. Colet's Life, p. 335, &c. 367, &c.

For the uſe of this ſchool, he drew up ſome rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the Principles of Religion, of which we ſhall give an account below among the reſt of his works (*o*). Beſides his dignities and preferments already mentioned, he was Rector of the Fraternity or Gild of Jeſus in St. Paul's Church (*p*), for which he procured new Statutes; and alſo Chaplain, and Preacher in Ordinary to King Henry VIII. and (if Eraſmus is not miſtaken) one of his Privy-Council (*q*). When he came to about the fiftieth year of age, he grew ſo weary of the world, that he fully purpoſed to throw himſelf into ſome monaſtery, and there end his days in quiet and ſolitude (*r*). In purſuance of this reſolution, he built a convenient and handſome houſe within the precinct of the Charter-Houſe, near Richmond Palace in Surrey, where he intended to retire in his old age, when broken with infirmities, and unable to diſcharge the duties of his function (*s*). But death prevented him: for having been ſeized by the ſweating ſickneſs at two ſeveral times before, and relapſing into it a third time, he fell into a conſumption that carried him off on the 16th of September, 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age (*t*). He was buried on the ſouth ſide of the choir of St. Paul's, with an humble monument prepared by him ſeveral years before, and having no other inſcription but his bare name (*u*). But afterwards a handſomer monument was ſet up for him by the company of Mercers [*I*] (*w*). He wrote ſeveral things, of which there is an account in the note [*K*]. As to his perſon

(o) Knight, *ubi ſupra*, p. 123, 124.

(p) *Idem*, p. 83.

(q) Eraſmi Epiſt. Dat. Baſil. 7 Cal. Aug. 1518, and Lovanii 1519. Knight, p. 211.

(r) Knight, p. 222.

(s) *Idem*, p. 224. 254, ex Eraſmo, & Elogiis Virorum aliquot in Britannia, per Geo. Lilium, 1559, 8vo.

(t) Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ. — & Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elogia, per Geo. Lilium, 1559, 8vo.

(u) Eraſmi Epiſt. J. Jonæ.

(w) Knight, p. 225. 260. Dugdale's Hiſt. of St. Paul's.

Alexander Gill, jun. in 1635.—11. John Langley, in 1640.—12. Samuel Cromleholme, in 1657.—13. Thomas Gale, D. D. in 1672.—14. John Poſtlethewayte, M. A. in 1697.—15. Philip Aſcough, M. A. in 1713.—16. Benjamin Morland, F. R. S. in 1721.—17. Timothy Crumpe, M. A. in 1733.—18. Mr. Charles, in 1736-7 (25).

(25) *Ib.* p. 370—388. Stow's Survey of London, edit. 1720, vol. i. B. i. p. 167, *&c.*

[*I*] *But afterwards a handſomer monument was ſet up for him, by the Company of Mercers.*] It was deſtroyed, with St. Paul's cathedral, in the general conflagration in 1666. But the repreſentation of it is preſerved in Mr. William [afterwards Sir William] Dugdale's Hiſtory of St. Paul's; and in Dr. S. Knight's Life of Dr. John Colet (26). On the two ſides of the buſt was this inſcription. 'John Colet, Doctor of 'Divinity, Dean of Pauls, and the only founder of 'Pauls-ſchool, departed this life, *anno* 1519, the ſon 'of Sir Henry Colet, Knt. twiſe Lord Mayor of the 'cyty of London, and free of the Company and 'Miſtery of Mercers.' Lower, there were other inſcriptions in Latin. About the year 1680, when the church was taking down, in order to be rebuilt, his leaden coffin was found incloſed in the wall, about two feet and a half above the floor. At the top of it was a leaden plate faſtened, whereon was engraved the Dean's name, his dignity, benefactions, *&c.* (27).

(26) Page 261.

(27) Wood, Ath. vol. i. col. 13.

[*K*] *He wrote ſeveral things*, &c.] Thoſe which he publiſhed himſelf, or that have been printed ſince his deceaſe, are as follows. I. *Oratio habita à Doctore Joanne Colet, Decano Sancti Pauli, ad Clerum in Convocatione*, anno 1511. Printed the ſame year by Richard Pynſon, in three ſheets, 4*to*. This is very ſcarce, being hardly to be met with, excepting in the Bodleian Library, Oxon, among Archbiſhop Laud's MSS. Is is reprinted by Dr. S. Knight, in his Appendix to the Life of Dr. John Colet (28). In the ſame book is alſo reprinted, an old Engliſh tranſlation of it, intituled, 'The Sermon of Doctor Colete, 'made to the Convocation at Paulis.' Printed firſt by Thomas Berthelet; and ſuppoſed, by Dr. Knight, (29) to be done by the author himſelf. It was reprinted in 1661, 12*mo*. by Thomas Smith, of Chriſt's-College, with notes; under this title, 'A Sermon of 'Conforming and Reforming, made to the Convocation at St. Paul's Church in London, by John Colet, '&c.' It was reprinted again in the Phœnix, Vol. I. 8*vo*. and lately in a collection of 'Select Sermons,' fol. II. *Rudimenta Grammatices à Johanne Coleto, Decano Eccleſiæ ſancti Pauli London. in uſum Scholæ ab ipſo inſtitutæ* (30); commonly called *Paul's Accidence*. Lond. 1539, 8*vo*. III. The conſtruction of the eight parts of ſpeech, intituled, *Abſolutiſſimus de octo Orationis partium conſtructione Libellus*; which, with ſome alterations, and great additions, makes up the ſyntax in Lilly's Grammar. *Antwerp*, 1530, 8*vo*. IV. 'Daily Devotions: or the Chriſtian's Morning and 'Evening Sacrifice, *&c.*' Printed at London ſeveral times in 12*mo*. and 16*mo*. This is ſaid not to be *all* of his compoſition (31). V. 'Monition to a godly 'Life.' Lond. 1534, 1563, *&c.* This Mr. Wood ſuppoſes (32) to be the ſame with, 'A right fruitful 'Admonition concerning the Order of a good Chriſ-'tian's Man's Life, *&c.*' Lond. 1577, 8*vo*. VI. *Epiſtolæ ad Eraſmum*. Many of them are printed among *Eraſmi Epiſtolæ*; and ſome at the end of Dr. S. Knight's Life of Dean Colet.—The following pieces remain in manuſcript. VII. *Commentarii in Epiſtolas D. Pauli ad Romanos & Corinthios*, i. e. Commentaries on St. Paul's Epiſtles to the Romans and Corinthians. Given to the public library at Cambridge by Archbiſhop Parker. In the ſame volume are ſeveral pieces of Dean Colet, *viz.* VIII. *De Angelis cæleſtique hierarchia*, being a commentary *in Eccleſiaſticam D. Dionyſii Hierarchiam*. And IX. *Epiſtola Abbati Winchincombenſi*, printed by Dr. Knight, at the end of the Dean's Life. The Commentaries upon the Epiſtles to the Corinthians, are alſo in manuſcript, in Emanuel-College Library, given thereto by Dr. Anthony Tuckney; and in that of Benet-College, the gift of Archbiſhop Parker. At the end of this laſt, there is *the Beginning of a Commentary on Geneſis*, no where elſe to be met with. X. One of the Dean's own manuſcripts, being *an Analytical Commentary on the Apoſtolical Epiſtles*; and a ſummary of his larger Comments was in the poſſeſſion of Roger Gale, Eſq. It is the faireſt, and indeed the only one manuſcript of Dr. Colet's, of that kind, extant (33). Bale and Pits mention alſo theſe books of his. 1. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis*. 2. *In Evangelium S. Matthæi*. 3. *In Precationem Dominicam*; tranſlated, as Mr. Wood tells us (34), into Engliſh. 4. *In Symbolum fidei*. 5. *Breviloquium dictorum Chriſti*. 6. *Reſponſio ad argumenta Eraſmiana de tædio & pavore Chriſti* (35); called by Bale and Pits, *Ad argumenta Eraſmi*; and, *De reformidatione Chriſti*; and made two different books. 7. *Conciones ordinariæ, & extraordinariæ*. Among which were two ſermons on war, preached before King Henry VIII. 8. *Vita hominis Chriſtiani*. 9. *Excerptiones doctorum*. 10. *Epiſtolæ ad Taylerum*. 11. *Ortolanus*. 12. *De moribus componendis*. 13. *De puerili inſtitutione*. Theſe two laſt ſeem to be the ſame as his *Rudimenta Grammatices* (36). As the Dean had an inaccuracy and uncorrectneſs in his way of writing (37), that was like to expoſe him to the cenſures of the Critics; and, beſides, was no perfect maſter of the Greek tongue, without which he thought a man was nothing, that is, no ſcholar (38): it is therefore probable he had no intention of publiſhing any thing. The pieces mentioned above were found, after his death, in a very private corner of his ſtudy, as if he had deſigned they ſhould lie buried in oblivion (39). Beſides, they were written in ſuch a manner, as if he intended nobody ſhould underſtand them but himſelf (40). With regard to ſermons, he wrote but few, for he generally preached without notes (41). M.

(28) This is falſly called by Mr. Wood [*Orationes duæ ad Clerum in Convocatione*, ann. 1511, *&c.* Lond. 8vo.] Ath. vol. i. col. 11.

(29) Life, p. 197. Dr. Knight ſuppoſes, that Dean Colet was Prolocutor of this Convocation, p. 199.

(30) MS. in the Public Library at Cambr. inter MS. reg.

(31) Knight, p. 197, note (*t*).

(32) Ath. vol. i. col. 13.

(33) Dr. Knight, Life of Dr. J. Colet, p. 197; and Introduction to it, p. vii, viii, ix.

(34) Ath. vol. i. col. 13.

(35) See Dr. Knight's Life of Colet, p. 41, *&c.*

(36) Baleus, *ubi ſupra*, p. 648, 649. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptor. *Ætas* xvi. ann. 1510, n. 916.

(37) Eraſmi Epiſ. Jodoco Jonæ.

(38) Bale, *ubi ſupra*.

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) Wood, Ath. vol. i. col. 12.

(41) Knight, p. 181, note (*i*).

*** [Colet's practice, when young, of reading the Engliſh Poets which were then extant, in order to poliſh and improve his ſtyle, and to qualify himſelf for an elegant Preacher, is worthy of obſervation. The method he took was well adapted to his purpoſe. Nothing

perſon and character, they are thus deſcribed. He was tall, comely, and very graceful: there was ſomething in his mien and carriage extremely becoming; as was every thing he ſaid

Nothing tends more to give a copiouſneſs, freedom, and gracefulneſs of language, than an acquaintance with the Poets; and few writers have attained to elegance of compoſition, who had not a taſte for poetry. Colet's advantages in this reſpect were very ſmall, compared with thoſe of the preſent age; but it was wiſe in him to make uſe of the aid which the times afforded. The diſlike he had againſt attending to the exact rules of grammar is not to be commended. Such an attention ought not to be diſpenſed with in any genuine ſcholar; and, under proper direction, it will be ſo far from obſtructing, that it will add to the beauty and dignity of ſtyle.

The life of Dean Colet, as written by our learned predeceſſor, Mr. Morant, is accurate, and he is exact and copious in his references to his authorities. But, with theſe excellencies, there is a drineſs of manner in his narration, which prevents us from having that full exhibition of the Dean's conduct and character which might have been attained, and which appears in Dr. Knight's account. As ſome things likewiſe are omitted, which may be thought to merit a place in the Biographia, we ſhall endeavour in part to ſupply the defect.

The beginning of Colet's acquaintance with Eraſmus, which was a principal æra in the Dean's life, deſerves to be related. He had heard a great character of Eraſmus at Paris, and from that time was very deſirous of an intimacy with him. No opportunity, however, offered of commencing it till that eminent man came to England; and then the foundation of their friendſhip was laid, not by a perſonal introduction to each other, but by letter. Eraſmus, in the beginning of the year 1498, was at Oxford, whither he had been recommended by the Prior and Canons of St. Genoveſe at Paris, to Father Richard Charnock, Prior of the Regulars of the Order of St. Auſtin, in the College of St. Mary the Virgin. Here he was received, and accommodated with diet and lodging, in the moſt courteous and hoſpitable manner. Father Charnock, after a ſhort trial of the parts and good qualities of his new gueſt, deſcribed him to Colet, as, in his opinion, a very excellent perſon, and of ſingular worth and goodneſs. With this character Colet was ſo much pleaſed, that he had not patience to wait for ſeeing the learned ſtranger; but, though he was himſelf then reſident at Oxford, choſe to make his firſt addreſs with his pen, and ſent to him, from his own chamber, an agreeable and elegant epiſtle, drawn up in ſuch an obliging turn of ſentiment and expreſſion, as ſhewed the writer to be a ſcholar, a traveller, and a gentleman. He tells Eraſmus, that his friend Brome had heartily recommended him by letter; but that he ſtood before highly commended to him by the fame of his reputation abroad, and by his works: that, whilſt he was at Paris, he found the name of Eraſmus not a little celebrated by learned men; and that he had read there an epiſtle of his to Gaguinus, which ſeemed to him the ſpecimen of a perfect writer, both for literature and the knowledge of the world. But ſtill the beſt recommendation of him was, that the venerable Prior with whom he reſided, had the day before told Colet, that his new gueſt was a moſt excellent perſon, and endued with ſingular virtues. "For this reaſon, ſays Colet, my Eraſmus, as far as learning and an acquaintance with things, and a ſincere goodneſs can make an impreſſion upon a man who rather wiſhes for theſe talents, than pretends to the poſſeſſion of them, ſo far, by virtue of ſuch accompliſhments, you muſt always be moſt acceptable to me. When I ſhall ſee you, I ſhall do that for myſelf, in my own perſon, which others have done for you in your abſence. They have improperly recommended you to me; whereas I ſhall commend myſelf to you, to be inſtructed by your wiſdom: for the leſs ought to be commended to the greater, and the ignorant to the more learned. But if there be any thing in a perſon ſo inconſiderable as I am, wherein I can either be acceptable or uſeful to you, I am entirely devoted to your ſervice. I rejoice at your arrival in England, and wiſh that this iſland may be as pleaſant to you, as I am perſuaded you will be ſerviceable to it, by your great learning. I owe, and ſhall always owe, every thing to one whom I regard, not only as the moſt learned, but likewiſe as the beſt of men. Farewell (42)."

To this letter Eraſmus immediately returned a very ſuitable anſwer, in which he ſaid, that, could he find any thing commendable in himſelf, he ſhould be proud of being commended by ſuch a worthy perſon, to whoſe judgment he allowed ſo great a weight, that his ſilent eſteem alone was preferable to all the applauſes of a Theatre at Rome. The commendations, however, he added, that were given him by ſuch a man, were ſo far from exalting him in his own opinion, that he was rather humbled by them; ſince they only ſerved to put him in mind not of what he was, but of what he ought to be. For his part, he beſt knew his own deficiencies; and, therefore, he would take the liberty to give a character of himſelf. "You have in me, ſays he, a man of little or no fortune, a ſtranger to ambition, a warm devotee to friendſhip, and an ardent admirer of learning, though but ſlenderly acquainted with it; one who with the profoundeſt veneration for excellence in others, is conſcious of the want of it in himſelf; who can eaſily yield to any perſon in literature, but to none in integrity; who is ſincere, open, free, averſe to falſehood and diſſimulation; whoſe mind, though ſomewhat timid, is upright; and in whom nothing is to be expected beſides an honeſt heart. If, my dear Colet, you can love ſuch a man, you may count me as entirely your own as the very money you poſſeſs. Your country of England is moſt agreeable to me on many accounts, but eſpecially on this; that it abounds with what above all things is delightful to me, men of admirable learning, among whom no one will be diſpleaſed that I reckon you as the chief. Indeed, ſuch is your literature, that were it not accompanied with probity of manners, you would be deſerving of univerſal admiration; and ſuch is the ſanctity of your life, that, were you devoid of acquired knowledge, you would juſtly be loved, reſpected, and venerated by every man." Eraſmus then goes on highly to commend Colet's ſtyle, after which he thus concludes: "You ſpeak whatever you mean, and mean all that you ſpeak. Words ariſe from your heart, not from your lips; they ariſe from your ſentiments, without giving them any aſſiſtance. In ſhort, you have ſo happy a facility, that you can deliver without pains what another could ſcarcely expreſs with the greateſt labour. But to yourſelf I refrain from your praiſes, that I may not offend againſt decency; knowing how unwilling thoſe are to be praiſed who are the moſt entitled to applauſe (43)."

The foundation of friendſhip, which was thus laid between Colet and Eraſmus, ended in the ſtricteſt poſſible intimacy, and continued to the end of their lives. Being now happy in each other's acquaintance, they were ſolicitous to improve it to their mutual benefit. At a public dinner at the Univerſity, after a Latin ſermon, where the diſcourſe was ſcholaſtical and theological, Colet ſat as moderator. Among other diſcourſe Colet ſaid, that Cain's greateſt offence, and what was moſt odious in the ſight of God, was his diſtruſting the bounty of the great Creator, and placing too much confidence in his own art and induſtry, which induced him to till the ground; whilſt his brother Abel, content with the natural productions of the earth, employed himſelf only in feeding ſheep. Upon this queſtion, which at preſent would be regarded as a very inſignificant one, the company engaged; the Divine arguing by ſtrict ſyllogiſms, whilſt Eraſmus oppoſed in a more looſe and rhetorical manner. But in truth, ſays Eraſmus, this one Divine (Colet) was more than a match for us all.

(42) Knight's Life of Colet, p. 31—34.

(43) *Ibid.* p. 34—37.

(x) Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ, & Geo. Lilius, *ubi supra.*

said or did (x). His learning and piety were above the pitch of the times he lived in: but what made him most renowned, was his public spirit (y). In his writings, his style was

(y) Knight, p. 264, 265.

all. He seemed to be inspired from above, and to have in him somewhat more than human: he spoke not only with his voice, but with his eyes, his countenance, and his whole demeanour. When the disputation grew rather too long and severe for a chearful entertainment, Erasmus broke it off, by telling a story of Cain, from pretended ancient writers, which was entirely an invention of his own, for the diversion of the company (44).

(44) *Ibid.* p. 44.

The fidelity of Colet's friendship for Erasmus appeared in his rebuking him for some fault or omission of which he had been guilty. Nor was this liberty disliked by Erasmus. It had a good effect upon him, and he thought that such admonitions were rather an establishment than a breach of friendship (45).

(45) *Ibid.* p. 47.

The strong sense of Colet led him wholly to despise the schoolmen. The Scotists he abhorred, because they pretended to be Divines, without so much as reading the Scriptures; nor had he a better opinion of the celebrated Aquinas. Erasmus relates, that he himself once took occasion to commend Thomas Aquinas as not contemptible among the later schoolmen, because he seemed to have studied the Scriptures, and to have consulted the primitive writers. Upon this occasion Colet maintained a profound silence. At another time, Erasmus having enlarged still more strongly upon the praises of Aquinas, Colet looked earnestly upon him, and asked him whether he spoke seriously, or was only in jest. Finding that he was in earnest, he broke out with great ardour, and said, why do you talk to me of that schoolman, who, if he had not been possessed of the greatest arrogance, could never have reduced all things into such positive and dogmatical definitions; and who, if he had not been endued with a worldly spirit, could not have so totally corrupted the pure doctrine of Christ by his profane philosophy. Erasmus, being struck with the enthusiasm of Colet, betook himself to a more diligent perusal of Aquinas's writings; the consequence of which was, that his admiration of that eminent schoolman was very much abated (46).

(46) *Ibid.* p. 52—56.

The aversion which the Monks had at that time to Grecian literature, is manifest from the following story. A Divine, preaching at Court, took upon him to rail at Greek learning, and at new interpretations of Scripture. Pace, who was present, cast his eye upon the King, to observe how his Majesty was affected with the discourse. Henry smiled upon Pace by way of contempt; and, when the sermon was ended, sent for the Preacher, and appointed a debate to be held in his own presence, concerning the use of the Greek tongue. When the time came, Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) More delivered an eloquent vindication of that ancient language. The Divine, instead of making a suitable answer, fell upon his knees, and begged pardon for the offence he had given in the pulpit; alledging in excuse, that what he had done was by the impulse of the spirit. Not the spirit of Christ, says the King, but the spirit of infatuation. His Majesty then asked him, if he had read any thing of Erasmus, to which he replied, that he had not. Why then, returned Henry, you are a very foolish fellow, to censure what you have never read. I have read, says the Preacher, something they call *Moria*. Yes, answered Pace, such a subject is fit for such a reader. At last, the Divine, to soften the resentment against him, declared that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. The King, being astonished at the ignorance of the man, dismissed him, upon this condition, that he should never again presume to preach at Court (47). We may observe by the way, that the poor Divine was not so much mistaken in his notion of the origin of the Greek tongue as the disputers with him imagined. There was some truth in his assertion, though he spoke with an entire ignorance of the subject. It is a fact, that many Greek words are derived from the Hebrew, or at least from the Oriental languages, of which the Hebrew is a part; but this was a matter which had not at that time been investigated by the learned.

(47) *Ibid.* p. 58, 59.

Dean Colet's clemency to Heretics, shews how much he rose above the spirit of the times. In that age, if any man, from a principle of humanity and goodness, was a favourer or reliever of those who rejected the doctrines of Popery, it was sufficient, in the eye of the Church, to render him a partaker of their crimes. Colet, in consequence of his tenderness and compassion for the honest people called Lollards, could not escape this imputation. One of them, who had been censured and condemned in the Spiritual Court, was committed to a prison of his Majesty's, and given up to the civil magistrate as an obstinate offender. But the Dean had the courage to interpose for him with the King himself, and by his own single interest obtained the poor man's life and liberty (48).

(48) *Ibid.* p. 94, 95.

So low was the state of literature in England when St. Paul's School was founded, that there was no little difficulty in procuring a second master, under William Lilly. Erasmus, being then at Cambridge, was requested by Dean Colet to look out for a proper person. He enquired among the Masters of Arts in that University, but could meet with none among the few who might be thought fit for the employment, that would choose to accept it. They did not relish so laborious an undertaking, however honourable the terms might be; and one of the seniors said, in a sneering way, "Who would lead a slavish life "among boys, in a school, if he could find any other "mode of living?" Erasmus defended the office of instructing youth in learning and good manners, as highly honourable and useful; and what he advanced upon the subject was extremely just, and indeed unanswerable. He spoke, however, to no purpose; for the Monks were incapable of attending to the voice of reason and argument (49).

(49) *Ibid.* p. 167—169.

Dean Colet's enemies sought frequent occasions of ruining him in the opinion of the King. Henry having resolved upon hostilities with France, it was suggested to his Majesty, that the Dean, at this juncture, advanced the false doctrine, "that the most "dishonourable peace was preferable to the justest "war." The accusers were two Franciscan Friars, Standish and Bricot. The King, however, gave a signal instance of prudence and moderation. Sending for Colet, he advised him to proceed in reforming a corrupt and dissolute age, and in letting his light shine in the midst of so much prevailing darkness. Henry offered, at the same time, by humbling Colet's adversaries, to let all the world see that those who struck at him should not go unpunished. But the good Dean entreated that his enemies might by no means suffer on his account; saying, that he would rather give up his Deanery, and live altogether in privacy and retirement (50).

(50) *Ibid.* p. 201, 202.

At another time, Colet, being appointed to preach before the King on a Good-Friday, treated of Christ's victory over death and the grave, and exhorted his hearers to fight manfully under this captain of their salvation, and to come off more than conquerors. In the prosecution of his discourse, he spoke somewhat concerning reconciling the differences between Christian States and Princes, and endeavoured to persuade his auditors to conquer those lusts, whence come wars and fightings among men. Those worldly wicked persons, he said, who fought with each other from hatred and ambition, and who were hurried on to mutual slaughter and destruction, did not fight under the banners of Christ, but under the ensigns and tokens of the devil. He shewed how hard it was to die a christian death in a day of battle; how few undertake a war but from the most unwarrantable passions; and how inconsistent the imbruing the hands in blood, was with that fraternal charity without which no man shall see the Lord. In conclusion, he exhorted those who were finishing their warfare under the banner of their Saviour, not to imitate the Alexanders, the Cæsars, and other victorious Princes, but

was plain and unaffected, but it had always ſomething weighty and pungent. And this, which ſome might call careleſſneſs, did not proceed from a want of what goes under the name

their own humble Lord and maſter Jeſus. With this doctrine the King was not a little diſturbed. He was afraid that ſuch a powerful diſſuaſive from war might cool the minds of his ſubjects, and even intimidate the ſoldiers, at the very juncture of his commencing hoſtilities with France. He ſent, therefore, for the Preacher, immediately after ſermon, and upon his appearing, Henry ordered all his attendants to withdraw. Colet's enemies were now not a little elated, and had no other expectation but that he would inſtantly be ſent from the Court to the Tower. But the King, on the contrary, ſpoke to him in the following friendly manner: "Mr. Dean, that you may "fear no harm, I did not ſend for you to interrupt "your holy labours in preaching, which I would "rather encourage and promote; but to diſburthen "my own conſcience of ſome ſcruples, and by your "ſpiritual advice to direct myſelf in the preſent "poſture of my affairs." His Majeſty then informed Colet, that he was now engaged in a war with the French King; not at his own deſire, but by force and urgent neceſſity, for the defence of his dominions. Therefore, though the Doctor, in his truly chriſtian ſermon, had ſpoken admirably well of brotherly love and charity, and of laying aſide the thoughts of revenge, and had almoſt reconciled him to his greateſt enemies the French; yet ſince the hoſtilities he had commenced were not the reſult of choice, but of neceſſity, and undertaken to repel force with force, he muſt deſire him, in another diſcourſe, to vindicate the lawfulneſs of ſuch a war as was defenſive, and ſhould be entered upon for the honour and ſafety of our country. Dean Colet, with all dutiful readineſs, obeyed the King's command, and, at the next opportunity, ſpoke, in the ſame grave and eloquent way, of the grounds of a lawful war among Chriſtian Princes and States, with ſuch ſtrength of reaſon and ſcripture, that he not only confirmed Henry and his Nobles in their intended enterprize, but even raiſed the ſpirits of the common people, who were before cool and indifferent in the matter. When the ſermon was ended, the King thanked the Dean publicly before all the aſſembly, and ſaid to his nobility, who ſtood around him; "Well, let every one chooſe his own Doctor; but "this ſhall be my Doctor, before all others whomſo-"ever." His Majeſty, then taking a glaſs of wine, drank very graciouſly to Colet, and diſmiſſed him with the higheſt marks of affection (51).

(51) *Ibid.* p. 203—208.

A ſtory, which diſplays the natural warmth of the Dean's temper, and the command he obtained over it, is related by Eraſmus. Archbiſhop Warham's houſe and table were always open to men of learning, as well foreigners as natives of his own country, and none were more encouraged to accept of the civilities there beſtowed than Eraſmus and Colet, who often went to Lambeth, and returned together. Now the Dean had an old uncle, ſo froward and perverſe in his diſpoſition, that he could never agree with him; beſides which, there was a ſuit, or quarrel, depending between them, for a ſum of money which would have been conſiderable enough to have created a war between a father and a ſon. Colet going one day to dine with Warham, and taking Eraſmus in the boat with him, he read, as he ſat there, that part of his friend's Enchiridion which preſcribed a remedy againſt anger and paſſion; not intimating why he was ſo intent upon the ſubject. It happened, at the Archbiſhop's table, that the Dean was ſeated oppoſite to his uncle, and was ſo troubled in his own mind, that he could not either talk or eat. The Archbiſhop had an admirable art of making all his company eaſy and chearful, by framing his diſcourſe in ſuch a manner as was ſuitable to their humours and inclinations. At this time he began to talk of ages; who were old, and who were young. The topic ſuited ſeveral who were preſent, and who had not ſpoken before; ſo that they began to be very free and familiar. Colet's uncle, in particular, like a true old man, boaſted what he could do at his years. After dinner, Warham converſed in private with the uncle and nephew, and brought them to terms of agreement. As Colet and Eraſmus were returning in the boat, the former ſaid to the latter, "Well, you are "a very happy man, and have done me a great deal "of ſervice." Eraſmus being ſurprized at this language, the Dean informed him, that he had been extremely incenſed againſt his uncle, and had almoſt reſolved to put off the kinſman, and even the Chriſtian, and wage open war with him; but that, under this commotion of mind, he had taken the Enchiridion with him, and read over the advice for reſtraint of anger; which had done him ſo much good that he had commanded himſelf at table, and returned to ſuch a temper with his old relation, that, preſently after dinner, by the Archbiſhop's interpoſition, the whole affair had been made up. Eraſmus uſed to relate this ſtory to people who had differences, and were not eaſy to be reconciled (52).

(52) *Ibid.* p. 245—248.

Notwithſtanding Dean Colet's excellent underſtanding, he had ſome peculiarities of ſentiment, that were contrary to ſound ſenſe, but which may be accounted for, from conſidering the ſuperſtition of the age wherein he lived. In his comment on the ſixth chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, he ſcarcely permits the going to law; and in treating upon the ſeventh chapter of the ſame Epiſtle, he does not allow marriage to be lawful, but only regards it as a remedy *contra incontinentiam*; *ut ubi non ſentitur illa infirmitas, ibi illa ad nuptias licentia non eſt uſurpanda.* Neither did he think it neceſſary that Chriſtians ſhould marry for the ſake of begetting children; "for *that*, ſaith he, might be left to the Gen-"tiles—But what if the Gentiles ſhould be wholly "converted? Then, he adds, the kingdom of God "would come: then would the world be *ſanctus & "animo & corpore:* then would the end take place, "and God be all in all (53)." It is poſſible, that theſe were not ſo much ſettled opinions, as notions haſtily thrown out: it is certain, that they were not well digeſted. At another time, Colet entertained a juſter idea of marriage. He uſed to ſay, that he never found better or purer manners than among the married men, whoſe natural affection to their wives, care of their children, and government of their families, kept them within the bounds of moderation and chaſtity (54).

(53) Knight's Life of Dean Colet, Introduction, p. xii.

(54) *Ibid.* p. 73.

According to the general temper of the age, Colet and his ſchoolmaſters carried ſeverity to their ſcholars to an undue length. It was the Dean's opinion, that there was a neceſſity for harſh diſcipline to humble the ſpirit of boys, to enure them to hardſhips, and to prepare them for the mortifications, ſufferings, and afflictions they would meet with in the world. Eraſmus, on the other hand, pleaded ſtrongly for a gentle treatment of children. The ſame great author relates a ſtory, underſtood to refer to the Dean, which places him in a very diſagreeable light. We ſhall inſert it in the original Latin; for if any tender mother were to read it, Colet would never be forgiven by her. "Novi theologum quendam, & quidem "domeſtice, maximi nominis, cujus animo nulla "crudelitas ſatisfaciebat in diſcipulos, quum ma-"giſtros haberet ſtrenue plagoſos. Id exiſtimabat "unice, & ad dejiciendum ingeniorum ferociam, "& ad edomandam ætatis laſciviam pertinere. "Nunquam agitabat convivium apud gregem ſuum, "niſi quemadmodum comœdiæ exeunt in lætam "cataſtrophen, ita poſt cibum ſumtum, unus aut "alter protraheretur virgis lacerandus; & interim "ſæviebat & in immeritos, nimirum, ut aſſueſcerent "plagis. Ipſe quondam adſtiti proximus, quum à "prandio ex more puerum avocaret, annos natum, "ut opinor, decem. Recens autem à matra venerat "in eum gregem. Præfatus eſt, illi matrem eſſe "cum primis piam fœminam, ab ea ſibi puerum "ſtudioſe commendatam: mox, ut haberet occaſi-"onem cædendi, cœpit objicere neſcio quid ferociæ, "quum nihil minus præ ſe ferret puer; & innuit "illi cui collegii præfecturam commiſerat, huic ex "re

name of Rhetoric; but from a profeſſed contempt of it, as an art only of amuſing (z). He could not bear, that the ſtandard of a good ſtyle ſhould be taken from the exact rules of

(z) *Idem*, p. 179.

" re ſatelles erat cognomen, ut cæderet. Ille pro-
" tinus dejectum puerum ita cecidit, quaſi ſacrile-
" gium commiſſiſſet. Theologus ſemel atque iterum
" interpellavit, *ſatis eſt*, *ſatis eſt*. At carnifex ille
" fervore ſurdus, peregit ſuam carnificinam pene
" uſque ad pueri ſyncopen. Mox theologus verſus
" ad nos, *nihil commeruit*, inquit, *ſed erat humilian-*
" *dus*; nam hoc verbo eſt uſus. Quis unquam ad
" eum modum erudivit mancipium; imo quis aſi-
" num (55)?"

(55) *Ibid.* p. 175, 176. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, vol. i. p. 170.

Dr. Jortin hath recited this ſtory, as well as Dr. Knight. They both of them, likewiſe, take notice of the improper conduct of Mr. Collier, with regard to Dean Colet. That bigoted writer, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, leaves out all the Dean's preaching againſt image worſhip, and other corruptions of the Church of Rome, and only gives an account of his Lent Sermons, concerning war. With reſpect to theſe laſt, he deſcribes them as if they had been delivered in the reign of King Henry the Seventh; whereas it is evident, from the occaſion of them, that they could not be preached before the preparations which Henry the Eighth was making for hoſtilities with France, in the year 1512. What is more extraordinary ſtill, Collier hath not ſo much as mentioned Dean Colet's name in his Hiſtorical Dictionary (56).

(56) Knight's Life of Colet, p. 94. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, *ubi ſupra*, p. 169.

Dr. Birch, ſpeaking of the Dean's Convocation Sermon, obſerves, that it is not contemptible either for ſtyle or argument (57). As the tranſlation of it is underſtood to have been made from the Latin original, by Colet himſelf, we ſhall inſert a ſpecimen of it, which may ſerve to diſplay ſomething of the manners of the times, and to ſhew his turn of ſentiment and compoſition.

(57) Life of Tillotſon, p. 20, 21.

" To exhorte you reuerent fathers to the endevour of reformation of the churches eſtate: becauſe that nothynge hath ſo disfigured the face of the churche, as hath the facion of ſecular and worldly lyuynge in clerkes and priſtes: I knowe nat where more conueniently to take begynnyng of my tale, than of the apoſtle Paule, in whoſe temple ye are gathered to gether. For he writynge unto the Romanes, and vnder their name vnto you ſaith: Be you not conformed to this worlde: but be you reformed in the newnes of youre underſtandynge, that ye may prove what is the good wyll of god well pleaſing and perfecte. This dyd the apoſtle wryte to all chriſten men, but moſt chiefly unto priſtes and byſſhops. Priſtes and biſſhops are the lyghte of the worlde. For vnto them ſayde our ſauiour: you are the lyghte of the worlde. And he ſayde alſo: If the lyghte that is in the be darkenes, howe darke ſhall the darkenes be? That is to ſay, if priſtes and byſſhops, that ſhulde be as lyghtes ronne in the darke way of the worlde, howe darke than ſhall the ſecular people be? Wherfore ſaynt Paul ſayde chiefly unto priſtes and biſſhops: Be you nat conformable to this worlde, but be ye reformed. In the whiche wordes the apoſtle dothe two thinges. Fyrſt he doth forbyd that we be nat conformable to the worlde and be made carnall. Farthermore he doth command that we be reformed in the ſpyryte of god, where by we are ſpirituall. I entendynge to followe this order, I wyl ſpeke fyrſt of conformation, than after of reformation. Be you nat (ſayth he) conformable to this worlde. The apoſtle calleth the worlde, the wayes and maner of ſecular lyuyng: the whiche chiefly doth reſte in foure euylles of this worlde: that is to ſay in diuilyſſhe pride, in carnall concupiſcence, in worldly couetouſnes, in ſecular buſynes: Theſe are in the worlde, as ſaynt John the apoſtle witneſſeth in his piſtell canonicall. For he ſaythe: All thynge that is in the worlde, is either the concupiſcence of the fleſhe, or the concupiſcence of the eies, or pryde of lyfe. The ſame are nowe and reygne in the churche, and in men of the churche, that we may ſeme truely to ſay, all thyng that is in the churche, is either concupiſcence of fleſhe, or eies, or pryde of lyfe. And fyrſte for to ſpeake of pryde of lyfe, howe moche gredynes and appetite of honour and dignitie is nowe a dayes in men of the churche? Howe ronne they, ye almoſt out of brethe from one benefice to an other: from the leſſe to the more, from the lower to the hygher? who ſeethe nat this? who ſeynge this ſorowethe nat? More over theſe that are in the ſame dignities the mooſt parte of them doth go with ſo ſtately a countenance and with ſo hyghe lokes, that they ſeme nat to be put in the humble byſſhoprike of Chriſt, but rather in the high lordſhip, & power of the worlde, nat knowynge, nor aduertiſinge, what Chriſte, the mayſter of all mekenes, ſayd unto his diſciples, whome he called to be byſſhoppes and priſtes: The princis of people (ſayth he) haue lordſhipp of them: and thoſe that be in auctorite haue power: but do ye nat ſo: but he that is greatter amonge you, let him be miniſter. He that is higheſt in dignitie, be he the ſeruant of al men. The ſonne of man came nat to be mynyſtred vnto, but to mynyſtre. By whiche wordes our ſauiour dothe playnly teache, that the maiſtry in the churche, is none other thynge than a miniſtration: And the hygh dignitie in a man of the churche to be none other thing than a meke ſeruice.

" The ſeconde ſecular euyll is carnal concupiſcence. Hath nat this vice ſo growen and waxen in the churche as a fludde of theyr luſte? ſo that there is nothynge loked for more diligently, in this mooſt beſy time, of the moſt parte of priſtes, than that that dothe delite & pleaſe the ſenſes? They gyve them ſelfe to feaſtes and bankettynge: They ſpend them ſelfe in vaine bablyng: They gyue them ſelfe to ſportes & plays: They applye them ſelfe to huntynge and haukynge. They drowne them ſelfe in the delytes of the worlde. Procurers and fynders of luſtes they ſet by. Againſt the whiche kynd of men, Judas the apoſtle crieth out in his piſtle, ſayeng: wo unto them, whiche haue gone the way of Cain. They are foule & beſtly feſting in their meates without feare feadyng them ſelfe: fluddes of the wylde ſee, fomynge out their confuſions: unto whom the ſtorme of darknes is reſerued for euerlaſtyng.

" Couetouſnes is the thyrde ſecular euyll: the whiche ſaynt John the apoſtle callethe concupiſcence of the eies: Saynt Paule calleth hit idolatry. This abominable peſtilence hath ſo entred in the mynde, almooſt of all priſtes, and ſo hath blynded the eies of the minde, that we are blynde to all thynges, but onely unto thoſe, which ſeme to brynge vnto us ſome gaynes. For what other thynge ſeke we nowe a dayes in the churche, than fatte benefices and hygh promotions? ye & in the ſame promotions, of what other thyng do we paſſe upon, than of our tithes and rentes? That we care nat howe many, howe chargeful, howe great benefices we take, ſo that they be of greatte valure. O couetouſnes: ſaint Paule iuſtly called the the roote of all euyll. Of the cometh this heaping of benefices upon benefices: Of the ſo great penſions aſſigned of many benefyces reſygned: Of the, all the ſuynge for tithes, for offrynge, for mortuaries, for delapidations, by the ryght and title of the churche: For the whiche thing we ſtryue no leſſe than for our owne life: O couetouſnes: of the cometh theſe chargeful viſitations of byſhops: Of the cometh the corruptnes of courtes and theſe daily newe inuentions: where with the ſely people are ſo ſore vexed. Of the cometh the beſyte and wantonnes of officials. O couetouſnes mother of all iniquitie. Of the cometh this feruent ſtudy of ordinaries to dilate theyr iuriſdictions: Of the cometh this woode and ragenge contention in ordinaries, of the inſinuation of teſtaments: of the cometh the vndewe ſequeſtration of frutes: Of the cometh the ſuperſtitious obſeruyng of all thoſe lawes, that ſounde to any lucre, ſettynge a ſyde and diſpiſynge thoſe that concerne the amendment of maners. What ſhuld I reherſe the reſte? To be ſhorte, and to conclude at one worde: All corruptnes, all the decaye of the churche, all the offences of the worlde, come of the couetouſnes of priſtes. Accordyng to that of ſaynt Paule, that here I repete agayne, and beate in to your eares: Couetouſnes is the roote of all euyll.

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of grammar: which, he often ſaid, did rather obſtruct the purity of the language, not to be obtained but by reading the beſt and pureſt authors. This contempt of grammar-rules made him ſometimes fall under the cenſure of the Critics (*a*). He was, however, a great maſter of ſtyle and language; ſo that, though his preaching was popular, and adapted to vulgar capacities, yet withal it was agreeable to the better judgment of men of wit and

(*a*) *Idem*, p. 198. Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

" The fourthe ſecular euyll, that ſpotteth and maketh euyll fauored the face of the churche, is the continuall ſecular occupation: wherein priſtes and byſſhops nowe a days doth beſy them ſelfe, the ſeruantes rather of men than of god: the warriours rather of this worlde than of Chriſte. For the apoſtle Paule wryteth vnto Timothe: No man beinge goddes ſouldiour, turmoyle hym ſelfe with ſeculare buſynes. The warrynge of them is nat carnall but ſpirituall. For oure warrynge is to pray, to rede and ſtudy ſcriptures, to preache the worde of god, to myniſtre the ſacraments of helth, to do ſacrifice for the people, and to offre hoſtis for their ſinnes. For we are mediatours and means vnto god for men: The whiche ſaynt Paule wytneſſethe, writinge to the Hebrewes: Euery byſſhoppe (ſayth he) taken of men, is ordeyned for men in thoſe thynges that be unto god, that he may offer gyftes and ſacrifices for ſynnes. Wherefore thoſe apoſtels, that were the fyrſt priſtes and biſſhops, dydde ſo moche abhorre from all maner of medlyng of ſecular thinges, that they wolde nat myniſter the meate, that was neceſſarye to poore people, all though that was a great worke of vertue: but they ſayd: it is nat mete, that we ſhulde leaue the worde of god, and ſerue tables: we wyll be continually in prayer, and preachynge the worde of god. And ſaynt Paul cryeth vnto the Corinthes. If you haue any ſecular beſynes, ordeyne them to be iuges, that be mooſte in contempt in the churche.——

" Theſe be the foure euyls that I haue ſpoken of, O fathers, O priſtes, by the whiche we are conformable to this worlde, by the whiche the face of the churche is made euyll fauoured, by the whiche the ſtate of it is deſtroyed, truly moche more than it was in the begynnyng by the perſecution of tyrants: or afterwarde by the inuaſion that folowed of heretykes. For in the perſecution of tyrantes, the churche beynge vexed was made ſtronger and bryghter: In the inuaſion of heretykes the churche beynge ſhaken, was made wyſer and more cunnyng in holy wrytte. But ſens this ſecularitie was broughte in, after that the ſecular maner of lyuynge crepte in, in the men of the churche: the roote of all ſpiritual lyfe, that is to ſay, charite was extincte: The whiche taken awaye, there can nother wyſe nor ſtronge churche be in god (58)."

(58) Life of Colet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 291—296. 298.

Mr. Granger's ſhort, but animated, character of Dean Colet muſt not be omitted. " No higher teſ-
" timony, ſays he, need to be given of the merit of
" Colet, than his great intimacy with Eraſmus.
" There was a ſimilitude of manners, of ſtudies, and
" of ſentiments in religion, betwixt theſe illuſtrious
" men, who ventured to take off the veil from ig-
" norance and ſuperſtition, and expoſe them to the
" eyes of the world; and to prepare men's minds
" for the reformation of religion, and reſtoration of
" learning. Eraſmus, who did him the honour to
" call him his maſter, has given us a hint of his re-
" ligious ſentiments in his famous colloquy, inti-
" tled, *Peregrinatio Religionis ergo*, in which Colet
" is the perſon meant, under the name of Gratianus
" Pullus.
" Colet, Lynacre, Lilly, Grocyn, and William
" Latimer, were the firſt that revived the learning of
" the ancients in England (59)."

(59) Biographical Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 97. Second edition.

Mr. Granger hath mentioned nine engraved prints of Dean Colet (60).

(60) *Ibid.* p. 96.

In note [*H*], a liſt is given of eighteen high Maſters of St. Paul's School, ending with Mr. Charles, who was elected in 1736-7. The gentlemen who have ſince been appointed to this important office, have maintained the character of the ſchool with great ability; and under the government of the preſent learned maſter, Dr. Roberts, it continues to be in a very flouriſhing condition.

Dr. Knight, who, in his Appendix to the Life of Dean Colet, has given a ſhort hiſtory of the high Maſters of St. Paul's School down to Mr. Morland, has, likewiſe, added a brief account of the diſtinguiſhed ſcholars that have been educated in this ſeminary. The catalogue is principally confined to thoſe perſons who either were writers, or who roſe to conſiderable eminence in Church or State. It will appear, from the following names, that the School hath produced ſeveral illuſtrious men. Thomas Nightingale. He was educated under Lilly, and was admired at Oxford for his wit. He wrote a Latin Poem on the deceaſe of Colet, and Elegies, in the ſame language, on the death of Lilly. Thomas Lupſet, another diſciple of the ſame maſter, became famous at Oxford for teaching the Greek tongue. He died in 1531. Sir Anthony Denny, a great Mecenas to learned men, and Privy Counſellor to King Henry the Eighth. Sir William Paget, a favourite with the ſame Monarch, and raiſed by him to many dignities; created Baron of Beaudeſert in Edward the Sixth's reign, and Privy Counſellor to four ſucceſſive Princes. Sir Edward North, afterwards Edward Lord North, Baron of Kirtling in Cambridgeſhire. John Leland. Dr. William Whitaker, King's Profeſſor of Divinity at Cambridge, and a great champion of the Proteſtant cauſe. William Camden. William Burton, a learned Divine and Antiquary. Edward Lane, M. A. author of ſeveral theological works. John Milton. Sir Peter Pett, an eminent Civilian. Sir Charles Scarborough, a celebrated Anatomiſt and Phyſician. Samuel Pepys, Eſq; Author of the Memoirs relative to the State of the Navy, and bequeather of the Pepyſian Library, to Magdalen-College, Cambridge. Samuel Johnſon, noted for his political writings and ſufferings. Dr. Benjamin Calamy. Dr. Richard Meggot, Dean of Wincheſter, and Canon of Windſor. Dr. Edward Reynolds, Archdeacon of Norwich, and Prebendary of Worceſter. William Corker, M. A. ſenior Fellow of Trinity-College, Cambridge, the friend of Barrow, and a benefactor to the library of St. Paul's School. Thomas Smith, M. A. Public Librarian at Cambridge. Thomas Gipps, Fellow of Trinity-College, in the ſame Univerſity. Dr. William Nicholls, author of a " Conference with a Theiſt," and other theological works. Richard Blondel, an able Surgeon. Sir Thomas Davies, Sheriff and Lord-Mayor of London, and diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill in the European languages. Dr. Humphrey Gower, Maſter of St. John's-College, Cambridge, and Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity. Robert Nelſon, Eſq. Dr. Richard Cumberland, Biſhop of Peterborough. George Doddington, Eſq; uncle to the late Lord Melcombe, Dr. Thomas Tooke, an eminent Scoool-maſter at Biſhop Stortford. Samuel Roſewell, M. A. a diſſenting Miniſter in London, and ſon of the Mr. Thomas Roſewell, whoſe trial by Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies ranks among the moſt infamous proceedings of that execrable Judge. Roger Cotes, Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Cambridge. Sir John Trevor, Maſter of the Rolls, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. Archibald, Earl of Forfar. Charles, the firſt Duke of Manchеſter. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. Sir Edward Northey, Attorney-General. Dr. George Hooper, Biſhop of Bath and Wells. Dr. Samuel Bradford, Biſhop of Rocheſter. Dr. John Leng, Biſhop of Norwich. Spencer Compton, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and afterwards Earl of Wilmington. Spencer Cowper, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of Cheſter. To theſe names we muſt not omit adding, Dr. Samuel Knight, Prebendary of Ely, from whom we have derived almoſt the whoſe of our information with regard to Dean Colet (62); and Dr. Arthur Aſhley Sykes, the author of a great number of valuable publications, and one of the moſt eminent and learned Divines in the preſent century.] K.

(62) Knight's Life of Colet. Appendix, No. VII. p. 389—434.

learning,

learning, and was much admired by the great Sir Thomas More (*b*). He was, likewiſe, a great lover and encourager of the Greek tongue. With regard to *ſome of his notions*, he was a very eminent forerunner of the Reformation; and he and Eraſmus jointly promoted it; not only by pulling down thoſe ſtrong holds of ignorance and corruption, the Scholaſtical Divinity, and routing entirely both the Scotiſts and Thomiſts, who had divided the Chriſtian world between them (*c*), but alſo by diſcovering the ſhameful abuſes of Monaſteries, and the dangers of impoſing celibacy on the Clergy: to which places, Colet gave little or nothing while he lived, and left not a farthing when he died; not ſo much out of hatred to their ſeveral orders, as becauſe he found that few or none of them lived up to their vows and profeſſions (*d*). He thought ſimple fornication in a Prieſt more excuſable than pride and avarice; and was with no ſort of men more angry, than with thoſe Biſhops, who, inſtead of ſhepherds, acted the part of ſo many wolves: he thought none more execrable than they, becauſe, under the pretence of devotions, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences, they recommended themſelves to the veneration of the people, while, in their own hearts, they were ſlaves to the world; that is, to glory and gain (*e*). He condemned auricular confeſſion; and was content to ſay maſs only upon Sundays and great feſtivals, or at leaſt upon a very few days beſides. He had gathered up ſeveral authorities from the ancient Fathers againſt the current tenets and cuſtoms of the Church; and though he did not care to fly in the face of the governors, yet he could not but favour thoſe who diſliked the way of worſhipping images (*f*). As to his other qualifications, he was a man of exemplary temperance, and all other virtues. The Dean's table, which, under the name of hoſpitality, had before ſerved to luxury, he contracted to a more frugal way of entertaining: and it having been his cuſtom, for many years, to eat but one meal, that of dinner, he had always the evening to himſelf. As he dined late, he had but few gueſts; and the fewer, becauſe his proviſion was frugal, though neat. The ſittings were ſhort, and the diſcourſes ſuch as pleaſed only the learned and the good. As ſoon as grace before meat was ſaid, a boy read, with a loud voice, and diſtinctly, a chapter out of one of St. Paul's Epiſtles, or the Proverbs of Solomon. When it was finiſhed, the Dean raiſed, from ſome particular part of it, a ſubject matter of diſcourſe. He was ſo impatient of whatſoever was foul or indecent, that he could not bear with an improper way of ſpeaking. He loved to be neat and clean in his goods, furniture, entertainments, apparel, and books, and whatever belonged to him; but he deſpiſed all ſtate and magnificence (*g*), there being in his demeanour the moſt unaffected ſimplicity imaginable (*h*).

(*b*) Knight, as above, p. 180, 156, &c.

(*c*) Scotiſtas, ſtupidos omnino, ac ſine ingenio homines judicabat: Thomiſtas, lymphatico ſpiritu arrogantes, *i. e. He counted the Scotiſts ſtupid, ſenſeleſs fellows; and the Thomiſts, mad.* Baleï Script. Brytanniæ Centuria VIII. n. 63. p. 648. He abhorred the Scotiſts becauſe they would be Divines, without ſo much as reading the Scriptures: Eraſmus J. Jonæ.

(*d*) Knight, as above, p. 60, 61. 72.

(*e*) Eraſmi Epiſt. Jodoco Jonæ.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) Eraſmus, *ib.*

(*h*) Knight, p. 266.

COLLIER (JEREMY), ſon of Jeremy Collier, was born at Stow Qui, or Quire, in Cambridgeſhire, September 23, 1650. His father was a Divine, and conſiderable Linguiſt, and ſome time Maſter of the Free-ſchool at Ipſwich, in the county of Suffolk. His grandfather likewiſe was a Clergyman, ſettled at Bradford in Yorkſhire, where he lived in eſteem for his function. He was born at Yeadon, near Bradford, and deſcended from a gentleman's family of that name, ſeated at Thruſk, in the ſame county, in the reign of Henry VIII. His mother was Elizabeth Smith, of Qui, in Cambridgeſhire, where her family were poſſeſſed of a conſiderable intereſt, and related to the Sternes of that town, being by her mother deſcended from the Keys, or Cays, of Yorkſhire and Lincolnſhire. He was educated under his father at Ipſwich, whence he was ſent to Cambridge, and admitted a poor Scholar of Caius-College, under the tuition of Mr. John Ellys. His admiſſion bears date April 10, 1669, in the eighteenth year of his age. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1672-3, and that of Maſter of Arts in 1676, being ordained Deacon on the twenty-fourth of September the ſame year, by Dr. Peter Gunning, Biſhop of Ely, and Prieſt February 24, 1677, by Dr. Henry Compton, Biſhop of London. Having entered into Prieſt's orders, he officiated ſome time at the Counteſs Dowager of Dorſet's, at Knowle, in Kent, whence he removed to a ſmall Rectory at Ampton, near St. Edmundſbury, in Suffolk, to which he was preſented by James Calthorpe, Eſq; and inſtituted by Dr. Anthony Sparrow, Biſhop of Norwich, Sept. 25, 1679. After he had held this benefice ſix years, he reſigned it, and came to reſide in London in 1685, and was, ſome little time after, made Lecturer at Gray's-Inn. But the Revolution coming on, the public exerciſe of his function became impracticable (*a*). He did not, however, think it compatible with his principles, at that critical conjuncture, to ſit down contentedly, and ſay nothing; but finding, in that confuſion which aroſe upon King James's going to France, that the Convention was, in a great meaſure, influenced by the papers written by a Clergyman who came over with the Prince of Orange, he thought the ſame liberty might be taken by a Clergyman who conceived differently from him, and accordingly broke the ice, and publiſhed the firſt pamphlet that appeared in defence of the cauſe which he eſpouſed (*b*), and a very ſharp piece it was [*A*]. When the government was

(*a*) Thus far this article was (except ſome dates) drawn up by Mr. Collier himſelf.

(*b*) From the information of a gentleman, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Collier.

[*A*] *And a very ſharp piece it was.*] As this article cannot be rendered perſpicuous, indeed hardly intelligible, without explaining the political and literary controverſies in which this writer was engaged, we ſhall endeavour to give as clear and conciſe an account of them as poſſible. In the month of December, 1688, the famous Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, ſent abroad a very ſuccinct, and well-written

was ſettled, by placing King William and Queen Mary upon the throne, Mr. Collier remained firm to the principles he had embraced, and continued not only to abſtain from taking the oaths which the new legiſlature had impoſed, but laboured all that in him lay to prevent others, more eſpecially ſuch members of the Church of England, from owning, or ſo much as complying with them. It was to this end that he wrote ſeveral warm and bitter pieces, which in thoſe days had their effect, and conſequently procured their author, in the opinion at leaſt of thoſe who were of his own party, the character both of a ſolid and ſhining writer [*B*]. There is no doubt but this conduct of his occaſioned an eye to be kept over his proceedings, nor could it be ſuppoſed that any government would forbear the opportunity that occurred of giving ſome check, to ſo active, ſo induſtrious, and ſo dangerous a man. It was not long before ſuch an occaſion offered itſelf. Information was given to the Earl of Nottingham, at that time Secretary of State, that Mr. Collier, with one Mr. Newton, another Nonjuring Clergyman, was gone down to Romney-Marſh; which was enough to fix a ſuſpicion, that they were either endeavouring to ſend intelligence to, or were labouring to receive it from, the other ſide of the water. Upon this, about the latter end of the year 1692, Meſſengers were ſent down into Kent to apprehend them; which they accordingly did, and brought them to London, where, after a ſhort examination before the Earl of Nottingham, who charged them with being in a deſign againſt the government, they were committed to the Gate-Houſe (*c*). But, as no evidence of their being in any ſuch deſign could be found, they were admitted to bail. So ſtrict, however, were Mr. Collier's principles, that he had not long been at liberty, before he began to queſtion the conſiſtency of his own conduct in giving bail; upon which he went before the Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, ſurrendered in their diſcharge, and was committed to the King's Bench priſon; but upon the application of ſome of his friends to that moſt upright and impartial Judge, he was diſcharged in a week or ten days (*d*). Yet even this

(*c*) As appears from the Contents of the Papers afterwards mentioned.

(*d*) As may be collected from the dates of ſeveral Papers mentioned in the note.

pamphlet, under the title of *An Enquiry into the preſent State of Affairs, and in particular whether we owe Allegiance to the* King *in theſe Circumſtances, and whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him* back again, *or not? Publiſhed by Authority* (1). In this piece, the Doctor gives his ſentiments very freely, as to the behaviour of King James, and the conduct that was to be obſerved towards him, as the reader will ſee from the following ſhort quotation. 'In all 'that I have ſaid concerning his deſertion, I limit 'my reflections to his firſt leaving of Whitehall; for 'the accident at Feverſham, and what followed after 'that, cannot be called a return to his people; and 'ſince the ſeals never appeared, and the King never 'ſpake of a Parliament, nor altered his meaſures 'in any thing, but ſtill proſecuted his firſt deſign by 'his ſecond eſcape, his deſerting is ſtill to be dated 'from his firſt going from Whitehall; and he having given that juſt advantage againſt himſelf, which 'came after all that ſeries of injuſtice and violence, 'that had gone before it, no man can think, that it 'was not very fitting to carry it as far as it would 'go, and not to treat with him any more upon the 'foot of acknowledging him King (2).' It was in anſwer to this treatiſe, and particularly to the argument inſiſted upon in this paſſage, that Mr. Collier wrote the piece mentioned in the text, and which was intituled,

(1) See the Collection of Tracts written by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury.

(2) Enquiry into the preſent State of Affairs, p. 9.

I. *The* Deſertion diſcuſſed, *in a Letter to a Country Gentleman. Lond.* 1688, 4*to*. He labours in this ſhort pamphlet to ſhew, that the King, before his withdrawing, had ſufficient grounds to be apprehenſive of danger; that his leaving any repreſentative behind him was impracticable at that juncture; and that there were no grounds, either from the laws of the realm, or of nature, to pronounce the throne void from ſuch a retreat. To this pamphlet of Mr. Collier's, an anſwer was written by Edmund Bohun, Eſq; in which he gives them the following character (3). 'The author of it is my acquaintance, and a perſon 'for whom I have a great eſteem, both on the account of his profeſſion, and of his perſonal worth, 'learning, and ſobriety; ſo that I cannot believe he 'had any ill deſign, either in the writing, or the 'publiſhing of it; his zeal for the Church of England's loyalty, and the difficulty, and the unuſualneſs of the preſent caſe, having been the occaſions, 'if not the cauſes, of his miſtake; and therefore I 'will endeavour to ſhew him, and the world, his error, with as much candour and ſweetneſs, as he 'himſelf can wiſh; becauſe I have the ſame deſign 'for the main that he had, *viz.* the honour of the 'Church of England, and the ſafety of government, 'and eſpecially our monarchy.' But this was not the only anſwer Mr. Collier received; for his performance gave ſuch offence, that after the government was ſettled, he was ſeized and committed to Newgate, where he continued a cloſe priſoner for ſome months; but was at length diſcharged, without being brought to a trial. He afterwards wrote the following pieces, *viz.*

(3) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, vol. i. p. 116.

II. *A Tranſlation of the* 9*th*, 10*th*, 11*th*, *and* 12*th Books of* Sleidan's *Commentaries. Lond.* 1689, 4*to*.

III. Vindiciæ Juris Regii, or *Remarks upon a Paper, intituled,* An Enquiry into the Meaſures of Submiſſion to the ſupreme Authority. *Lond.* 1689, 4*to*. The author of this *Enquiry,* was alſo Dr. Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury.

IV. Animadverſions *upon the modern Explanation of* 11 *Hen.* VII. *cap.* 1. *or a King* de Facto, 1689, 4*to*.

[*B*] *The character both of a ſolid and ſhining writer.*] As Mr. Collier was now embarked in an avowed oppoſition to the government, he laboured as much as in him lay to enlarge the ſtrength of the party which he had joined; and with this view he continued to write, as the reader will ſee in the following catalogue of his works, during the ſpace of leſs than two years.

V. *A Caution againſt* Inconſiſtency, *or the Connection between* praying *and* ſwearing, *in relation to the* civil Powers, 1690, 4*to*. This diſcourſe is a diſſuaſive from joining in public aſſemblies.

VI. A Dialogue *concerning the* Times, *between* Philobelgus *and* Sempronius, 1690, 4*to*. There was another dialogue, with much the ſame title, printed in 1692, and called a *ſecond part*, but it was not Mr. Collier's, being a narrative of the *Revolution*, whereas Mr. Collier's relates chiefly to the authority of the *Convention*.

VII. *To the Right honourable the* Lords *and to the* Gentlemen *convened at Weſtminſter*, October 1690, half ſheet; it is a petition for an enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.

VIII. *Dr.* Sherlock's *Caſe of* Allegiance *conſidered, with ſome remarks upon his* Vindication, *Lond.* 1691, 4*to*.

IX. *A Brief* Eſſay *concerning* the Independency *of* Church Power, 1692, 4*to*. The deſign of this eſſay is to prove the public aſſemblies guilty of ſchiſm, upon account of their being held under ſuch Biſhops, as had aſſumed, or owned ſuch, as had aſſumed the ſees of thoſe, that were deprived for not complying with the government, &c.

did not content him, as appears by ſeveral pieces of his written upon this ſubject [C]. In the ſpace of ſome years following, there happened nothing that ſo far engaged this gentleman's attention, as to induce him to write againſt the tranſactions of the State, which were, generally ſpeaking, the ſubjects that employed his pen. But upon the breaking out of that which was called the Aſſaſſination Plot, and the conviction of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins, an incident happened which made a very great noiſe, and deeply affected Mr. Collier his whole life after. The fact was this: Mr. Collier, with Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt, both Clergymen of his own opinion, attended thoſe unhappy perſons at the place of execution, where Mr. Collier ſolemnly abſolved the former, as Mr. Cook did the latter, and all three joined in the impoſition of hands upon them both (*e*). This, as might be very well expected, made a very great noiſe, and was looked upon as a very high inſult on the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical government; for which reaſon they fell under a ſevere proſecution on one ſide, in conſequence of which Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt were ſent to Newgate, but afterwards were releaſed without being brought to a trial; and Mr. Collier having ſtill his old ſcruple about putting in bail, abſconded, and was outlawed, under which incapacity he remained as long as he lived (*f*). On the other hand, both the Archbiſhops, and ten of their ſuffragans, *viz.* the Biſhops of London, Durham, Wincheſter, Coventry and Litchfield, Rocheſter, Hereford, Norwich, Peterborough, Glouceſter, Chicheſter, and St. Aſaph, publiſhed a very ſtrong Declaration of their ſenſe of this ſcandalous and irregular proceeding (*g*). To this our author wrote an anſwer with his uſual vigour, and after that ſeveral other pieces, in ſupport of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair [D]. After this ſtorm was a little over, Mr. Collier employed himſelf in reviewing and

(*e*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 719. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 143.

(*f*) From the information before mentioned.

(*g*) This Declaration is to be found at large in the Appendix to the third Vol. of the State Tracts in the time of King William.

[C] *As appears by ſeveral pieces of his written upon this ſubject.*] It ſeems that Mr. Collier had occaſionally read Law, and this it was that induced him to make a ſcruple of remaining upon bail, becauſe he apprehended that the very recognizance, by which bail was taken, carried in it an acknowledgment of the juriſdiction of the court, in which the bail was taken, and by conſequence of the power whence the authority of that court was derived. In ſupport of theſe principles, and in juſtification of his own conduct, he wrote the following pieces, of which it is ſaid, there were only five copies printed.

X. *The caſe of* giving bail *to a pretended* authority *examined, dated from the* King's Bench, *November* 23, 1692, *with a* preface *dated December* 1629, *and a letter to Sir* John Holt, *dated November* 30, 1692. *And alſo a reply to ſome* remarks *upon the* caſe *of* giving bail, *&c. dated* April 1693. He wrote, ſoon after this,

XI. *A* Perſwaſive *to Conſideration, tendered to the Royaliſts, particularly thoſe of the Church of England.* Lond. 1693, 4*to*. It was afterwards reprinted in 8*vo*. together with his vindication of it, againſt a piece entituled, *The Layman's Apology*, &c. written in confutation of that part of the Perſwaſive, which relates to the controverſy about the frequenting the public aſſemblies.

XII. *Remarks upon the* London Gazette, *relating to the Straits Fleet, and the battle of* Landen *in Flanders*, 1693, 4*to*.

[D] *In ſupport of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair.*] In order to form ſome notion of this tranſaction, it will be requiſite to ſee that part of the Prelate's Declaration which relates to the conduct of theſe Clergymen, and in which they ſhew, that their proceeding was not to be juſtified by the doctrines or practice of the Church of England. Their words are theſe (4):

(4) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, vol. iii. in the Appendix.

'For thoſe Clergymen that took upon them to abſolve theſe criminals at the place of execution, by laying all three together their hands upon their heads, and publicly pronouncing a form of abſolution; as their manner of doing this was extremely inſolent, and without precedent either in our Church, or any other that we know of; ſo the thing itſelf was altogether irregular.—The rubrick in our Office of the Viſitation of the Sick, from whence they took the words they then uſed, and upon which, if upon any thing in our Liturgy, they muſt ground this their proceeding, gave them no authority nor pretence for the abſolving theſe perſons; nay, as they managed the affair, they acted, in this abſolution, far otherwiſe than is there directed. That rubrick is concerning ſick perſons; and it is there required, Firſt, *That the ſick perſon ſhall be moved to make a ſpecial confeſſion of his ſins, if he feel his conſcience troubled with any weighty matter; and then, after ſuch confeſſion, the Prieſt ſhall abſolve him, if he humbly and heartily deſire it.* But here they abſolved, and that publicly, perſons condemned by law for execrable crimes, without ſo much as once moving them, at that time, to make a ſpecial confeſſion of their ſins, at leaſt of thoſe ſins for which they were condemned. And on the other ſide, here were perſons abſolved that did not humbly deſire abſolution, as feeling any ſuch weighty matter to trouble their conſcience; but, on the contrary, in Sir John Friend's paper it is declared, that he had a great deal of *ſatisfaction in ſuffering* for that cauſe, which he firmly believed to be *the cauſe of God and true religion.* If theſe Miniſters knew not the ſtate of theſe men's ſouls before they gave them abſolution, as it is manifeſt two of them, Mr. Snatt and Mr. Cook, did not as to Sir William Perkins, (they having ſince declared that they had not ſpoke with Sir William, till they were at the place of execution) how could they, without manifeſt tranſgreſſion of the Church's order, as well as the profane abuſe of the power Chriſt hath left with his Miniſters, abſolve them from all their ſins? If they were acquainted with theſe men's ſentiments declared in their papers, then they muſt look upon them either as hardened impenitents or as martyrs. We are ſo charitable to believe, that they would not abſolve them under the former notion, for that had been in effect ſealing them to damnation; but if they held theſe men to be martyrs, then their abſolving them in that manner was a juſtification of thoſe grievous crimes for which theſe men ſuffered, and an open affront to the laws both of Church and State. Upon the conſideration of theſe things, and for the doing of right to our Church, which may otherwiſe ſuffer amongſt ſuch as are ſtrangers to our conſtitution, by the evil principles and practices, both of the aforeſaid criminals, and the three Clergymen that aſſiſted them, who all pretended to be members of the Church of England, we do declare, that we diſown and deteſt all ſuch principles and practices, looking upon them as highly ſchiſmatical and ſeditious, dangerous both to the Church and State, and contrary to the true doctrine and ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion. And we alſo take this occaſion to warn and exhort all the people committed to our charge, to beware of ſuch ſeducers, and to avoid them, leſt, as the Apoſtle St. Peter ſpeaks, *They be led away with the error of the wicked*, and fall from their ſtedfaſt adherence to the principles of the true Church of England, as it was eſtabliſhed at the bleſſed Reformation of religion, and as, by God's eſpecial Providence, it continues to this day.' What was farther done in this matter,

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and retouching ſeveral miſcellaneous pieces of his, to which he added ſome others, and publiſhed them in a volume; and theſe were ſo well received, that about ſeven years afterwards he publiſhed another, and ſeveral years after that a third. Theſe pieces of his were written upon religious, moral, and entertaining ſubjects, with ſuch a mixture of learning and wit, and in a ſtyle ſo eaſy and flowing, that notwithſtanding the prejudice of party which could not but be ſtrong againſt him, they were generally well received, and have run through many editions ſince. One muſt indeed allow, that very few books had fairer for univerſal approbation, in an age, which, if not ſtrictly virtuous, was at leaſt highly decent; and when every body affected a concern for promoting whatever had a tendency to make men wiſer, better, or more polite, all which ends were proſecuted with great effect in this collection of Eſſays (*b*) [*E*]. The very next year after the publication of the firſt volume of theſe Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes, Mr. Collier made an attempt to reform the Stage, which involved him in a very briſk controverſy with ſeveral of the greateſt wits, and ableſt writers of the age; in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much force and vivacity, that the moſt conſiderable of his antagoniſts were obliged, not only to quit the field of battle, but to confeſs that they were vanquiſhed; and though ſome of them did not do this with the beſt grace, yet as their failing in point of manners ought to be attributed to the ſmart of their wounds, it is very far from reflecting upon the merit of our author, whoſe animadverſions actually produced both repentance and amendment (*i*), and were the original cauſe

(*b*) See the particular ſubjects upon which they were written in the note.

(*i*) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 192.

will beſt appear from Biſhop Kennet's account, which runs thus (5): 'On April the 27th, the Lord Chief 'Juſtice (Holt) of the King's Bench, did likewiſe re'preſent to the Grand Jury, the ſhameful and perni'cious practice of thoſe three abſolving Prieſts. 'Whereupon the Jury made a preſentment to the 'Court, that Collier, Cook, and Snatt, Clerks, did 'take upon them to pronounce and give abſolution to 'Sir William Perkins, and Sir John Friend, at the 'time of their execution at Tyburn, immediately be'fore they had ſeverally delivered a paper to the 'Sheriff of Middleſex, wherein they had ſeverally 'endeavoured to juſtify the treaſons for which they 'were juſtly condemned and executed. And that 'they, the ſaid Collier, Cook, and Snatt, had there'by countenanced the ſame treaſons, to the great 'encouragement of other perſons to commit the like 'treaſons, and to the ſcandal of the Church of Eng'land eſtabliſhed by Law, and to the diſturbance of 'the peace of this kingdom. Upon which the court 'ordered an indictment to be preferred againſt them, 'and on May the 8th, Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt were 'committed to Newgate, for ſuſpicion of high-trea'ſon and treaſonable practices. But ſuch was the 'lenity of the government, that no manner of pu'niſhment was inflicted on them; and Mr. Collier, 'with great aſſurance, publiſhed ſeveral papers to 'juſtify his practice.' The writings to which this Prelate referred were theſe:

(5) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 719. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 174.

XIII. *A defence of the* Abſolution *given to Sir* William Perkins *at the place of execution, April 3d, with a farther Vindication thereof, occaſioned by a paper entitled,* A declaration of the Senſe of the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, &c. *The firſt dated April* the 9th, 1696, *the other* April the 21ſt, 1696. *To which is added a Poſtſcript, in relation to a paper called an* Anſwer to his Defence, &c. dated April 25. *Alſo a Reply to the* Abſolution of a Penitent, according to the Directions of the Church of England, &c. *dated* May 20, 1696; and *An Anſwer to the Animadverſions on two Pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr. Collier,* &c. *dated* July 1, 1696, 4*to.*

[*E*] *All which ends were proſecuted with great effect, in this collection of Eſſays.*] We have in the text, ſpoken in general of the ſeveral volumes of this collection, as if it had been compoſed in the ſame manner with other books of that kind; whereas, inſtead of being made up of detached diſcourſes, it is rather compoſed of a variety of ſmall pieces on different topics, which fell from the author's pen at a great diſtance of time; and after wandering moſt of them ſingly through the world, were at laſt drawn thus into a body to prevent their being loſt. The title given them in their laſt edition is,

XIV. *ESSAYS upon ſeveral Moral Subjects, by* Jeremy Collier, M. A. *in three volumes,* 8*vo.* In order to give the reader a clear account of the contents of theſe volumes, which are not commonly underſtood to comprehend ſo large a part of their author's works as they really do, it is neceſſary to enter a little into particulars. The firſt volume is divided into *two* parts, which were publiſhed ſeparately. The *firſt* part conſiſts of ſix Eſſays, *viz.* upon Pride, Clothes, Duelling, General Kindneſs, the Office of a Chaplain, and the Weakneſs of Human Reaſon. The four firſt are written in the way of dialogue, and with great ſpirit and vivacity; the two laſt are continued diſcourſes. That on the Office of a Chaplain is particularly laboured, and has been looked upon as the author's maſter-piece, the reaſoning being more cloſe, the language more exact, and the thread of the argument better preſerved, than in many of the reſt. His Eſſay on the Weakneſs of Human Underſtanding is in ſome meaſure a declamation, but it ends with a moral reflection of great importance, and which perhaps this gentleman did not keep always in his mind (6). 'We may plainly perceive, ſays he, that the preju'dices of education have a great ſtroke in many of 'our reaſonings, and that the ſentiments of men diſ'cover the colour of their original tinctures. And 'as there are ſome inbred principles impregnable 'againſt cuſtom, ſo there are ſome cuſtoms which 'nature finds very difficult to deal with.'

(6) Collier's Miſcellanies, vol. i. p. 240.

The *ſecond* part contains ſeventeen diſcourſes upon Fame, Muſic, the Value of Life, The Spleen, Eagerneſs of Deſire, Friendſhip, Popularity, The Immateriality of the Soul, The Entertainment of Books, Confidence, Envy, The Aſpects of Men, Deſpair, Covetouſneſs, Liberty, Old Age, and Pleaſure. Several of theſe are written in dialogue, but moſt of them are ſet diſcourſes; and they are all of them calculated to inform the underſtanding, reform the manners, and to give a right turn to the thoughts of the reader.

The ſecond volume contains the *third* part, in which, the author diſcourſes of Pain, Revenge, Authors, Infancy and Youth, Riches and Poverty, Debauchery, Drunkenneſs, Uſury, The Character of an Apoſtle, and of Solitude. Then follows a Tranſlation of St. Gregory's Oration, in commendation of the Maccabees, Of the Unreaſonableneſs of ill-timed Diverſions, St. Cyprian's Diſcourſe upon the Plague, His Deſcription of the manners of the Age in which he lived, and his Diſcourſe on Patience: it is cloſed by the author's Eſſay upon Diſcontent, written in dialogue. There is uſually annext to this volume, (though it was printed ſeparately) An Eſſay upon Gaming, in a dialogue, which is at once an uſeful, entertaining, and moſt inſtructive performance. The third volume, and the fourth part, conſiſts moſtly of religious ſubjects, and was written after he had publiſhed the firſt volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. In this he treats of Goodneſs, Honeſty, Religious Temper, Lying, Fortitude, Flattery, Theft, Peace, and the Reſurrection. All theſe topics are treated with very great plainneſs and freedom; and many of the thoughts are new and ſingular. Such as are written in dialogue, are well ſuſtained; and if we abate the flowerineſs of the language, which was the faſhion, I will not ſay the fault of that time, it will be difficult to find any eſſays more capable of affording a rational pleaſure, than thoſe of our author.

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of that decorum, which has been, for the moſt part, obſerved by the modern writers of dramatic poetry. The titles of his pieces upon this occaſion will be found in the notes [*F*]. His abilities and induſtry were next exerciſed in a much larger work than any he had hitherto undertaken, which was that of making Moreri's performance uſeful to the Engliſh nation; in which he laboured for many years with great ſucceſs, taking all the precautions poſſible to be well informed as to the new articles he publiſhed; and ſo well were his endeavours in this kind received by the public, notwithſtanding ſome exceptions that were taken to them, that few books have met with a better fate, or

[*F*] *Will be found in the notes.*] It was certainly a very bold thing in Mr. Collier, to attack at once the Wits and the Witlings of thoſe times: among the firſt, were Mr. Dryden, Mr. Congreve, and Mr. Vanbrugh; amongſt the latter, were Tom Durfey and many more; but he is certainly to be commended for forming ſo good a deſign, as that of reducing the ſtage to order, and thereby preventing the morals of mankind from being corrupted, where they ought to be amended: the firſt he publiſhed with this deſign, had the following title.

XV. *A ſhort view of the* immorality *and* profaneneſs *of the* Engliſh Stage, *together with the ſenſe of* Antiquity *upon this argument*, Lond. 1698, 8*vo*. It is a very methodical and learned work: he begins with ſhewing the immodeſty and indecency of the ſtage, and the ill conſequences that attend it; he proves next, that the Roman and Greek theatres were much more inoffenſive than the Engliſh, and then produces the authorities of Ben Jonſon, Beaumont and Fletcher, and the French Poet Corneile, againſt the modern Stage. He proceeds to open the indictment by a charge of profaneneſs, which he ſupports by inſtances from ſeveral pieces of Mr. Dryden, Mr. Otway, Mr. Congreve, and Vanbrugh. His ſecond charge is the abuſe of the Clergy; his third relates to immorality encouraged by the Stage: he then deſcends to ſome remarks upon Amphitryon, expoſes the horrid profaneneſs of the comical Hiſtory of Don Quixote; then criticizes the Relapſe, or Virtue in Danger; he concludes with producing the opinions of the Heathen Philoſophers, Orators, and Hiſtorians, the reſtraints impoſed upon the Stage by the laws in ſeveral countries, and the ſentiments of the Fathers of the Church.

In anſwer to this, Mr. Congreve publiſhed a little piece, intitled, *Amendments of Mr. Collier's falſe and imperfect citations from the old Batchelor, the Double Dealer*, &c. It muſt be allowed, that in this piece, the ingenious author is very hard put to it, and ſtruggles with infinite difficulty to give a fair gloſs to paſſages, that, in the natural ſenſe of the words, convey a very different meaning; and beſides this, there is an air of anger and reſentment runs through the whole piece, which plainly ſhews how much the author felt the weight of that cenſure he endeavours to ridicule, and would be thought to deſpiſe. Mr. Vanbrugh, afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh, likewiſe publiſhed a ſmall piece in ſupport of his own performances, under the title of, *A ſhort Vindication of the Relapſe, and the Provok'd Wife*; but this was very far from dejecting, or ſilencing our author. He thought he had a good cauſe, and that he was able to manage it with as much ſenſe and ſpirit as any of his adverſaries; and he found by experience too, that he was as well heard as they by the public; all which encouraged him to return to the charge, and to defend what he had written, not only againſt theſe, but againſt ſeveral other authors, who thought fit to enter the liſts on the ſide of the Poets, againſt the Prieſt. Theſe pieces of his were,

XVI. *A* Defence *of the* Short View, *&c. being a Reply to Mr. Congreve's Amendments*, &c. *And to the Vindication of the author of the Relapſe*, Lond. 1699, 8*vo*.

XVII. *A* Second Defence *of the Short View*, &c. *Being a Reply to a Book intitled*, The Ancient and Modern Stages ſurveyed, *&c. Lond.* 1700, 8*vo*. The Book here replied to, was written by Dr. Drake.

XVIII. *Mr.* Collier's *Diſſuaſive from the Play-Houſe; in a letter to a Perſon of Quality, occaſioned by the late calamity of the* Tempeſt, *Lond.* 1703, 8*vo*.

XIX. *A* farther Vindication *of the Short View*, &c. *in which the Objections of a late Book, intitled*, A Defence of Plays, *are conſidered, Lond.* 1708, 8*vo*.

The Defence of Plays, has Dr. Filmer for its author.

We have ſhewn in the text, what the event was of this long diſpute, in ſupport of which, I ſhall produce what Mr. Dryden ſays upon this ſubject (7). ' I ſhall ' ſay the leſs of Mr. Collier, becauſe in many things ' he has taxed me juſtly, and I have pleaded guilty ' to all thoughts and expreſſions of mine, which can ' be truly arraigned of obſcenity, profaneneſs, or immorality, and retract them. If he be my enemy, ' let him triumph; if he be my friend, as I have given ' him no perſonal occaſion to be otherwiſe, he will be ' glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to ' draw my pen in the defence of a bad cauſe, when I ' have ſo often drawn it for a good one: yet it were ' not difficult to prove, that in many places he has ' perverted my meaning by his gloſſes, and interpreted my words into blaſphemy and bawdry, of ' which they were not guilty; beſides that, he is too ' much given to horſe-play in his raillery, and comes ' to battle like a Dictator from the plough: I will ' not ſay the zeal of God's houſe has eaten him up; ' but I am ſure, it has devoured ſome part of his good ' manners and civility. It might alſo be doubted, ' whether it were altogether zeal, which prompted ' him to this rough manner of proceeding; perhaps it ' became not one of his function, to rake into the ' rubbiſh of ancient and modern plays: a Divine ' might have employed his pains to better purpoſe, ' than in the naſtineſs of Plautus and Ariſtophanes, ' whoſe examples, as they excuſe not me, ſo it might ' poſſibly be ſuppoſed, that he read them not without ' ſome pleaſure. They, who have written commentaries on thoſe poets, or on Horace, Juvenal, and ' Martial, have explained ſome vices, which, without ' their interpretation, had been unknown to modern ' times; neither has he judged impartially between ' the former age and us. There is more bawdry in ' one Play of Fletcher's, called, The Cuſtom of the ' Country, than in all ours together, yet this has been ' often acted on the ſtage in my remembrance. Are ' the times ſo much more reformed now, than they ' were five and twenty years ago? if they are, I congratulate the amendment of our morals; but I am ' not to prejudice the cauſe of my Fellow-Poets, ' though I abandon my own defence. They have ' ſome of them anſwered for themſelves, and neither ' they nor I can think Mr. Collier ſo formidable an ' enemy, that we would ſhun him. He has loſt ' ground at the latter end of the day, by purſuing his ' point too far, like the Prince of Condé at the battle ' of Seneff. From immoral plays to no plays; *ab* ' *abuſu ad uſum non valet conſequentia*. But being a ' party I am not to erect myſelf into a Judge.'

(7) Preface to his Fables.

The firſt part of Mr. Dryden's apology is ſo very decent, and withal ſo very juſt, that one cannot help being ſorry he did not reſt it there; but as to what follows, it is little to the purpoſe: he has owned, that Mr. Collier has ſhewn him his faults, and yet he is out of humour that they were ſhewn. Was it in his power to prove his charge againſt the ſtage any other way than he has done? did not the quibbling and prevarications of his antagoniſts, compel him to explain things ſo broadly? and might not any criminal at the bar charge the Attorney-General, with being a traitor in his heart, for ſetting forth, and inſiſting upon his own treaſons with the ſame force of argument, that is uſed in retorting upon Mr. Collier? The truth is, that men offend with gaiety of heart, but repent with bitterneſs of ſoul; which is the reaſon, that though they cannot help owning the phyſic has done them good, yet they cannot avoid bearing ill-will to the doctor.

longer maintained their credit [G]. After the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne, great endeavours were uſed to recover Mr. Collier to the Church, by inducing him to comply with the terms preſcribed by the State. All efforts of this kind, though ſupported not only with general promiſes of preferment, but with more particular aſſurances, were ineffectual; and Mr. Collier remained among the Nonjuring Clergy, as ſeeing no reaſon to alter his ſentiments from any change that had happened, and being incapable of diſſembling an alteration for the ſake of temporal views (*k*). About the ſame time that he publiſhed the firſt volume of his Dictionary, he likewiſe obliged the world with a very elegant tranſlation from the Greek, of that famous book of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, which has done more credit to his memory than even his excellent adminiſtration of public affairs during a reign which does honour to the Roman Hiſtory (*l*). This tranſlation was univerſally well received on its firſt appearance, and continues to be read with all the applauſe, that ſo well written, and ſo uſeful a treatiſe of Moral Philoſophy deſerves [H]. The ſituation of thoſe times, and the many worthy and generous patrons of whatever regarded the honour of this kingdom who then flouriſhed, encouraged Mr. Collier to hope, that an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great-Britain, which, in the extent he intended it, had never been attempted by any Proteſtant writer before, might meet with general acceptation. Accordingly, propoſals were publiſhed for ſending abroad ſuch a work, and the offer very well received; and ſuch encouragements given, as induced him to proſecute with diligence the great deſign he had formed, and at length finiſhed, of a copious Hiſtory of Church Affairs, from the firſt enterance of Chriſtianity into this Iſland, to the cloſe of the reign of Henry VII. This all parties allowed to be a work of great labour and learning, methodically and elegantly written; but in other reſpects they differed, as might well be ſuppoſed, in their judgments concerning its merit [I]. After the pains this book had coſt him,

(*k*) From the information before-mentioned.

(*l*) See the Life of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, tranſlated from the French of M. Dacier, prefixed to that work.

[G] *Or longer maintained their credit.*] We ſhall in this note give an account of the different times, in which the ſeveral parts of this Dictionary were publiſhed, and of other circumſtances relating to them, that may be worth the reader's knowing.

XX. *The Great Hiſterical, Geographical, Genealogical, and Poetical Dictionary*, &c. four volumes, fol.

The two firſt volumes were printed in the year 1701, and the author gave notice in his preface, that ſuch of the articles as were of a later date than the year 1688, were compoſed by another hand. The third volume was publiſhed, under the title of *A Supplement*, &c. in 1705, and was reprinted in 1727. It is in the preface to this, that he anſwers the objections made to his conduct; and to prevent thoſe articles being taken for his, which in this volume alſo, were written by another hand, they are placed under another alphabet. The fourth and laſt volume, which in the title page is called *An Appendix*, as in reality it is to the other three, was printed in 1721. The whole is certainly a great treaſure of Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Poetical Learning; and is not only very uſeful and entertaining to young ſcholars, who may by the help of it acquire much knowledge, and enter thoroughly into the meaning of the books they read in any of theſe kinds of learning; but even to perſons of the greateſt abilities, and moſt comprehenſive ſcience, who have but ſmall libraries, and live at a diſtance from London, and the two Univerſities. Yet this work is certainly capable of great improvements, and theſe might be made without enlarging the bulk, for it might be reduced under one alphabet; whereas at preſent there are four or five; and as by this means a multitude of repetitions, alterations, and corrections, might be thrown out, ſo this would make room for new articles, which might be eaſily found in the laſt edition of Moreri's Dictionary, now enlarged to ſeven volumes. The learned reader will eaſily diſcern, that this is no reflection either upon Mr. Collier's memory or his performance, ſince he did all that was poſſible to be done at the time he wrote; and the inconveniencies before mentioned were unavoidable from his manner of publication, as that too, with reſpect to him, was a matter not of choice but of neceſſity.

[H] *That ſo well written, and ſo uſeful a treatiſe of Moral Philoſophy deſerves.*] This work of Mr. Collier's has ſince borne three impreſſions, all of them under the following title:

XXI. *The Emperor* Marcus Antoninus *his converſation with himſelf. Together with the preliminary Diſcourſe of the learned* Gataker, *&c. to which is added, the Mythological Picture of* Cebes *the* Theban, *&c. Tranſlated into Engliſh from the reſpective originals*, Lond. 1701, 8*vo*.

This is one of the beſt collections we have in the Engliſh tongue of the Morals of the Antients; and, in conjunction with the works of Plutarch, Epictetus, and Seneca, will make an admirable library of that kind. The pieces of which it is compoſed are very well choſen, and illuſtrate each other perfectly, ſo as to render all the paſſages in them clear and intelligible; and yet it is of a very moderate ſize, and has nothing in it redundant, or foreign to the purpoſe.

[I] *Concerning its merit.*] As this great work was publiſhed in two volumes at different times, it is requiſite to ſpeak of them ſeparately. The firſt bore the following title:

XXII. *An* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory *of* Great-Britain, *chiefly of* England, *from the firſt planting of* Chriſtianity, *to the end of the Reign of King* Charles II. *With a brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in* Ireland. *Collected from the beſt antient Hiſtorians, Councils, and Records*, fol. 1702, Vol. I. *which comes down to the Reign of Henry* VII.

As the ſcheme of this work was in itſelf of large extent, it required a great knowledge in Divinity, Hiſtory, and Antiquity, and a very aſſiduous application to the peruſal of Records and manuſcripts, as well as a vaſt variety of antient and modern authors; and the performance itſelf demonſtrates very great care to have been taken in all theſe reſpects. The method in which this Hiſtory is written is very clear and exact, his authorities are conſtantly cited by the author, his remarks are ſhort and pertinent, and, with reſpect to the diſſertations that are occaſionally inſerted, they are ſuch as tend to illuſtrate and explain thoſe perplexed points of which they treat, and contribute thereby to the clearer underſtanding of the narration. The ſtyle is very uniform and grave, which is the more remarkable, becauſe the author, in other writings, has ſhewn as lively a fancy, and as much quickneſs of wit, as any writer of his own time; but he knew this would be improper here, and therefore it is with great judgment avoided. He ſpeaks modeſtly and reſpectfully of moſt of the Hiſtorians who went before him, and if he is any where ſevere, he takes care that his reaſon ſhall go along with his cenſure. His own peculiar ſentiments with reſpect to religion and government may be in ſome places diſcerned; but taking the whole together, it will be found as judicious and impartial a work, as the world, in doing juſtice to his talents, could have expected it: yet, as we have hinted in the text, it was far enough from eſcaping the cenſure of the Critics, but was ſtill much

him, our author thought a ſeaſon of repoſe neceſſary, or, as he himſelf expreſſes it, judged it convenient *to breathe a little after a folio* (*m*); yet without dropping, or ſo much as diſcontinuing his former deſign. But knowing that it required not only aſſiduity and vigilance, but the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection likewiſe, he choſe to act cautiouſly, and rather to apologize to the public for his delay, than to precipitate matters in order to hurry his work through the preſs. In the year 1713 he was conſecrated a Biſhop by Dr. George Hickes, who was himſelf conſecrated Suffragan of Thetford by the deprived Biſhops of Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough (*n*), Feb. 23, 1694. In the ſucceeding year came abroad the ſecond volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which met with a different reception from perſons of different ſentiments, being applauded by ſome and cenſured by others. Of the latter there were thoſe who made a conſiderable figure in the learned world, againſt whoſe objections the author thought it incumbent upon him to write [*K*]. As he grew in years, that great ſhare of health which he had enjoyed was interrupted by frequent attacks of the ſtone, to which there is no doubt that his ſedentary life might much contribute; ſo that from this time we hear of nothing that he publiſhed farther, excepting a collection of Sermons, of which, together with ſome ſmaller pieces prefixed to other men's works, an account will be given at the bottom of the page [*L*]. He lived, however, ſeveral years in an indiffe-

(*m*) See the Preface to the third Vol. of his Miſcellanies.

(*n*) From the information before-mentioned.

much happier in that reſpect than the ſecond volume, in ſpeaking of which we ſhall ſhew who theſe Critics were, as well as the titles of the pieces written by our author in his own defence, and in juſtification of his Hiſtory.

[*K*] *Thought it incumbent upon him to write.*] As the ſecond volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory took in the entire account of the Reformation, and the ſtruggles with the Puritans from their firſt appearance, to the overturning of our conſtitution in Church and State; ſo it muſt be naturally ſuppoſed, that a man of Mr. Collier's principles could never treat theſe delicate ſubjects, without affording ſome room, for ſuch as were deſirous of criticizing him, to take offence. Dr. Nicholſon, Biſhop of Derry, has treated him with great ſeverity, not to ſay more, in the character he has given of his works. Biſhop Burnet and Biſhop Kennet, who were infinitely better judges as well as writers, have corrected him with great decency. Mr. Collier defended himſelf againſt them all, in the pieces of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak: but before we come to them, it may not be amiſs to remark a ſingle, and a ſhining, inſtance of his impartiality, and that is, in diſculpating the Preſbyterians from the falſe and ſcandalous imputations that had been thrown upon them, as if they conſented to, or at leaſt temporized in, the murder of King Charles I. from which he has vindicated them with equal perſpicuity and juſtice; and has fully ſhewn, that as they only had it in their power to oppoſe, ſo to the utmoſt extent of that power they did oppoſe, and proteſt againſt that bloody fact, both before and after it was committed (8). The pieces written by him in defence of his Hiſtory are theſe:

(8) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 859, 860.

XXIII. *An Anſwer to ſome exceptions in Biſhop* Burnet's *third part of the* Hiſtory *of the* Reformation, *&c. againſt Mr.* Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; *together with a* Reply *to ſome* Remarks *in Biſhop* Nicholſon's *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, &c. upon the ſame ſubject*, fol. Lond. 1715.

XXIV. *Some Remarks on Dr.* Kennet's *ſecond and third Letters, wherein his miſrepreſentations of Mr. Collier's* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory *are laid open, and his calumnies diſproved*, Lond. 1717, fol. and 8vo. But in the octavo it is called *Some Conſiderations*, &c.

[*L*] *Will be given at the bottom of the page.*] The collection of Sermons mentioned in the text, came abroad under this title.

XXV. *Several* Diſcourſes *upon Practical Subjects*, Lond. 1725, 8vo. The laſt diſcourſe of this collection had been printed ſeparately, in 1723, with the following title. *The compariſon between giving and receiving, with the reaſons for preference; ſtated in a Sermon preached at Whitehall*, April 19th, 1687, 4to.

XXVI. *God not the Origin of* Evil, *being an additional Sermon to a collection of Mr.* Collier's *Diſcourſes*, &c. Lond. 1726, 8vo.

He publiſhed alſo *An Advertiſement againſt Biſhop* Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, which was printed on a ſlip of paper, and diſperſed in all the Coffee-houſes in 1724, and is to be ſeen in the Evening Poſt, No. 2254. Beſides this, he wrote ſeveral Prefaces, *&c.* As (1.) *An Advertiſement concerning the Author, and the tranſlation of* Maxims and Reflections upon Plays, in anſwer to a Diſcourſe of *the lawfulneſs and unlawfulneſs of Plays*, printed before a late Play intitled, *Beauty in Diſtreſs, written in* French, *by the Biſhop of* Meaux, Lond. 1669. (2.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* Tully's *five Books* de Finibus, *&c. Done into Engliſh by S. P.* (Sam. Parker) *Gent. Together with an Apology for the philoſophical writings of* Cicero, *in a letter to the Tranſlator*; *by* Mr. Henry Dodwell, Lond. 1702. (3.) *A Recommendatory Preface to* human Souls naturally immortal, *tranſlated from a Latin MS. by S. E.* Lond. 1707. Of this Preface Mr. Norris makes honourable mention in his letter to Mr. Dodwell, concerning the immortality of the Soul of Man, and ſays that Mr. Collier's ſingle remark againſt Mr. Locke, is, in his opinion, worth all the book beſides (9). It is alſo upon good grounds believed, that he was concerned, amongſt others, in collecting the paſſages referred to by Dr. Henry Sacheverell, in his anſwer to the articles of his impeachment. C.

(9) Mr. Norris's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, p. 107.

*** [Though out of regard to our ingenious predeceſſor, Dr. Campbell, we have retained his article of Collier without alteration, and have done the ſame with relation to his other articles, we cannot avoid, nevertheleſs, expreſſing our diſapprobation of ſeveral things which are here advanced. Reſpect is undoubtedly due to men of ability, character, and learning, of every party; but yet a diſtinction ought to be made between thoſe who appear in the cauſe of abſurdity, bigotry, and ſlavery, and thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves on the ſide of reaſon, moderation, and liberty. The former, however worthy they might be in private life, and however upright in their intentions, cannot be entitled to the eſteem and applauſe which belong to the latter. They ought not to be ſpoken of in the ſame terms of approbation, or treated as if their writings were equally juſt and meritorious. It might be imagined, from the general tenor of Dr. Campbell's article, that Collier deſerved to be ranked among the principal ornaments of this country. And yet whoever attends to the incidents of his life, and conſiders the liſt of his works, will perceive that he was engaged in defending the moſt flagrant abſurdities, and in exerciſing the moſt determined hoſtilities againſt the civil and religious intereſts of theſe kingdoms. The very mention of ſeveral of the ſubjects he wrote upon, would be ſufficient, in the preſent age, to expoſe the extreme narrowneſs of his mind. His treatment of the moſt reſpectable characters can never be juſtified. In a pamphlet of his, entitled, "Remarks upon ſome late Sermons," he reflected upon the excellent Archbiſhop Tillotſon with uncommon bitterneſs and indecency; and when properly animadverted upon by Dr. John Williams, perſiſted in defending his conduct (10).

(10) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 344.

Collier's Eſſays may be reckoned among the moſt valuable of his writings; but yet they do not by any means deſerve the praiſes which Dr. Campbell has beſtowed

indifferent ſtate of health, ſometimes tolerably free, and at others grievouſly afflicted by his old diſtemper, which brought him to his grave April 26, 1726; and, three days after, his

beſtowed upon them. Though not deſtitute of ingenuity, they are compoſed in a bad taſte. The author is fond of point and antitheſis, and his language is quaint and affected. This part of his works was, indeed, much admired and extolled for a time, but could not ſtand the teſt of juſt criticiſm. The impropriettes of compoſition with which the eſſays abound, were well and amply expoſed in a book now little known, though of conſiderable merit, written by a Mr. Conſtable, and the title of which is, "Reflections on the Accuracy of Stile." The reputation of Collier, as a polite author, quickly ſubſided. Dr. Campbell, therefore, was peculiarly unfortunate in ſaying of his Eſſays, that very few books had fairer for univerſal approbation.

The work of Mr. Collier that has been the moſt celebrated, and which produced the greateſt effect, was his view of the immorality and profaneneſs of the Engliſh ſtage. Dr. Johnſon's account of the attention it excited, and of the controverſy occaſioned by it, is too intereſting to be omitted. "About this "time, ſays the Doctor, began the long-continued "controverſy between Collier and the poets. In the "reign of Charles the firſt, the Puritans had raiſed a "violent clamour againſt the drama, which they conſidered as an entertainment not lawful to Chriſtians, "an opinion held by them in common with the "Church of Rome; and Prynne publiſhed *Hiſtrio-maſtix*, a huge volume, in which ſtage-plays were "cenſured. The outrages and crimes of the Puritans brought afterwards their whole ſyſtem of "doctrine into diſrepute, and from the reſtoration "the poets and the players were left at quiet; for to "have moleſted them would have had the appearance of tendency to the puritanical malignity.

"This danger, however, was worn away by time; "and Collier, a fierce and implacable non-juror, "knew that an attack upon the theatre would never "make him ſuſpected for a Puritan: he therefore "(1698) publiſhed *A ſhort View of the Immorality and Profaneneſs of the Engliſh Stage*, I believe with no "other motive than religious zeal and honeſt indignation. He was formed for a Controvertiſt; with "ſufficient learning; with diction vehement and "pointed, though often vulgar and incorrect; with "unconquerable pertinacity; with wit in the higheſt "degree keen and ſarcaſtic; and with all thoſe "powers exalted and invigorated by juſt confidence "in his cauſe.

"Thus qualified, and thus incited, he walked out "to battle, and aſſailed at once moſt of the living "writers, from Dryden to Durfey. His outſet was "violent: thoſe paſſages which while they ſtood "ſingle had paſſed with little notice, when they were "accumulated and expoſed together, excited horror: "the wiſe and the pious caught the alarm, and the "nation wondered why it had ſo long ſuffered irreligion and licentiouſneſs to be openly taught at the "public charge.

"Nothing now remained for the Poets but to re"ſiſt or fly. Dryden's conſcience, or his prudence, "angry as he was, withheld him from the conflict; "Congreve and Vanbrugh attempted anſwers. Con"greve, a very young man, elated with ſucceſs, and "impatient of cenſure, aſſumed an air of confidence "and ſecurity. His chief artifice of controverſy is "to retort upon his adverſary his own words: he is "very angry, and hoping to conquer Collier with his "own weapons, allows himſelf in the uſe of every "term of contumely and contempt: but he has the "ſword without the arm of Scanderbeg; he has his "antagoniſt's coarſeneſs, but not his ſtrength. Col"lier replied; for conteſt was his delight: he was "not to be frighted from his purpoſe, or his prey.

"The cauſe of Congreve was not tenable: what"ever gloſſes he might uſe for the defence or palliation of ſingle paſſages, the general tenour and "tendency of his plays muſt always be condemned. "It is acknowledged, with univerſal conviction, that "the peruſal of his works will make no man better; "and that their ultimate effect is to repreſent plea"ſure in alliance with vice, and to relax thoſe obli"gations by which life ought to be regulated.

"The ſtage found other advocates, and the diſ"pute was protracted through ten years: but at laſt "comedy grew more modeſt, and Collier lived to ſee "the reward of his labour, in the reformation of the "theatre.

"Of the powers by which this important victory "was atchieved, a quotation from *Love for Love*, "and the remark upon it, may afford a ſpecimen.

"Sir Sampſon. *Sampſon's a very good name; for "your Sampſons were ſtrong dogs from the beginning.*

"Angelica. *Have a care—If you remember, the "ſtrongeſt Sampſon of your name pulled an old houſe over "his head at laſt.*

"Here you have the ſacred hiſtory burleſqued, "and Sampſon once more brought into the houſe of "Dagon, to make ſport for the Philiſtines (11)!"

(11) Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 49—53. Octavo edition, of 1783.

The author of the Supplement to Mr. Dodſley's Preface to his ſelect Collection of old Plays, has likewiſe given a ſhort account of this controverſy, which deſerves to be inſerted, as it contains two or three curious facts, not hitherto noticed. "While the "rival theatres were contending againſt each other "with inveterate malice, an enemy to the very tole"ration of dramatic entertainments appeared, who, "with conſiderable ability, and with all the rigid "puritanical maxims of a ſevere ſect, attacked the "ſtage on account of its profaneneſs and immorality. "This was the celebrated Jeremy Collier, who in "1697 (1698) publiſhed a book, containing a ſevere "invective againſt the acting of plays, the profligacy "of the performers, and the licentiouſneſs of the "poets; and having ſome truth and juſtice on his "ſide, the advocates for the theatre found themſelves "hard preſſed to anſwer the charges brought againſt "their favourite diverſion. It cannot be denied but "that many authors, and ſome in great favour with "the public, had written in a manner which war"ranted the cenſure of every perſon who profeſſed "the leaſt regard to propriety or decency. Mr. "Collier was oppoſed by Congreve, Vanbrugh, "Dryden, Dennis, and others, with wit and humour, "but without confuting the objections which had "been ſtarted either againſt themſelves individually, "or againſt the ſtage in general. The public opi"nion ran ſo much againſt the defenders of the thea"tre, and in favour of their enemy, that King Wil"liam conſidered Mr. Collier's book as a work which "entitled the author of it to ſome lenity in a proſe"cution then carrying on in conſequence of errors in "his political conduct. This controverſy produced "as much as could be wiſhed for from it. Mr. "Cibber obſerves, the calling our dramatic writers "to this ſtrict account had a very wholeſome effect "upon thoſe who wrote after this time. They were "now a great deal more upon their guard; inde"cencies were no longer wit; and by degrees the "fair ſex came again to fill the boxes on the firſt day "of a new comedy, without fear or cenſure.

"To forward the ſtage's reformation, proſecutions "were commenced againſt ſome of the performers, "for repeating profane and indecent words. Several "were found guilty, and Betterton and Mrs. Brace"girdle were actually fined. Theſe ſeverities were "not entirely thrown away. From this period may "be dated the introduction of that more refined "taſte which hath done ſo much credit to the Britiſh "theatre (12)."

(12) Select Collection of Old Plays, vol. i. Second edition. Preface, p. xcviii—c.

An author, who ſeems to inherit Mr. Collier's principles concerning paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, as well as his averſion to theatrical entertainments in general, hath lately given the following high character of his attack upon the ſtage. "I queſtion, "ſays the writer we refer to, whether any man can "read Swift's Tale of a Tub, or Don Quevedo's "Viſions, without finding himſelf the worſe for it. "In regard to all ſuch indiſcreet applications of wit, "every young ſtudent may guard his mind, and rec-

his body was interred in the church-yard of St. Pancras. He was in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and preſerved the free uſe of his ſenſes to the very laſt. As to his character, we have already given it in the impartial hiſtory of his works, and ſhall therefore only add, that his morals were unexceptionable; and that, as his conduct had in it all the regularity becoming a Clergyman, ſo his behaviour had nothing ſtiff or pedantic, but all that life, ſpirit, and innocent freedom, which conſtitute the good breeding of a gentleman. His reputation as a man of letters extended beyond the bounds of his own country; for the learned and ingenious Father Courbeville, who tranſlated into French the Hero of Balthazar Gracian, in the Preface of that work, ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of praiſe of our author's Miſcellaneous Works, which he ſays ſet him on a level with Montaigne, St. Evremond, La Bruyere, *&c.* The ſame reverend and learned perſon tranſlated into French Mr. Collier's *Short View of the Engliſh Stage*, and thence takes occaſion to ſpeak of him again, with all the marks of admiration and eſteem poſſible.

" tify his judgment, by reading Mr. Collier's view " of the profaneneſs and immorality of the Engliſh " ſtage; a book which brought Dryden himſelf to " repentance, and does indeed beggar every work " upon the ſame argument. It is the triumph of wit " over ſcurrility; of piety over profaneneſs; of learn- " ing over ignorance; and of Chriſtianity over athe- " iſm (13)." This encomium is carried too far, and eſpecially the aſſertion that Collier's book beggars every work upon the ſame argument. It is not to be compared with Roſſeau's famous Treatiſe, in Anſwer to D'Alembert, concerning the queſtion whether there ought to be a theatre at Geneva. Roſſeau, in his reaſonings againſt dramatic entertainments, particularly in ſmall cities, is profound, philoſophical, and diſcriminating; whereas Collier is harſh and violent, and doth not make the proper diſtinction between the uſe and abuſe of plays.

(13) Letters from a Tutor to his Pupils, p. 32.

Some of Mr. Collier's other writings have their merit and utility. He was a diligent and laborious compiler; but his Hiſtorical Dictionary does not ſeem at preſent to be in much uſe and eſtimation. It is very little ſervice that we have hitherto been able to derive from it in the proſecution of the Biographia.

Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory is not deſtitute of ability and learning; but it is written upon ſuch narrow principles as muſt ever detract from its reputation. Biſhop Burnet's character of it we apprehend to be too juſt to be reaſonably called in queſtion. " I ſhall " ſay no more of that work, obſerves the Biſhop, but " that there appeared to me quite through the ſecond " volume, ſuch a conſtant inclination to favour the " popiſh doctrine, and to cenſure the reformers, that " I ſhould have had a better opinion of the author's " integrity, if he had profeſſed himſelf not to be of " our communion, nor of the communion of any " other Proteſtant Church (14)."

(14) Preface to Burnet's third volume of his Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England, p. vi.

In Mr. Gutch's Miſcellanea Curioſa, are preſerved, " Obſervations upon the Remarks of Mr. Collier, " in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, on ſeveral paſſages in " Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation," by the learned Mr. John Lewis of Margate. It is apparent, from theſe obſervations, that Collier's diſlike of that excellent prelate, rendered him guilty of groſsly miſrepreſenting him, in a variety of inſtances.] K.

*** [COLLINS (JOHN), a mathematician of conſiderable eminence in the ſeventeenth century, was born at Wood Eaton, in Oxfordſhire, on the 5th of March, 1624 (*a*). He was the ſon of a Nonconformiſt divine [*A*]; and is ſaid to have received ſuch an education, " as diſpoſed his mind to the full purſuit of truth, and formed and directed his " thoughts to diſtinguiſh rightly, and to reaſon juſtly (*b*)." When he had attained the age of ſixteen, he was put apprentice to a bookſeller at Oxford; but the war between the king and the parliament breaking out ſoon after, he quitted that trade, and was employed in clerkſhip under Mr. John Marr, one of the clerks of the kitchen to the Prince of Wales, who was eminent for his ſkill in the mathematics, and for ſome excellent dials, with which the gardens of King Charles I. were adorned (*c*). From Mr. Marr he derived ſome inſtruction in mathematics; but was obliged to quit his employment under him, in conſequence of the confuſions that were occaſioned by the civil war. He then went to ſea for ſeven years, and ſpent the greateſt part of that time on board an Engliſh merchant-man, which became a man of war in the ſervice of the Venetians againſt the Turks. In this ſituation, having much leiſure, he applied part of his time to the ſtudy of the mathematics, and merchants accounts; and, upon his return to England, taught them together with writing (*d*).

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxonienſis, vol. ii. col. 116.

(*b*) Gen. Dict.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, vol. iv. p. 232.

In the year 1652, he publiſhed 'An Introduction to Merchants Accounts [*B*],' which had been drawn up for the uſe of his ſcholars. In 1685, he publiſhed, in 4to, his 'Sector

[*A*] *He was the ſon of a Nonconformiſt divine.*] Wood ſays, 'His father was a Nonconformiſt divine, and 'though not ſuffered to preach in churches, yet in 'priſons to malefactors, which, with the correcting of 'the preſs, obtained him a ſubſiſtence (1).'

(1) Faſti, vol. ii. col. 116.

Dr. Calamy mentions a Nonconformiſt miniſter, whoſe name was John Collins, and who might poſſibly be the father of our author; but whether he was, or not, we are unable to aſcertain. Of this Mr. Collins, the following is Dr. Calamy's account. 'He was not an incumbent any where when the uni- 'formity act took place; but was Chaplain to Gene- 'ral Monk, when he came out of Scotland. He af- 'terwards ſucceeded Mr. Mallory as paſtor of a con- 'ſiderable Independent Church in this city. He was 'alſo one of the Lecturers at Pinners-Hall. He was 'a man mighty in the Scriptures, and one of a ſweet 'temper, and very charitable to all good men, with- 'out confining himſelf to a party. He died anno. '1687 (2).' Dr. Calamy alſo ſays, 'He had a ſon 'that was educated for the miniſtry at Utrecht, and 'was fellow-labourer with Mr. Bragg in this city, 'and one of the Lecturers at Pinners-Hall, who died 'a few years ſince (3).'

(2) Calamy's Account of Ejected Miniſters, vol. ii. p. 837, 838. Second edit.

(3) Continuation, vol. ii. p. 962.

If the John Collins, mentioned by Dr. Calamy, was father to the mathematician, he muſt have ſurvived his ſon. But, upon the whole, it is probable that he was not, as it is not likely that Dr. Calamy would have been entirely unacquainted with it, if he had been father to a man ſo well known in the learned world.

[*B*] *An Introduction to Merchants Accounts.*] This was reprinted in 1665, but the greateſt part of the impreſſion was conſumed in the fire of London the year following. A new edition was publiſhed in 1674, in folio, with additions (4).

(4) Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, vol. iv. p. 232.

'on

on a Quadrant; or a 'Treatiſe concerning the Deſcription and Uſe of four ſeveral Quadrants,' &c. The following year he publiſhed his 'Mariner's plain Scale new plained,' and his 'Treatiſe of geometrical Dialling;' and in 1664, he publiſhed, 'The Doctrine of Decimal Arithmetic, Simple Intereſt, &c. as alſo of Compound Intereſt and Annuities, generally performed for any time of payment (*e*).'

(*e*) Birch and Wood, *ut ſupra.*

After the Reſtoration, Mr. Collins was appointed Accountant to the Exciſe-Office, then kept in Bartholomew-lane, near the Royal Exchange. On the 10th of October, 1667, he had the honour of being propoſed as a candidate for election into the Royal Society by Dr. Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury; and he was choſen a Fellow on the 17th of that month (*f*). The ſame year he communicated a paper to the Society, which was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 30, for December, 1667, in which he fully explained, and demonſtrated, the rule given by the learned Jeſuit De Billy for 'finding the number of the Julian period for any year aſſigned, the cycles of the ſun and moon with the Roman indiction for the year being given.' To this he added ſome very neatly contrived rules for the ready finding on what day of the week any day of the month falls for ever; and other the moſt uſeful and neceſſary kalendar rules (*g*).

(*f*) Birch, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Gen. Dict.

In 1668, he had the offer of an employment in Ireland, but did not accept it, as he was not inclined to quit his own country (*h*). In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 46, for April, 1669, was publiſhed a curious Diſſertation, by Mr. Collins, "concerning the Reſolutions of Equations in Numbers;" wherein are ſeveral hints towards ſome of the moſt conſiderable advances which have been ſince made in the refined parts of the mathematics, particularly with reſpect to the doctrine of differences (*i*).

(*h*) Birch, *ut ſupra.*

(*i*) Gen. Dict. Lowthorp's Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. i. p. 60.

When Anthony, the firſt Earl of Shafteſbury, was Lord High Chancellor, Mr. Collins was nominated by that nobleman, in divers references concerning ſuits depending in Chancery, to aſſiſt in ſtating intricate accounts: and this ſervice was ſo ably performed by him, that his reputation in that reſpect occaſioned him to be much employed in other places, and by other perſons (*k*). He was alſo appointed Accountant to the Royal Fiſhery Company (*l*). In 1671, a paper by Mr. Collins was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 69, containing an elegant conſtruction of that chronographical problem: 'The diſtances of three objects in the ſame plane, and the angles made at a fourth place in that plane, by obſerving each object, being given; to find the diſtances of thoſe objects from the place of obſervation (*m*).'

(*k*) Birch, *ut ſupra*, p. 233.

(*l*) Gen. Dict.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

Mr. Collins did not confine his attention wholly to mathematical ſtudies, but engaged alſo in other inquiries, and ſuch as were of a public-ſpirited nature. In 1680, he publiſhed, at London, a ſmall treatiſe, in *4to.* intituled, 'A Plea for the bringing in of Iriſh Cattle, and keeping out the Fiſh caught by Foreigners; together with an Addreſs to the Members of Parliament of the Counties of Cornwall and Devon, about the advancement of Tin, Fiſhery, and divers Manufactures.' In 1682, he publiſhed, in *4to.* a 'Diſcourſe of Salt and Fiſhery,' under the following heads: I. The ſeveral ways of making ſalts in England and foreign parts. II. The characters and qualities of good and bad of theſe ſeveral ſorts of ſalts; Engliſh refined being aſſerted to be much better than any foreign. III. The catching and curing or ſalting of the moſt eminent or ſtaple ſorts of fiſh for long or ſhort keeping. IV. The ſalting of fleſh. V. The cookery of fiſh and fleſh. VI. Extraordinary experiments for preſerving butter, fleſh, fiſh, fowl, fruits and roots, freſh and ſweet for long keeping. VII. The caſe and ſufferings of the ſalt-workers. VIII. Propoſals for their relief, and for the advancement of the fiſhery, woollen, tin, and divers other manufactures (*n*).

(*n*) *Ibid.*

Mr. Collins did not long ſurvive the publication of this piece. After the act at Oxford, July 10, 1682, riding from thence to Malmeſbury in Wiltſhire, in order to view the ground to be cut for a river between the Iſis and Avon, and drinking cyder while he was hot, he contracted an aſthma and conſumption, which at length put a period to his life. He died at his lodging on Garlick-hill, London, on the 10th of November, 1683; and his body was interred, three days after, in the pariſh-church of St. James, Garlick-hill, in the ſouth-iſle juſt behind the pulpit (*o*). In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 159, for May, 1684, a letter was publiſhed, written by Mr. Collins to the learned Dr. John Wallis, containing his thoughts about ſome defects in Algebra; and wherein he propoſes the genuine method of deſcribing the *Loci* of Equations, and of determining the limits and number of their roots, with various other matters (*p*). His 'Arithmetic in whole Numbers and Fractions, both Vulgar and Decimal, with Tables for the forbearance and rebate of Money,' &c. did not appear till ſome years after his death, being publiſhed in London, in 1688, in 12*mo.* by Mr. Thomas Plant, Accountant (*q*).

(*o*) Birch and Wood, *ut ſupra.*

(*p*) Gen. Dict. and Lowthorp's Abridgment, vol. i. p. 117.

(*q*) Birch, p. 234.

Beſides his own productions, Mr. Collins was alſo a great promoter of many other valuable publications of the age in which he lived. It is aſſerted to be owing to him that the world is indebted, for the publication of Dr. Barrow's Optical and Geometrical Lectures, his edition of the works of Archimedes, and of Apollonius's Conics; Mr. Branker's Tranſlation of Rhonius's Algebra, with Dr. Pell's additions; Mr. Kerſey's Algebra; Dr. Wallis's Hiſtory of Algebra; and many other excellent works, which are ſaid to have been procured by his unwearied ſolicitations (*r*). About five and twenty years after Mr. Collins's

(*r*) Gen. Dict. art. *Collins*, note [C].

Collins's death, all his papers, and moſt of his books came into the hands of Mr. William Jones, F. R. S. amongſt which were found manuſcripts upon mathematical ſubjects of Mr. Briggs, Mr. Oughtred, Dr. Pell, Dr. Scarborough, Dr. Barrow, and Mr. Iſaac Newton, with a multitude of letters received from, and copies of letters ſent to, many learned perſons, particularly Dr. Pell, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Barrow, Mr. Newton, Mr. James Gregory, Mr. Flamſteed, Mr. Thomas Baker, Mr. Brancker, Dr. Edward Bernard, Monſ. Sluſius, Monſ. Leibnitz, Monſ. Tſchirnaus, Father Bertet, and others (*s*). It appeared from theſe papers, that Mr. Collins was ſo ſolicitous in his ſearch after uſeful truths, ſo indefatigably induſtrious in proſecuting theſe inquiries, and of a diſpoſition ſo communicative, that he held a conſtant correſpondence, for many years, with all the eminent mathematicians of his time; and ſpared neither pains, nor expence, to procure what was requiſite to promote real ſcience; ſo that the world was obliged to him for a great part of the late important diſcoveries (*t*). He was conſidered as a kind of regiſter of all new improvements in the mathematics; and was conſtantly ſtimulating others to uſeful inquiries, and pointing out the defects in different branches of ſcience, and the methods by which thoſe defects might be ſupplied; ſo that he was ſometimes ſtyled the Engliſh Merſennus (*u*). He was certainly a man of great merit; but appears not to have met with the encouragement that he deſerved, from thoſe who had it in their power to have rewarded him [*C*]. It was chiefly from the papers of Mr. Collins, that the claim of Sir Iſaac Newton to the invention of fluxions was clearly eſtabliſhed, as may be ſeen in the *Commercium Epiſtolicum D. Johannis Collins & aliorum de Analyſi promotâ, juſſu Regiæ Societatis lucem editum*, Lond. 1712, 4*to* (*w*).] T.

(*s*) Birch, *ut ſupra.*

(*t*) *Ibid.*

(*u*) Gen. Dict.

(*w*) Birch, *ut ſupra.*

[*C*] *Appears not to have met with the encouragement that he deſerved, &c.*] Dr. Birch ſays, that 'upon 'the loſs of his place in the Exciſe-office, and that 'under the Commiſſioners of Accounts, he was re-'commended by Sir Philip Warwick, in a letter dated 'May, 1670, to Sir John Trevor, one of the Princi-'pal Secretaries of State, as long known to, and re-'ſpected by him, for his great and uſeful parts, and 'greater modeſty; and that, beſides his knowledge 'of mathematics and accounts, he was a great maſter 'of trade. "I conceive," added Sir Philip, "he "takes better meaſures of it, and knows the hinges "it turns on better than any diſcourſes I have met "with, and can rectify the methods of ſeveral ac-"counts relating to the navy and ſuch affairs, if he "be leiſurely dealt with, for he neither makes noiſe "nor ſhew. I find (for he is neither covetous nor "greedy) he could reckon 200*l. per annum* for a "reaſonable ſubſiſtence: which, if his Majeſty and "my Lords Commiſſioners think fit to buy him at, "ſure he may be ſet on work immediately upon ſuch "ſubjects, as he will ſoon earn his wages, though it "be an extraordinary allowance: and the next Com-"miſſioners of Appeals place, which falls in the Ex-"ciſe (which is now rather a bounty than a ſalary) "may take off that extraordinary charge." Sir Philip 'Warwick wrote another letter in his favour, Aug. '6, 1677, to Mr. Brent, incloſing a paper recom-'mending Mr. Collins to the Lord-Treaſurer, the 'Earl of Danby; in which letter he ſtyled him *a man 'of good arts, and yet greater ſimplicity; able, but no 'ways forward*; and obſerved, that he had deſerved, 'when he was in employment, the ſmall penſion aſ-'ſigned him when he quitted that employment. Sir 'Philip wrote a third letter of recommendation, Oct. '31, 1678, to Charles Bertie, Eſq; Secretary to the 'Lord-Treaſurer, mentioning, that in the ſmall 'office, which Mr. Collins had in the Exciſe while 'the Earl of Southampton was Treaſurer, he was 'very truſty to his charge, and very careful in the 'true ſtating of the accounts at Brook-houſe; and 'that he could have very ample teſtimonies of his 'ſervices in attending the Commiſſioners, and more 'lately in his Office of Accountant to the Royal 'Fiſhery Company. "But as a man," conti-'nues Sir Philip, "that hath attended more his "buſineſs than himſelf, he fell ſhort of receiving "thoſe ſalaries, which were promiſed him: but I "contract myſelf and my ſuit to you, and pray you "to repreſent it, if it would do any good, in my "name to my Lord-Treaſurer, that he having, upon "diſſolving the then commiſſion for Exciſe, but a "a poor penſion of fifty pounds *per ann.* ſettled on "him by Privy Seal, and of which he is now five or "ſix years in arrear, you would be inſtrumental to "get him ſuch a portion, as might be comfortable "for him, and whereof, I aſſure you, he ſtands in "great need for his family as well as for himſelf, his "preſent ſubſiſtence being only ſometimes taking "ſome intricate accounts of merchants, which are "litigant, and others, who call him thereunto upon "ſuch occaſions. I extend my requeſt ſomewhat "farther, that if my Lord-Treaſurer have need of "ſuch a man's ſervice, as he may probably upon the "balance of trade or of a ſteady account of another "nature, you would remember him, and gain him "ſome employment; for thus he will recommend "himſelf (5)."]

(5) *Ibid.* p. 233, 234.

COLLINS (ANTHONY), an eminent Writer of the preſent Century, was ſon of Henry Collins, Eſq; a gentleman of a conſiderable eſtate; and was born at Heſton near Hounſlow in Middleſex, June 21, 1676 (*a*). He was educated in grammar learning at Eton-College near Windſor, and from thence was removed to King's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Francis Hare (*b*). Upon his leaving college, he was entered a Student in the Temple: but diſreliſhing the ſtudy of the Law, he ſoon abandoned it. In 1698, he married Martha, the daughter of Sir Francis Child, Alderman of London (*c*), and by her had two ſons, Henry and Anthony [*A*], and two daughters, Elizabeth and Martha (*d*). In 1700, our author publiſhed a tract, intituled, *Several of the London Caſes conſidered* (*e*). In 1703, and 1704, he held an epiſtolary correſpondence with the great Mr. Locke, who expreſſed an high regard and friendſhip for our author [*B*]. In 1707,

(*a*) See his epitaph in remark [*P*].

(*b*) Afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter.

(*c*) Sir Francis was Lord-Mayor the year following.

(*d*) See epitaph.

(*e*) Catalogue of Mr. Collins's Library, written with his own hand.

[*A*] *He had—two ſons, Henry and Anthony.*] Henry, the elder, died in his infancy. Anthony the younger, a youth of great hopes, and educated at Benet-College in Cambridge, died, in the 22d year of his age, lamented by all that knew him (1).

(1) See the epitaph in the remark [*P*].

[*B*] *Mr. Locke expreſſed an high regard and friendſhip for our author.*] This appears from Mr. Locke's letters to Mr. Collins (2). In that dated from Oates in Eſſex, October 29, 1703, he writes as follows. 'If 'I were now ſetting out in the world, I ſhould think 'it

(2) Publiſhed by M. Des Maizeaux in his Collection of ſeveral pieces of Mr. John Locke, &c. Lond. 1720. See Page 271, &c.

1707, he publiſhed his *Eſſay concerning the Uſe of Reaſon* (*f*) [C]. The ſame year, our author engaged in the controverſy, then on foot between Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Samuel Clarke, concerning the *Natural Immortality of the Soul* [D]. In December 1709, came out a pamphlet (*g*), intituled, *Prieſtcraft in Perfection* [E]; and, in February the year following, another intituled, *Reflexions on a late Pamphlet, intituled*, Prieſtcraft in Perfection; both written by our author. The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Vindication of the Divine Attributes, in ſome Remarks on the Archbiſhop of Dublin's Sermon* (*h*). In March 1711, Mr. Collins went over to Holland, where he became acquainted with Mr. Le Clerc, and other learned men, and returned to London in November following. In 1713, he publiſhed his *Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking* [F]; and ſoon after made a ſecond trip to Holland,

(*f*) A ſecond edition of it was publiſhed in 1709.

(*g*) See Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, for Dec. 1709, p. 753.

(*h*) Intituled, Divine Predeſtination and Foreknowledge conſiſting with the Freedom of Man's Will, Lond. 1710.

'it my great happineſs to have ſuch a companion as 'you, who had a true reliſh of truth, would in earneſt 'ſeek it with me, from whom I might receive it un-'diſguiſed, and to whom I might communicate what 'I thought true, freely. Believe it, my good friend, 'to love truth for truth's ſake, is the principal part 'of human perfection in this world, and the ſeed-plot 'of all other virtues; and, if I miſtake not, you have 'as much of it, as ever I met with in any body. 'What then is there wanting to make you equal to 'the beſt, a friend for any one to be proud of?' In another, dated from Oates, September 11th, 1704, he writes thus: *He that has any thing to do with you, muſt own that friendſhip is the natural product of your conſtitution; and your ſoul, a noble ſoil, is enriched with the two moſt valuable qualities of human nature, truth and friendſhip. What a treaſure have I then in ſuch a friend, with whom I can converſe, and be enlightened about the higheſt ſpeculations?* Theſe extracts evince, that, at that time, Mr. Collins appeared to Mr. Locke in the light of an impartial, diſintereſted, enquirer after truth. How far that great man, who was undoubtedly a friend to Revelation, would, probably, have altered his opinion of our author, had he lived (3) to ſee his works (of which he had publiſhed none but his *London Caſes conſidered*) the readers of Mr. Collins's works will judge.

(3) Mr. Locke died the 28th of October, 1704.

[C] *His Eſſay concerning the uſe of Reaſon.*] The title at length is: *An Eſſay concerning the uſe of Reaſon in Propoſitions, the evidence whereof depends upon human teſtimony.* Dr. Francis Gaſtrell, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, being animadverted upon in this eſſay, with relation to ſome paſſages in his *Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that controverſy*, printed at London in 1702, he ſubjoined to the third edition of it, in 1707, a *Vindication* of it in anſwer to Mr. Collins's Eſſay.

[D] *He engaged in the Controverſy—concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul.*] Upon this ſubject Mr. Collins publiſhed the following pieces. I. *A Letter to Mr. Dodwell, containing ſome remarks on a (pretended) Demonſtration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the Soul, in* Mr. Clarke's *Anſwer to a late* Epiſtolary Diſcourſe. London, 1707, and 1709, in 8*vo*. II. *A Defence of the Argument made uſe of in a Letter to* Mr. Dodwell. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. III. *A Reply to* Mr. Clarke's Defence *of his* letter to Mr. Dodwell: *with a poſtſcript to Mr.* Milles's Anſwer to Mr. Dodwell's Epiſtolary Diſcourſe. London, 1707, in 8*vo*. A ſecond edition of this piece, corrected, was publiſhed in 1709, in 8*vo*. IV. *Reflections on Mr.* Clarke's ſecond Defence *of his* Letter to Mr. Dodwell, London, 1707, in 8*vo*. There was a ſecond edition in 1711, in 8*vo*. V. *An anſwer to Mr.* Clarke's third Defence *of his* Letter to Mr. Dodwell. London, 1708, in 8*vo*. There was a ſecond edition, corrected, London, 1711, in 8*vo*.

[E] *A pamphlet intituled* Prieſtcraft in Perfection.] The title at length is: *Prieſtcraft in perfection, or, a Detection of the fraud of inſerting, and continuing that clauſe* [The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith] *in the twentieth article of the Articles of the Church of England.* The authority of this clauſe had been called in queſtion, in a book intituled, *The Peril of being zealouſly affected, but not well; or Reflections on Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon preached at St. Paul's*, Nov. 5, 1709 (4). And it being now again profeſſedly attacked by Mr. Collins, ſeveral Pamphlets, Sermons, and Books were publiſhed upon the ſubject. Among which, the moſt remarkable were the two following. I. *A Vindication of the Church of England from the aſperſions of a late libel intituled,* Prieſtcraft in Perfection: *wherein the controverted clauſe of the Church's power in the 20th Article is ſhewn to be of equal authority with all the reſt of the Articles, and the fraud and forgery, charged upon the Clergy, upon the account of that clauſe, is retorted upon the accuſers. With a Preface containing ſome Remarks upon the Reflections on that Pamphlet. By a Prieſt of the Church of England,* London, 1710, in 8*vo*. II. *An Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of Religion, agreed on in* 1562, *and reviſed in* 1571, &c. *By Thomas Bennet,* D. D. In anſwer to theſe two Books, Mr. Collins publiſhed his *Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles*, &c (5). The ſecond and third editions of his *Prieſtcraft in Perfection* were printed, with corrections, at London, in 1710, in 8*vo*; and at the end of the third is ſubjoined the following advertiſement. 'Whereas 'in the two former impreſſions of *Prieſtcraft*, &c. A 'letter from *Oxford* is cited, giving an account of an 'Engliſh edition of the Articles being cut out from a 'volume of Miſcellanies in the *Bodleian* Library; I 'have omitted that paſſage in this edition, upon the 'ſight of a letter from *Oxford*, which aſſures the gentleman, to whom it was written, that my friend was 'miſtaken. I do not know at preſent in what part of 'England he is, and therefore I cannot as yet give 'the reader or myſelf that ſatisfaction in the matter, 'which I hope to do when I hear of his return to '*Oxford*.'

(5) See the remark [K].

[F] *His* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking.] The title at length is: *A Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, occaſioned by the riſe and growth of a Sect called Free-Thinkers.* It was re-printed at the Hague, with ſome additions and corrections, in 1713, in 12*mo*; though, in the title-page, it is ſaid to be printed at London. In this edition, the tranſlations in ſeveral places are corrected from Dr. Bentley's *Remarks*, and ſome references are made to thoſe *Remarks*, and to Dr. Hare's *Clergyman's Thanks*. And whereas, in the former edition, the Diſcourſe ended with theſe words; 'For I think it 'virtue enough to endeavour to do good, only within 'the bounds of doing yourſelf no harm;' in the Hague edition, after the words *virtue enough*, is inſerted this parentheſis; *in a country ſo ignorant, ſtupid, ſuperſtitious, and deſtitute of all private and public virtue, as ours.* The *Diſcourſe* was attacked in ſeveral pieces, particularly the following, I. *Reflections on an Anonymous Pamphlet, intituled,* A Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking. *By* William Whiſton, A. M. Lond. 1713. There have been three editions of this pamphlet. Mr. Whiſton obſerves (6), that 'though the *Diſcourſe* 'is commonly ſo worded, as to ſeem rather meant 'againſt the Heathen Idolatry, Popiſh Superſtition, 'Real Prieſtcraft, and Tyranny over conſcience, than 'againſt Chriſtianity itſelf, with its ſacred books,' yet that the author's real deſign muſt appear from 'the ill characters given of the Clergy or Chriſtian 'Prieſthood in general; the oblique reproaches caſt 'upon Revealed Religion; the viſible ſlight put upon 'the whole Jewiſh nation and the Moſaic law; the 'plain diſregard of the great foundation of religion, 'the immortality of the ſoul; and the many inſinuations viſibly tending to render the ſacred books, both 'Jewiſh and Chriſtian, contemptible and uncertain.' II. An anonymous pamphlet, intituled, *Free Thoughts upon the* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, London, 1713, in 8*vo*. III. *Queries recommended to the authors of the late* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking. *By* Mr. Benjamin Hoadly,

(6) Page 3, 4.

(4) See Page 20, 21.

Holland [G], and from thence to Flanders, where he received great civilities from the Prieſts, Jeſuits, and others. He intended to have viſited Paris; but the death of a near relation (*i*) obliged him to return to London, where he arrived the 18th of October, 1713. In 1715, he retired into the county of Eſſex, and acted as a Juſtice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant of that county, as he had done before in the county of Middleſex, and liberty of Weſtminſter. The ſame year he publiſhed, at London, *A Philoſophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty* (*k*) [H]. In 1718, he was choſen Treaſurer for the county of Eſſex [I]. In 1724, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Wrotteſley, Bart. (*l*) by whom he had no children. The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England* [K]; alſo his *Diſcourſe of the Grounds*

(*i*) Mr. Trolope.

(*k*) Reprinted with corrections in 1717.

(*l*) See epitaph.

Hoadly, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter (7). This ingenious writer declares (8), 'that, though ſome 'of the particulars, mentioned in his *Queries*, as 'deſigned plainly againſt the belief of Chriſtianity, 'are produced in the *Treatiſe of Free-Thinking* under 'the ſpecious pretence of their being good reaſons 'and occaſions for a *free and impartial examination*, 'and not expreſsly declared to be intended againſt 'the Goſpel, in the ſame paſſages, in which the au-'thors of that treatiſe produce them; yet he verily 'believes, that theſe authors themſelves would in-'wardly laugh at any, who ſhould ſuppoſe them to 'have had any other view in that performance.' And having placed ſeveral particulars from the *Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking* in one view, he concludes with theſe words (9): *After this let any one doubt, if he can, what ſort of Free-Thinking all that is produced in the firſt part of this treatiſe is deſigned to promote; or ſuppoſe it poſſible, that the chief view of theſe authors could be any other than the promoting that Free-Thinking, which they themſelves contend to be* Atheiſm *and* Infidelity. IV. *Remarks upon a late* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking; *in a Letter to* F. H. D. D. *By* Phileleutherus Lipſienſis. Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author of this ingenious performance was the truly learned Dr. Richard Bentley; and the perſon to whom it is addreſſed, Dr. Francis Hare, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter. It expoſes the weakneſs and fallacy of the *Diſcourſe*, with great ſtrength of argument and ſprightlineſs of wit. A *Second* part, and a ſheet or two of a *Third*, were printed the ſame year at Cambridge: but the learned author proceeded no farther. The firſt part of theſe *Remarks* gave birth to a pamphlet, ſaid to be written by Dr. Hare, intituled, *The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus, for his* Remarks *on the late* Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking. *In a Letter to Dr. Bentley.* Lond. 1713, in 8*vo*. The author concludes this piece with remarking, that 'if we have gained by Dr. Bentley's '*Remarks* in one reſpect, we are, on the other hand, 'in danger of loſing no leſs than an edition of all '*Tully*, and, what is of more conſequence, a *New* '*Goſpel*; with both which, for the advancement of 'learning and religion (*their* learning and *their* reli-'gion) The Free-thinking Club were preparing to 'oblige the world. And the laſt of theſe (ſays he) 'was, I am told, quite finiſhed, and ready to be pub-'liſhed, when your *Remarks* unluckily came out to 'ſhew, that they are neither *Chriſtians* nor *Scholars*. 'And this has ſuppreſſed at leaſt for ſome time, if not 'totally ſunk, both theſe undertakings.'

(7) It is extant in his Collection of Tracts, in 8*vo*. Lond. 1715.

(8) Page 28.

(9) Page 31.

[G] *He made a ſecond trip to Holland.*] This was aſcribed to the general alarm cauſed by the *Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking*, and the author's being diſcovered by his Printer Mr. John Darby. Whereupon Dr. Hare, having obſerved, that *the leaſt appearance of danger is able in a moment to damp all the zeal of the Free-Thinkers*, tells us (10), 'that a bare enquiry after the 'Printer of their wicked book has frightened them, 'and obliged the reputed author to take a *ſecond* trip 'to Holland; ſo great is his courage to defend, upon 'the leaſt appearance of an oppoſition. And are not 'theſe (*adds the Doctor*) rare champions for *Free-'Thinking?* And is not their book a demonſtration, 'that we are in poſſeſſion of the liberty they pretend 'to plead for, which otherwiſe they durſt never have 'writ? and that they would have been as mute as 'fiſhes, had they not thought they could have open-'ed with impunity?'

(10) Clergyman's Thanks, p. 18.

[H] *His* Philoſophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty.] Dr. Samuel Clarke wrote *Remarks* upon this *Enquiry* (11). But Mr. Collins did not publiſh any Reply to Dr. Clarke upon this ſubject; becauſe, we are told (12), though he did not think the Doctor had the advantage over him in the diſpute, yet, as he had repreſented Mr. Collins's opinions as dangerous in their conſequences, and improper to be inſiſted upon, our author, after ſuch an inſinuation, found he could not proceed in the diſpute upon equal terms. The *Enquiry* was tranſlated into French by the Reverend Mr. D****, and printed in the firſt volume of *Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur la Philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Hiſtoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par Meſſieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres auteurs celebres*; publiſhed by M. Des Maizeaux at Amſterdam, 1720, in two volumes, 12*mo*.

(11) They are extant in the Collection of Papers between Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Clarke, &c. Lond. 1717, in 8*vo*.

(12) Des Maizeaux's Preface to the *Recueil de diverſes Pieces*, &c. p. 10.

[I] *He was choſen Treaſurer for the county of Eſſex.*] In the diſcharge of this office Mr. Collins highly merited the thanks of ſeveral tradeſmen and others, who had large ſums of money due to them from the ſaid county, but could not get it paid them, it having been ſpent and embezzled by their former Treaſurer. The pooreſt of them, we are informed, he ſupported with his own private caſh, and others he promiſed intereſt for their money till it could be raiſed to pay them. In 1722, the debts were all diſcharged, and by his care and management the county's debts were, from that time, diſcharged every three months, and with little more than half the money, which had been annually raiſed for upwards of twenty years before.

[K] *His* Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay upon the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England.] The title at length is: *An Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England: wherein it is demonſtrated, that this clauſe,* The Church has power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith, *inſerted in the Twentieth Article, is not a part of the Articles, as they were eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament in the 13th of Eliz. or agreed on by the Convocations of* 1562 *and* 1571. This, we have already ſaid (13), was deſigned as an Anſwer to the *Vindication of the Church of England, &c.* and Dr. Bennet's *Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles*, both publiſhed againſt his *Prieſtcraft in Perfection*. In the Preface he tells us, 'he was engaged in writing this work by a *worthy Miniſter of the Goſpel*, who knew that he had made ſome enquiries into the *modern Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England*; and that he was preparing *An Hiſtory of the Variations of the Church of England, and its Clergy, from the Reformation down to this Time, with an Anſwer to the Cavils of the Papiſts made on Occaſion of the ſaid Variations*. But nothing of this kind, from our author's hand, was ever printed. As to the *Eſſay* in queſtion, he concludes it with drawing up in brief the Demonſtration, promiſed in the title page, and given in the book; and which is as follows: *The* Articles of the Church of England *are ſuppoſed to have their* Convocational Authority *from the Convocation of* 1562, *which firſt agreed on them; and from the Convocation of* 1571, *which, after having reviſed, and made alterations in, and additions to, them, agreed on them again. The way of paſſing* Acts *of* Convocation *is by the ſubſcription of the majority of the Members of each Houſe by themſelves. The MS. Articles, which paſſed the Convocation in* 1562, *and were ſubſcribed by the majority of both Houſes, are extant; as are the MS. Articles of* 1571, *with the ſubſcriptions of the Upper Houſe. And both theſe manuſcripts are without the clauſe. The Parliament in* 1571 *did, by a ſtatute, intituled,* An Act for the Miniſ-

(13) In the remark [E].

ters

Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion [*L*], which was immediately attacked by a great *number of writers* [*M*]. The ſame year, likewiſe, appeared his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered* [*N*], which had ſeveral Anſwerers [*O*]. It is remarkable of Mr. Collins,

ters of the Church to be of ſound Religion, *confirm Articles of Religion, comprized in an imprinted Engliſh book, intituled,* Articles, *&c.* put forth by the Queen's Authority. *All the Engliſh printed books of the* Articles *extant before* 1571, *and while the Parliament were making this Statute, bore the title recited in the Statute, and were without the clauſe. Wherefore it follows, that the clauſe has neither the authority of the Convocation nor Parliament.* The reader may ſee the whole ſtate of this controverſy, and a full vindication of the Church of England from the charge of forgery, in reſpect to the above-mentioned clauſe, in Mr. Collier's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* (14), where particular notice is taken of our author.

(14) Part ii. B. vi. p. 486—491.

[*L*] *His* Diſcourſe of the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion.] The title at length is: *A Diſcourſe of the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion, in two Parts: The firſt containing ſome Conſiderations on the Quotations made from the Old in the New Teſtament, and particularly on the Prophecies, cited from the former, and ſaid to be fulfilled in the latter: The ſecond containing an Examination of the Scheme advanced by Mr. Whiſton, in his* Eſſay towards reſtoring the true Text of the Old Teſtament, and for vindicating the Citations thence made in the New Teſtament. *To which is prefixed, An Apology for free Debate and Liberty of Writing.* The drift of this diſcourſe is to ſhew, that *Chriſtianity* is founded on *Judaiſm*, or the *New Teſtament* on the *Old:* that the *Apoſtles* prove Chriſtianity from the Old Teſtament: that if the proofs fetched from thence are valid, Chriſtianity is firmly eſtabliſhed on its *true foundation*; but if invalid, Chriſtianity is falſe: and that thoſe proofs are *typical* or *allegorical.*

[*M*] *It was attacked by a great* number of writers.] I ſhall mention only the moſt remarkable. I. *A Liſt of Suppoſitions or Aſſertions in the late* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, *&c.' which are not therein ſupported by any real or authentic Evidence; for which ſome ſuch Evidence is expected to be produced. By* William Whiſton, A. M. 8*vo.* 1724. This piece is ſubjoined to the author's *Propoſals for printing by ſubſcription, Authentic Records concerning the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Religion,* dated Jan. 17, 1724, and given away to all the Members of Parliament. In this piece, Mr. Whiſton treats Mr. Collins, together with Mr. Toland, in very ſevere terms, as guilty of impious *frauds* and *lay-craft.* II. *The literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies, being a full Anſwer to a late* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, *&c. By* William Whiſton, A. M. 8*vo.* 1724. III. *A Defence of Chriſtianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, wherein are conſidered all the Objections againſt this Kind of Proof, advanced in a late* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, *&c. By the Right Reverend Father in God* Edward (Chandler), *Lord Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry* (15), 8*vo.* 1725. This is a very learned and elaborate performance, and has paſſed through ſeveral editions. IV. *A Diſcourſe of the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Teſtament, and Application of them to Chriſt. By* Samuel Clarke, D. D. *Rector of St. James's, Weſtminſter,* 8*vo.* 1725. This was not intended for a direct anſwer to Mr. Collins's book, but as a ſupplement (occaſioned thereby) to a propoſition in Dr. Clarke's *Demonſtration of the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*; with which it has ſince been conſtantly printed. V. *The Reaſoning of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in their Defence of Chriſtianity, conſidered, in ſeven Sermons, preached at Hackney in Middleſex,* 1724. *To which is prefixed, a Preface, taking notice of the falſe Repreſentations of Chriſtianity, and of the Apoſtles Reaſonings in Defence of it, in a Book, intituled,* The Grounds, &c. *By* Thomas Bullock, A. M. *Publiſhed at the Requeſt of the Gentlemen of Hackney,* 8*vo.* 1725. VI. *An Eſſay upon the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, wherein its real Foundation upon the Old Teſtament is ſhewn, occaſioned by the* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, &c. *By* Arthur Aſhley Sykes, A. M. *Rector of Rayleigh in Eſſex,* 8*vo.* 1725. Mr. Collins gave it as his opinion, that, 'of all the writers 'againſt the *Grounds, &c,* Mr. Sykes alone has ad- 'vanced a conſiſtent ſcheme of things, which he has 'propoſed with great clearneſs, politeneſs, and mo- 'deration (16).' VII. *The Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, in the ſeveral Ages of the Church. In ſix Diſcourſes delivered at the Temple Church,* 1724, *publiſhed at the Deſire of the Maſters of the Bench of the two honourable Societies. By* Thomas Sherlock, D. D. Dean of Chicheſter, and Maſter of the Temple (17), 8*vo.* 1725. This was not deſigned as an anſwer to the *Grounds*, &c. but only to throw in light upon the argument from Prophecy, attacked by our author. VIII. *A Vindication of the Chriſtian Religion, in two Parts. The firſt, A Diſcourſe of the Nature and Uſe of Miracles. The ſecond, An Anſwer to a late Book, intituled,* A Diſcourſe of the Grounds, *&c. By* Samuel Chandler, 8*vo.* 1725. IX. *A Supplement to the* Literal Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies, *containing Obſervations on* Dr. Clarke's, *and* Biſhop Chandler's, *late Diſcourſes of the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament. By* William Whiſton, A. M. 8*vo.* 1725. X. *Letters to the Author of the* Diſcourſe of the Grounds, *&c. ſhewing that Chriſtianity is ſupported by Facts well atteſted; that the Words of Iſaiah, chap.* vii. 14. Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive, and bear a Son, *in their literal and only Senſe, are a Prophecy of the Conception and Birth of the Meſſias, fulfilled in Jeſus; and that the Goſpel Application of ſeveral other Paſſages in the Old Teſtament is juſt. By* John Greene, 8*vo.* 1726. XI. *A brief Defence of the Chriſtian Religion: or, The Teſtimony of God to the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. By* Theophilus Lobb, M. D. 8*vo.* 1726. The reader will find an entire catalogue of all the pieces, written againſt the *Diſcourſe of the Grounds*, &c. amounting in number to *thirty-five*, among which are *Sermons, London Journals,* Woolſton's Moderator, *&c.* at the end of the *Preface* to the *Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered.*

(16) Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered, p. 12.

(17) Afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury and London.

[*N*] *His* Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered.] The title at length is, *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered, in a View of the Controverſy occaſioned by a late Book, intituled,* A Diſcourſe of the Grounds, *&c.* It was printed at the Hague by Thomas Johnſon, in 1726, in two volumes 12*mo.* and reprinted at London, with corrections, in 1727, in 8*vo.* It is dated at London, November 13, 1725, and addreſſed to the Right Honourable *****. In this piece (18) Mr. Collins mentions a *Diſſertation* he had written, but never publiſhed, againſt Mr. Whiſton's *Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles*; in which he endeavours to ſhew, that thoſe oracles were forged by the Primitive Chriſtians, who were thence called Sibylliſts by the Pagans. He alſo mentions a manuſcript *Diſcourſe* of his *upon the Miracles recorded in the Old and New Teſtament.*

(18) Ch. ii. p. 61. edit. 1726.

[*O*] *It had ſeveral Anſwerers.*] The principal are: I. *The Neceſſity of Divine Revelation, and the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion aſſerted, in eight Sermons; to which is prefixed a Preface, with ſome Remarks on a late Book, intituled,* The Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered, *&c. By* John Rogers, D. D. London, 1727, 8*vo.* in anſwer to which, Mr. Collins wrote *A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Rogers, on Occaſion of his eight Sermons concerning the Neceſſity of Divine Revelation, and the Preface prefixed to them. To which is added,* A letter *printed in the* London Journal, *April* 1, 1727, *with an anſwer to the ſame.* London, 1727, 8*vo.* II. *A Letter to the Author of the* London Journal, Saturday, April 1, 1727. It was written by Dr. Sykes, Dean of Burien, and is that anſwered by Mr. Collins, at the end of his *Letter to Dr.* Rogers. Dr. Sykes wrote a *ſecond letter* in defence of his former, dated June 24, 1727, and printed in a pamphlet, intituled, *The true Grounds of the Expectation of the Meſſiah, in two Letters. The one printed in the* London Journal, April 1, 1727. *The other in Vindication of it; being a Reply to the* Anſwer *publiſhed at the End of* A Letter *to* Dr. Rogers. *By* Philalethes, London, 1727,

(15) Afterwards Biſhop of Durham.

Collins, that his pieces were all anonymous. His health declined ſome years before his death, which fell out December 13, 1729, occaſioned by a violent fit of the ſtone. He was interred in Oxford-Chapel, where is a monument, with a Latin inſcription on it [*P*], erected to his memory by his widow. We ſhall ſay ſomething of this remarkable gentleman's character below [*Q*].

1727, 8*vo*. III. *A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and their Application to Jeſus Chriſt, in Anſwer to the Objections of the Author of the Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered. By* Samuel Chandler, London, 1727, 8*vo*. IV. *A Vindication of the* Defence of Chriſtianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, *in Anſwer to the* Scheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered. *By the Right Reverend Father in God,* Edward, *Lord Biſhop of* Coventry *and* Litchfield: *in two Volumes. With a* Letter *from the Reverend Mr.* Maſſon, *concerning the Religion of* Macrobius, *and his Teſtimony touching the Slaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem, with a Poſtſcript upon Virgil's 4th Eclogue.* London, 1728, 8*vo*. V. *The Reaſoning of Chriſt and his Apoſtles vindicated: in two Parts. The firſt being a Defence of the* Argument from Miracles, *proving the* Argument from Prophecy, *not neceſſary to a rational Defence of our Religion. The ſecond being a Defence of the* Argument from Prophecy, *proving the Chriſtian Scheme to have a rational Foundation upon the* Prophecies *of the* Old Teſtament. *By* Thomas Bullock, A. M. *Rector of North Creak in Norfolk.* London, 1728, 8*vo*.

[*P*] *His epitaph.*] It is as follows:

H. S. E.
ANTONIUS COLLINS, Armiger;
Egregiis animi dotibus ornatus,
Præſtanti Ingenio,
Acri Judicio,
Tenaci Memoria:
A Puero uſque mirifica virtutis indole præditus:
Spectatiſſimum ſemper vitæ morumque exemplar:
Veritatis Amicus & Indagator Sedulus;
Quam neque ex ſententiis hominum pendere,
Neque Magiſtratus gladio vindicandam eſſe exiſtimavit:
In libris (quorum opulenta ei copia) evolvendis
Aſſiduus & Indefeſſus:
Quantum inde profecerit,
Ex Scriptis ipſius editis judicet Lector idoneus.
Erga Reges optimos, utrumque Georgium,
Libertatis utpote Civilis & Eccleſiaſticæ
Tutores & Patronos,
Fide (ſi quis alius) conſtans.
Gratam ſui
Erga Conjuges Amoris,
Erga Liberos Charitatis,
Erga Servos Lenitatis,
Erga omnes Benevolentiæ,
Memoriam reliquit.
Calculorum valetudine diu conflictatus,
Demum fractus, obiit XIII Dec. M.DCCXXIX.
Amicorum nuper Deliciæ, nunc, eheu! Deſiderium.

Natus eſt XXI Junii M.DCLXXVI.
HENRICO Patre Armigero.
In Matrimonio habuit
MARTHAM FRANCISCI CHILD Equitis filiam;
Atque, ea defuncta,
ELIZABETHAM, GUALTERI WROTTESLY Baronetti.
Ex altera quatuor liberos ſuſcepit;
Quorum
Duos filios, HENRICUM infantem,
ANTONIUM vero ad virilem ætatem jam provectum,
Extulerat:
Duas itidem filias, ELIZABETHAM & MARTHAM,
Innuptas reliquit.
Altera chariſſimo viro,
Quocum conjunctiſſime vixerat,
Monumentum hoc mœrens poſuit.

[*Q*] *Something of his character.*] We are told (19), that 'the corruption among Chriſtians, and the perſecuting ſpirit of the Clergy, had given him a prejudice againſt the Chriſtian religion, and at laſt induced him to think, that upon it's preſent footing it is pernicious to mankind: and that, as he had a great fund of humanity, ſweetneſs of temper, and moderation, he ſaw with grief, that theſe virtues were baniſhed from ſociety, and that religion was made uſe of as a cloak to authorize all kinds of violence and injuſtice.' Mr. Whiſton, in his *Liſt of Suppoſitions and Aſſertions*, &c (20), treating our author, together with Mr. Toland, as guilty of *impious frauds* and *Lay-craft*, expreſſes himſelf, with regard to the former, in theſe terms: 'A ſecond inſtance muſt be Mr. Anthony Collins, a gentleman, who has many years taken ſuperabundant care not to be ſuſpected of believing ſo much as the Apoſtles Creed, or the books of the Old or New Teſtament, or indeed any Divine Providence at all. Yet does he claim a right to be admitted to take an oath upon the Bible, and to receive the Holy Communion itſelf; and he is at this day admitted to do both, and in virtue thereof is in the commiſſion of the peace, as a good Church-man: i. e. notwithſtanding his open and profeſſed infidelity, he ventures, in the moſt public and ſolemn manner, to declare his unfeigned acknowledgment of the Divine Providence, of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, and of the books of the Holy Scripture, that is poſſible to be done among men. It is with great regret I add this example of an old friend, and one whom I ſtill love better than he loves himſelf; but it is too flagrant to be omitted. This I call *groſs immorality, impious fraud*, and *Lay-craft*.' Mr. Armand de la Chapelle, having tranſlated this paſſage into French (21), obſerves, that the expreſſions are *a little too choleric*, and that Mr. Collins would have reaſon to triumph upon this inſtance of paſſion in his antagoniſt. This occaſioned the ſending a letter to Mr. de la Chapelle (22), in which the writer obſerves, that 'Mr. Whiſton having accuſed Mr. Collins of irreligion, but being ſenſible that this accuſation, being deſtitute of proof, was ridiculous, he has artfully pretended, that the latter had been his friend, inſinuating thereby that Mr. Collins had diſcloſed to him his moſt ſecret ſentiments. And yet (*adds the writer*) I have been aſſured by perſons who are very well informed, that Mr. Collins never had any intercourſe of friendſhip with him; that he never ſpoke to him above eight or ten times in his life, in a coffee-houſe or elſewhere, and always in other company; and that he has not ſeen him for above five years. Is this ſufficient for Mr. Whiſton to claim the character of a friend?' Mr. Whiſton, in another place (23), ſpeaks thus of Mr. Collins. *The reputed author of* Freethinking *is, for all I have ever heard, a* ſober man; *thanks to his natural averſion to intemperance; and that is more than can be ſaid of ſome others of the club: but as for any other virtue, he has told us* (*) *it is ſuch as he intends* ſhall never hurt him. *And it can't be thought uncharitable, if I ſay it riſes from no higher origin than fear; for he has himſelf diſclaimed all nobler principles.* But, of all writers, the author of the *Guardian* (24) has treated our author's character with the greateſt ſeverity in the following paſſages: 'He that ſhould burn a houſe, and juſtify the action by aſſerting he is a free agent, would be far more excuſable than this author in uttering what he has from the right of a Free-Thinker.' Again; *This gentleman may be aſſured he has not a taſte for what he pretends to decry, and the poor man is certainly more a blockhead than an Atheiſt.* Again; 'When ſuch writers as this, who have no ſpirit but that of malice, pretend to inform the age, Mohocks and Cut-throats may well ſet up for wits and men of pleaſure.' Laſtly; *If ever any man deſerved to be denied the common benefits of air and water, it is the author of a* Diſcourſe of Free-thinking. But, notwithſtanding the reproaches caſt upon Mr. Collins as an enemy to ALL religion, impartially obliges us to remark, what is ſaid, and generally believed to be true, that, upon his death-bed, he declared, 'That, as he had always endeavoured, to the beſt of his abilities,

(20) Page 15. See remark [*M*] init.

(21) In his *Bibl. Angloiſe*, T. ii. P. i. p. 282, &c.

(22) *Ibid.* T. xii. P. i. p. 244, &c.

(23) Reflections on an anonymous Pamphlet, &c. p. 28.

(*) In his Diſcourſe of Free-thinking, p. 178. edit. 1713.

(24) Vol. i. N° 3.

(19) Bibliotheque Raiſonnée, &c. T. iv. Par. i. p. 233.

'abilities, to ſerve his God, his King, and his coun-
'try, ſo he was perſuaded he was going to that
'place, which God has deſigned for them that love
'him.' To which he added, *The Catholic religion is to love God and to love man*; and he adviſed ſuch as were about him, to have a conſtant regard to theſe principles. His library, which was a very large and curious one, was open to all men of letters, to whom he readily communicated all the lights and aſſiſtance in his power, and (we are told) even furniſhed his antagoniſts with books to confute himſelf, and directed them how to give their arguments all the force of which they were capable. We ſhall only add, that he carefully avoided all the indecencies of converſation, and diſcouraged every the leaſt tendency towards obſcenity of diſcourſe. B.

*** [Whatever may be thought of Mr. Anthony Collins's writings, that he was a moſt reſpectable man in private life ſeems to be founded upon evidence which cannot be contradicted. A few days after his deceaſe, the following character of him was publiſhed in the newſpapers.

"On Saturday laſt, died at his houſe in Harley-
"ſquare, Anthony Collins, Eſq. He was remarkably
"the active, upright, impartial magiſtrate: the
"tender huſband, the kind parent, the good maſter,
"and the true friend.

"He was a great promoter of literature in all its
"branches; and an immoveable aſſertor of univerſal
"liberty in all civil and religious matters.

"Whatever his ſentiments were in certain points,
"this is what he declared at the time of his death,
"viz. that as he had always endeavoured, to the beſt
"of his ability, to ſerve God, his King, and his
"country, ſo he was perſuaded he was going to that
"place which God hath prepared for them that love
"him; and preſently afterwards he ſaid, the Catho-
"lic religion is to love God and to love man.

"He was an eminent example of temperance
"and ſobriety, and one that had the true art of
"living. His worſt enemies could never charge
(25) Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Eſq; vol. ii. Appendix, p. 718, 719. "him with any vice or immorality (25)."

Mr. Thomas Hollis, writing to a correſpondent at Rome, concluded his epiſtle as follows: "I ſhall
"now cloſe a long letter, with a quotation from Mr.
"Locke's laſt letter to the excellent Mr. Collins,
"and ſhall bid you heartily farewell. There is no
"happineſs equal to the conſciouſneſs of doing well."
Upon this paſſage the able and ſpirited writer of Mr. Hollis's life has made a few remarks, relative to Collin's character, which cannot be omitted. "There
"are, we ſuppoſe, one or more claſſes of men who
"will think the term *excellent* improperly annexed
"to the name of Anthony Collins. It ſhould cut
"off ſome part of the diſguſt, that he was the con-
"fidential friend of Mr. Locke. If he had any ill-
"will to revelation, a matter far from being out of
"doubt, ſuffice it to ſay, that he did not ſucceed
"in his efforts to diſparage it. What we ſuppoſe
"might contribute to Mr. Hollis's eſteem of him,
"was his avowed enmity to eccleſiaſtical uſurpations,
"in the expoſing of which he was not unſucceſsful.
"For the reſt, Mr. Collins was an excellent magi-
"ſtrate; amiable, prudent, virtuous, and humane in
"all domeſtic duties and relations; and of a benevo-
"lence towards all men, worthy of the character of
(26) *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 176. "the citizen of the world (26)."

The preceding aſſertion, that Mr. Collins's ill-will to Revelation is far from being out of doubt, may receive a ſlight confirmation from what we have related in the life of Lord Barrington. It is there ſaid, that one of his lordſhip's publications ſtaggered Mr. Collins's infidelity (27). However, if his infidelity was ſtaggered, there doth not appear to be any good reaſon to ſuppoſe that it was ever entirely ſubdued. The beſt which can be thought concerning him is, that he might ſometimes be only ſceptical with regard to the truth of Chriſtianity; and his writings furniſh too much cauſe for conſidering him as, upon the whole, a poſitive unbeliever in our holy religion. At the ſame time, he was not ſo malignant an infidel as he hath often been repreſented. It has not been uncommon to connect his name with authors of atheiſtical principles; but this is doing a manifeſt injuſtice to his character. A worthy and reſpectable clergy-
(27) Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 626. Second edition.

man put a paper into our hands, containing two anecdotes which repreſent Mr. Collins as an Atheiſt, and as having introduced a young gentleman to a club of ſuch perſons in London. The paper, by ſome accident, has been miſlaid; and we the leſs regret the loſs of it, as we could not have inſerted relations of things which muſt have been the reſult of miſtake at leaſt, if not of great prejudice, on the part of thoſe by whom they were recited to our communicator.

To the liſt of thoſe who wrote againſt the diſcourſe on Free-Thinking, Dr. Swift is to be added. Our authority for this aſſertion is the Supplement to the Dean's Works, publiſhed by Mr. Nichols. We find there a tract, intituled, "Mr. Collins's Diſcourſe of
"Free-Thinking; put into Engliſh, by Way of
"Abſtract, for the Uſe of the Poor: by a Friend of
"the Author." This piece, which firſt appeared in 1713, is of an ironical nature. It is written in the aſſumed character of a whig and a Free-Thinker, and, amidſt ſome good ſtrokes of ſatire, contains no ſmall portion of toryiſm, and of high-church bigotry (28). Of all the publications againſt the diſcourſe on Free-Thinking, Dr. Bentley's was undoubtedly the beſt. It is replete with argument, learning, and wit; the objection againſt the New Teſtament, drawn from its various readings, is unanſwerably refuted; and Mr. Collins's miſconceptions, miſrepreſentations, and wrong tranſlations of the authors he quotes, are admirably expoſed.
(28) Supplement to Swift's Works, vol. i. p. 251—306.

There were ſeveral other anſwers to the "Diſ-
"courſe on the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſ-
"tian Religion," and to the "Scheme of Literal
"Prophecy conſidered," beſides thoſe which are mentioned by our learned predeceſſor. We remember to have read three treatiſes upon the ſubject, which appeared to us to have very conſiderable merit. One was by Mr. Moſes Lowman, the author of various works which are well known in the theological world; but the book we refer to is now almoſt wholly forgotten. The other two were written by a Mr. Thomas Jeffreys, a diſſenting miniſter in Eſſex, who, if he had not died young, would probably have ranked among the moſt able advocates of revelation. The writings he lived to publiſh, and which were in anſwer to Mr. Collins, are much eſteemed by thoſe judicious readers who are acquainted with them; and they were highly approved of by Dr. Kennicott, who was an excellent judge of whatever relates to the queſtion concerning the predictions of the Old Teſtament. Mr. Jeffreys's firſt publication was, "A Re-
"view of the Controverſy between the Author of
"the Diſcourſe of the Grounds and Reaſons of the
"Chriſtian Religion and his Adverſaries," 8*vo.* 1726; and the ſecond was intituled, "Chriſtianity
"the Perfection of all Religion, natural and revealed,
"wherein ſome of the principal Prophecies relating
"to the Meſſiah in the Old Teſtament, are ſhewn to
"belong to him in the Literal Senſe, in oppoſition
"to the Attempts of the Literal Scheme." 8*vo.* 1728.

Dr. Leland, in his "View of the Deiſtical Writers," has devoted one letter to the conſideration of Collins, and has expoſed his falſe aſſumptions, and his fallacious and ſophiſtical mode of reaſoning (29). The letter contains many judicious and ſenſible remarks, though we do not think that it is written in the Doctor's beſt manner, the ſubject being capable of a ſtill more maſterly diſcuſſion.
(29) View of the Deiſtical Writers, vol. i. p. 98—125.

Mr. Collins's attack on our holy religion has, in fact, turned out highly to its advantage; as it hath cauſed the ſubject of prophecy to be more deeply inveſtigated, and has produced ſeveral admirable treatiſes, which have thrown great light on the queſtion, and have proved, beyond all reaſonable doubt, that many important predictions of the Old Teſtament related to Jeſus Chriſt alone, and in him only were fulfilled. One particular benefit ariſing from it is, that it has occaſioned ſome of our moſt learned and judicious divines to reject the double ſenſe of prophecies. Among theſe Divines may be reckoned the Doctors Sykes, Benſon, Gregory Sharpe, and Kennicott. Indeed, it is upon the principle adopted by theſe gentlemen, that we think Chriſtianity will moſt rationally and unanſwerably be defended, as, in one or two future articles, we ſhall have more ample reaſon to obſerve.

Though

Though the ſubject of the Old Teſtament predictions has received a very able diſcuſſion, we are by no means of opinion that it is entirely exhauſted. There is ſtill room for a farther elucidation of it, by ſome Divine, who ſhall unite real learning and critical ſagacity with a rational and liberal mode of thinking.

We muſt not conclude this note without remarking, that though Mr. Collins was an amiable and worthy man in private life, he was, at the ſame time, a moſt unfair writer. He ſeemed to have very little conſcience in his quotations,—adapting them, without ſcruple, to his own purpoſes, however contrary they might be to the genuine meaning of the authors cited, or to the connection in which the paſſages referred to ſtood. So many facts of this kind were undeniably proved againſt him by his adverſaries, that he muſt ever be recorded as a flagrant inſtance of literary diſingenuity.] K.

*** [COLLINS (WILLIAM), a very ingenious Poet, was born at Chicheſter, in the county of Suſſex, on the 25th of December, either in 1720, or 1721; but in which of the two years cannot now preciſely be aſcertained (*a*). His father was a Hatter, of good reputation in that city. The earlieſt part of his education was probably in his native place; but in 1733 he was admitted a ſcholar of Wincheſter-College, where he continued ſeven years, under the care of Dr. Burton. Here it was obſerved, that his Engliſh exerciſes were better than his Latin. The firſt effort of his poetical genius that is now known, was a copy of verſes to a "Lady weeping," publiſhed in "The Gentleman's Magazine;" a repoſitory in which ſeveral eminent men have begun their literary career [*A*]. In 1740, Mr. Collins ſtood at the head of the liſt of ſcholars, to be received in ſucceſſion at New-College, Oxford; but unhappily there was no vacancy. This appears to have been the original misfortune of his life (*b*). In the hope that a vacancy might ſoon happen, he was, in the mean time, admitted a Commoner of Queen's-College, in the ſame Univerſity, and probably with a ſcanty maintenance. During his reſidence at Queen's, he was at once diſtinguiſhed for genius and indolence; his exerciſes, when he could be prevailed upon to write, bearing the viſible characteriſtics of both. No opportunity occurring of his being elected into New-College, he was recommended by his tutor to the Society of Magdalen, where he was choſen a *Demy*, in July 1741. The uncommon abilities and learning which he diſplayed on this occaſion, principally contributed to his election. At Magdalen-College he continued till he had taken his Bachelor's degree; and, poetry being his chief purſuit, there it was that he wrote his Epiſtle to Sir Thomas Hanmer, and his Oriental Eclogues. The latter, under the title of Perſian Eclogues, were publiſhed in 1742 (*c*). Notwithſtanding their merit, they were not attended with any great ſucceſs; a misfortune which ſometimes happens to the moſt promiſing geniuſes, eſpecially when they print without a name, and have no perſon of conſequence to introduce them to the notice of the world. It hath been objected to theſe Eclogues, that though the ſcenery and ſubjects of them are Oriental, the ſtyle and colouring are purely European. Of the force of this objection, Mr. Collins himſelf became ſenſible in the latter part of his life. He ſpoke to Dr. Warton and Mr. Thomas Warton with diſapprobation of his Eclogues, as not ſufficiently expreſſive of Aſiatic manners, and called them his Iriſh Eclogues (*d*). Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, their poetical merit is very great; and Dr. Langhorne hath not ſcrupled to aſſert, "that in ſimplicity "of deſcription and expreſſion, in delicacy and ſoftneſs of numbers, and in natural and "unaffected tenderneſs, they are not to be equalled by any thing of the paſtoral kind in "the Engliſh language (*e*)." There are Critics who do not think the Eclogues to be deficient in the delineation of Oriental manners [*B*].

In

(*a*) Langhorne's Memoirs of the Author, prefixed to Mr. Collins's Poetical Works, p. v. Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 309. New Biographical Dict. vol. iv. p. 41.

(*b*) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 309, 310.

(*c*) *Ibid.* Langhorne, *ubi ſupra*, p. v—vii. New Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 42.

(*d*) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 315.

(*e*) Langhorne's edition of Collins's Poetical Works, p. 114.

[*A*] *A repoſitory in which ſeveral eminent men have begun their literary career.*] Mr. Collins's firſt production was as follows:

To Miſs AURELIA C———R,

On her weeping at her Siſter's Wedding.

Ceaſe, fair Aurelia, ceaſe to mourn;
Lament not Hannah's happy ſtate;
You may be happy in your turn,
And ſeize the treaſure you regret.

With love united Hymen ſtands,
And ſoftly whiſpers to your charms;
"Meet but your lover in my bands,
"You'll find your ſiſter in his arms (1)."

(1) Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 317.

[*B*] *Who do not think the eclogues to be deficient in the delineation of Oriental manners.*] In proof of our aſſertion, and of the beauty of the eclogues, we ſhall lay before our readers the account which was given of them in the Monthly Review, when they were republiſhed, in 1757.

"Although theſe Eclogues are evidently of Britiſh original, they contain many of thoſe bold figures with which the poetry of the Eaſt abounds. The thoughts are appropriated, the images wild and local, the language correct, and the verſification harmonious. They are four in number. The firſt is called Selim, or the Shepherd's Moral; the ſcene lies in a valley near Bagdat; the time, morning. This Eclogue is not more remarkable for the morality of its ſentiments, than for the perſonifications it gives us of Modeſty, Chaſtity, Meekneſs, Pity, and Love. The ſecond Eclogue is intituled, Haſſan, or the Camel-Driver. The Poet here artfully lays the ſcene in the Deſart, and makes mid-day the time. With what ſtrength of colouring is the beginning of this piece wrought up!

In ſilent horror o'er the boundleſs waſte
The driver HASSAN with his camels paſt.
One cruiſe of water on his back he bore,
And his light ſcrip contain'd a ſcanty ſtore;
A fan of painted feathers in his hand,
To guard his ſhaded face from ſcorching ſand.
The ſultry ſun had gain'd the middle ſky,
And not a tree, and not an herb was nigh;
The beaſts, with pain, their duſty way purſue,
Shrill roar'd the winds, and dreary was the view!
With deſp'rate ſorrow wild, th' affrighted man
Thrice ſigh'd, thrice ſtrook his breaſt, and thus began:
"Sad was the hour, and luckleſs was the day,
"When firſt from Schiraz' walls I bent my way!"—&c.

In 1744, Mr. Collins quitted Oxford, and came to London a literary adventurer, with many projects in his head, and very little money in his pocket. He designed a variety of works; but his great fault was irresolution; besides which, the frequent calls of necessity might break his schemes, and not suffer him to pursue any settled purpose. "A "man doubtful of his dinner, says Dr. Johnson, or trembling at a creditor, is not much "disposed to abstracted meditation, or remote enquiries. He published proposals for a "History of the Revival of Learning; and I have heard him speak with great kindness "of Leo the Tenth, and with keen resentment of his tasteless successor. But probably "not a page of the history was ever written. He planned several Tragedies, but he "only planned them (*f*)." At times, however, his poetical genius triumphed over his indolence; in consequence of which he published, in 1746, his "Odes descriptive and allegorical." The success of this publication was inferior to that of the Oriental Eclogues. Mr. Millar, the Bookseller, gave the author a handsome price, as things were then estimated, for the copy of the Odes; but the sale of them was not sufficient to pay the expence of printing. Mr. Collins, justly offended at the bad taste of the public, as soon as it was in his power, returned Mr. Millar the copy-money, indemnified him for the loss he had sustained, and consigned the unsold part of the impression to the flames (*g*). Highly as Mr. Collins's Odes deserved a superior fate [*C*], it is not surprizing that they were

(*f*) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 310.

(*g*) Monthly Review, vol. xxxiii. p. 294.

The other parts of the poem are not less finished. In particular, what Reader does not shudder, with Hassan, at the following description?

At that dead hour the silent asp shall creep,
If ought of rest I find, upon my sleep:
Or some swoln serpent twist his scales around,
And wake to anguish with a burning wound.
Thrice happy they, the wise contented poor,
From lust of wealth, and dread of death secure!
They tempt no deserts, and no griefs they find.——

And who is not melted with the account he gives of his parting from his mistress?

O hapless youth! for she thy love hath won,
The tender Zara, will be most undone!
Big swell'd my heart, and own'd the pow'rful maid,
When fast she dropt her tears, as thus she said:
"Farewel the youth whom sighs could not detain,
"Whom Zara's breaking heart implor'd in vain!
"Yet as thou go'st, may ev'ry blast arise,
"Weak and unfelt as these rejected sighs!
"Safe o'er the wild, no perils mayst thou see,
"No griefs endure, nor weep, false youth, like me."
O let me safely to the fair return,
Say with a kiss, she must not, shall not mourn;
O! let me teach my heart to lose its fears,
Recall'd by Wisdom's voice, and Zara's tears.

He said, and call'd on Heav'n to bless the day,
When back to Schiraz's walls he bent his way.

The third Eclogue is not the least beautiful of the four; it is named Abra, or the Georgian Sultana. The scene is placed in the forest; the time evening.

In Georgia's land, where Tefflis's tow'rs are seen,
In distant view along the level green,
While ev'ning dews enrich the glitt'ring glade,
And the tall forests cast a longer shade,
What time 'tis sweet o'er fields of rice to stray,
Or scent the breathing maze at setting day;
Amidst the maids of Zagen's peaceful grove,
Emyra sung the pleasing cares of love.

To do, however, justice to this, we should be obliged to transcribe the whole, which abounds with an elegant rural simplicity. If this Eclogue presents us with a pleasing picture of pastoral felicity, the fourth and last terrifies us with a lively one of Eastern desolation. The Poet introduces two Circassian shepherds, flying at midnight from their country, which the savage Tartars are supposed to have successfully invaded. Sicander being wearied with the length of his flight, thus addresses his friend on the steep side of a mountain.

O stay thee, Agib, for my feet deny,
No longer friendly to my life, to fly.
Friend of my heart, O turn thee and survey,
Trace our sad flight thro' all its length of way!
And first review that long-extended plain,
And yon wide groves, already past with pain!
Yon ragged cliff, whose dang'rous path we try'd!
And last this lofty mountain's weary side (2)!"

(2) Monthly Review, vol. xvi. p. 486—488.

Dr. Langhorne hath likewise, distinctly illustrated the beauties of the Eclogues (3).

(3) Collins's Poetical Works, p. 105—133.

[*C*] *Highly as Mr. Collins's Odes deserved a far superior fate.*] The subjects of the Odes descriptive and allegorical were as follows: Ode to Pity. Ode to Fear. Ode to Simplicity. Ode on the Poetical Character. Ode, written in the Year 1746. Ode to Mercy. Ode to Liberty. Ode to a Lady, on the Death of Colonel Charles Ross in the Action at Fontenoy; written in May, 1745. Ode to Evening. Ode to Peace. The Manners, an Ode. The Passions, an Ode for Music. The Criticism upon these Odes, in the Monthly Review, is so much to their honour, and is in itself so just and masterly, that we shall not scruple to insert it.

"If a luxuriance of imagination, a wild sublimity of fancy, and a felicity of expression so extraordinary, that it might be supposed to be suggested by some superior power, rather than to be the effect of human judgment, or capacity—if these are allowed to constitute the excellence of lyric poetry, the author of the Odes descriptive and allegorical, will indisputably bear away the palm from all his Competitors in that province of the Muse.

Twelve of Mr. Collins's Odes are printed in this Collection of his works, the first of which is an Ode to Pity.

The measure of this Ode is happily chosen, for the repetition of melody is calculated to express that tenderness and pathos which must be inseparable from an Ode to Pity:

By Pella's Bard, a magic name,
By all the griefs his thought could frame,
Receive my humble rite:
Long, Pity, let the nations view
Thy sky-worn robes of tenderest blue,
And eyes of dewy light.

An ordinary Painter would have been contented to represent the eyes of Pity as languishing and mild—the *dewy light* was a stroke which the happiest imagination alone could execute.

In writing an Ode on a subject of tenderness, the Poet could not possibly omit to mention his countryman Otway, who was indeed the Priest of Pity, like Collins ingenious, and like him unhappy:

But wherefore need I wander wide
To old Ilissus' distant side,
Deserted stream, and mute?
Wild Arun too has heard thy strains,
And Echo 'midst my native plains,
Been sooth'd by Pity's lute:

were not popular, at their firſt appearance. Allegorical and abſtracted poetry was above the taſte of the times, and will ever be above the taſte of the bulk of readers. Dr. Langhorne

There firſt the wren thy myrtles ſhed
On gentleſt Otway's infant-head,
To him thy cell was ſhewn;
And while he ſung the female heart,
With youth's ſoft notes unſpoil'd by art,
Thy turtles mix'd their own.

The Ode to Fear is ſo nervous, ſo expreſſive, and ſo pictureſque throughout, that we have ſeen no lyric performance ſuperior to it in the Engliſh language. Thus it begins:

Thou, to whom the world unknown
With all its ſhadowy ſhapes is ſhewn;
Who ſeeſt appall'd th' unreal ſcene,
While Fancy lifts the veil between:
Ah Fear! ah frantic Fear!
I ſee, I ſee thee near.
I know thy hurried ſtep, thy haggard eye!
Like thee I ſtart, like thee diſordered fly,
For, lo! what monſters in thy train appear!

The abbreviation of the meaſure in the fifth and ſixth verſes is moſt nervouſly expreſſive, and moſt happily adapted to the ſuddenneſs of the motion excited. Danger, which is properly introduced as a perſonage in the train of Fear, is ſo characteriſtically deſcribed, that there is no looking upon the picture without horror:

Danger, whoſe limbs of giant-mold,
What mortal eye can fix'd behold?
Who ſtalks his round, an hideous form,
Howling amidſt the midnight ſtorm,
Or throws him on the ridgy ſteep
Of ſome looſe hanging rock to ſleep.

Certainly it is not in the power of human invention to produce an image of greater force and propriety than that which is exhibited in the two laſt quoted verſes, where danger is repreſented as ſleeping on the looſely-hanging rock of a precipice. The dreadful Beings that attend him are deſcribed with equal ſtrength of imagination:

And with him thouſand phantoms join'd,
Who prompt to deeds accurs'd the mind:
And thoſe, the fiends, who near allied,
O'er Nature's wounds and wrecks preſide:
While Vengeance in the lurid air,
Lifts her red arm, expos'd and bare;
On whom that ravening brood of Fate,
Who lap the blood of Sorrow, wait;
Who, Fear, this ghaſtly train can ſee,
And look not madly wild, like thee?

The eſſential part which Fear bears in the drama, could not be overlooked by an Imagination like that of Mr. Collins, and he very properly refers to its effects on the Grecian theatre:

In earlieſt Greece to thee, with partial choice,
The grief-full Muſe addreſs'd her infant tongue:
The maids and matrons, on her awful voice,
Silent and pale in wild amazement hung.
O Fear, I know thee by my throbbing heart,
Thy withering power inſpir'd each mournful line;
Tho' gentle Pity claim'd her mingled part,
Yet all the thunders of the ſcene are thine.

In the Antiſtrophe, which concludes this inimitable Ode, Fear is thus addreſſed:

Say, wilt thou ſhroud in haunted cell,
Where gloomy Rape and Murder dwell?
Or in ſome hallow'd ſeat,
'Gainſt which the big waves beat,
Hear drowning ſeamen's cries in tempeſts brought.

After this he alludes to a ſcenery and a ſuperſtition common in ſome parts of England, which has great poetical propriety in an Ode to Fear: we mean the ſuperſtition of St. Mark's eve:

Ne'er be I found, by thee o'eraw'd,
On that thrice hallow'd eve abroad,
When ghoſts, as cottage-maids believe,
Their pebbled beds, permitted, leave,
And goblins haunt, from fire or fen,
Or mine, or flood, the works of men!

The alluſions to ſcenes of ancient Enthuſiaſm and Poetry, in the Ode to Simplicity, are happily deſigned, and delightfully expreſſed:

By all the honey'd ſtore
On Hybla's thymy ſhore;
By all her blooms, and mingled murmurs dear,
By her whoſe love-lorn woe,
In evening muſings ſlow,
Sooth'd ſweetly-ſad Electra's Poet's ear:

By old Cephiſus deep,
Who ſpread his wavy ſweep,
In warbled wanderings round thy green retreat,
On whoſe enamel'd ſide,
When holy Freedom died,
No equal haunt allur'd thy future feet.

O ſiſter meek of Truth,
To my admiring youth,
Thy ſober aid, and native charms infuſe!
The flowers that ſweeteſt breathe,
Tho' Beauty cull'd the wreath,
Still aſk thy hand to range their order'd hues.

Simplicity is eſſentially neceſſary to the perfection of every poetical work; and Mr. Collins has borne witneſs, by all his performances, but particularly by his Oriental Eclogues, to the truth of the following ſtanza:

Tho' Taſte, tho' Genius bleſs,
To ſome divine exceſs,
Faint's the cold work, 'till thou inſpire the whole;
What each, what all ſupply,
May court, may charm the eye,
Thou, only thou canſt raiſe the meeting ſoul.

After this, how much in character is the next ſtanza, with which the Ode concludes?

Of theſe let others aſk,
To aid ſome mighty taſk,
I only ſeek to find thy temperate vale:
Where oft my reed might ſound
To maids, and ſhepherds round,
And all thy ſons, O Nature, learn my tale.

The Ode on the poetical Character is ſo extremely wild and extravagant, that it ſeems to have been written wholly during the tyranny of imagination. Some, however, there are, whoſe congenial ſpirits may keep pace with the Poet in his moſt excentric flights, and from ſome of his caſual ſtrokes may catch thoſe ſublime ideas which, like him, they have experienced, but have never been able to expreſs—Some, to whom Fancy

The ceſt of ampleſt power *has* given:
To *whom* the godlike gift aſſigns,
To gaze her viſions wild, and feel unmix'd her flame.

But poetry ſo entirely abſtracted, can only be entertaining to the few. The little Ode which follows this, and which is ſaid to have been written in the beginning of the year 1746, will be more generally pleaſing, as it is equally beautiful and ſimple:

How ſleep the brave, who ſink to reſt,
With all their country's wiſhes bleſt!
When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallow'd mold,
She there ſhall dreſs a ſweeter ſod
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

Langhorne juſtly obſerves, that "it is in the lower walks, the plain and practical paths of "the Muſes only, that the generality of men can be entertained. The higher efforts of "imagination are above their capacity (*b*)."

(*b*) Memoirs of Mr. Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. xi, xii.

Whilſt

By fairy-hands their knell is rung,
By forms unſeen their dirge is ſung;
There Honour comes, a Pilgrim grey,
To bleſs the turf that wraps their clay.
And Freedom ſhall a while repair,
To dwell a weeping Hermit there.

The Strophe in the Ode to Mercy affords the fineſt ſubject for a picture that imagination can form:

O thou, who ſit'ſt a ſmiling bride,
By Valour's arm'd and awful ſide,
Gentleſt of ſky-born forms, and beſt ador'd:
Who oft with ſongs, divine to hear,
Win'ſt from his fatal graſp the ſpear,
And hid'ſt in wreaths of flowers his bloodleſs ſword!

There is ſomething perfectly claſſical in Mr. Collins's manner, both with reſpect to his imagery and his compoſition; and Horace's rule of *ut Pictura Poeſis*, was never better obſerved than in the above-quoted verſes.

The ſame ſtyle of painting, though ſomewhat bolder, characteriſes the Ode to Liberty:

Who ſhall awake the Spartan fife,
And call in ſolemn ſounds to life,
The youths whoſe locks divinely ſpreading,
Like vernal hyacinths in ſullen hue,
At once the breath of fear and virtue ſhedding,
Applauding Freedom lov'd of old to view?

The Poet, after theſe lines, refers to that beautiful fragment of Alcoeus:

εν μυρϑε κλαδι, &c.

which, together with a tranſlation, the Reader will find in the firſt article of our review for October, 1762.

The ruin of the Liberties and of the State of Rome are deſcribed in a moſt picturesque and pathetic manner:

No, Freedom, no: I will not tell,
How Rome, before thy weeping face,
With heavieſt ſound, a giant ſtatue fell.
Puſh'd by a wild, and artleſs race,
From off its wide, ambitious baſe,
When time his northern ſons of ſpoil awoke,
And all the blended work of ſtrength and grace,
With many a rude, repeated ſtroke,
And many a barbarous yell to thouſand fragments broke.

The ancient tradition that there was formerly a temple of Liberty in Britain, awakes, at once, the enthuſiaſm, and the patriotiſm of our liberal Bard. Hear with what rapture he dwells upon the thought:

Then too, 'tis ſaid, an hoary pile,
'Midſt the green navel of our iſle,
Thy ſhrine in ſome religious wood,
O ſoul-enforcing Goddeſs, ſtood!
There, oft the painted natives feet
Were wont thy form celeſtial meet:
Tho' now with hopeleſs toil we trace
Time's backward rolls, to find its place;
Whether the fiery-treſſed Dane,
Or Roman's ſelf o'erturn'd the Fane,
Or in what heaven-left age it fell,
'Twere hard for modern ſong to tell.
Yet ſtill, if Truth thoſe beams infuſe,
Which guide at once, and charm the Muſe,
Beyond yon braided clouds that lie
Paving the light-embroider'd ſky:
Amidſt the bright pavilion'd plains
The beauteous model ſtill remains.
There happier than in iſlands bleſt,
Or bowers by Spring or Hebe dreſt,
The Chiefs who fill our Albion's ſtory,
With warlike deeds, retir'd in glory,
Hear their conſorted Druids ſing
Their triumphs to th' immortal ſtring.

In the Paſſions, an Ode for Muſic, (which, if we are not miſtaken, was ſometime ago *ſet* by Dr. Hayes) the emotions of the ſoul are deſcribed, and the movements of the verſe adapted to them with equal happineſs:

But thou, O Hope, with eyes ſo fair,
What was thy delighted meaſure?
Still it whiſper'd promis'd pleaſure,
And bad the lovely ſcenes at diſtance hail!
Still would her touch the ſtrain prolong,
And from the rocks, the woods, the vale,
She call'd on Echo ſtill thro' all her ſong;
And where her ſweeteſt theme ſhe choſe,
A ſoft reſponſive voice was heard at every cloſe,
And Hope enchanted ſmil'd and waved her golden hair.

The force of the following ſtanza muſt be univerſally felt:

First Fear his hand, its ſkill to try,
Amid the chords, bewilder'd, laid,
And back recoil'd he knew not why,
Even at the ſound himſelf had made.

It is with peculiar pleaſure that we do this juſtice to a Poet who was too great to be popular, and whoſe genius was neglected, becauſe it was above the common taſte (4)."

(4) Monthly Review, vol. xxx. p. 21—26.

We cannot deny ourſelves the pleaſure of inſerting the Ode upon the Paſſions at full length.

When Muſic, heavenly maid, was young,
While yet in early Greece ſhe ſung,
The Paſſions oft, to hear her ſhell,
Throng'd around her magic cell,
Exulting, trembling, raging, fainting,
Poſſeſt beyond the Muſe's painting;
By turns they felt the glowing mind
Diſturb'd, delighted, rais'd, refin'd.
Till once, 'tis ſaid, when all were fir'd,
Fill'd with fury, rapt, inſpir'd,
From the ſupporting myrtles round
They ſnatch'd her inſtruments of ſound,
And as they oft had heard apart
Sweet leſſons of her forceful art,
Each, for madneſs rul'd the hour,
Would prove his own expreſſive power.

First Fear his hand, its ſkill to try,
Amid the chords bewilder'd laid,
And back recoil'd, he knew not why,
Even at the ſound himſelf had made.

Next Anger ruſh'd, his eyes on fire,
In lightnings own'd his ſecret ſtings,
In one rude claſh he ſtruck the lyre,
And ſwept with hurried hand the ſtrings.

With woeful meaſures wan Deſpair——
Low ſullen ſounds his grief beguil'd,
A ſolemn, ſtrange, and mingled air,
'Twas ſad by fits, by ſtarts 'twas wild.

But thou, O Hope, with eyes ſo fair,
What was thy delighted meaſure?
Still it whiſper'd promis'd pleaſure,
And bad the lovely ſcenes at diſtance hail!
Still would her touch the ſtrain prolong,
And from the rocks, the woods, the vale,
She call'd on Echo ſtill thro' all the ſong;
And where her ſweeteſt theme ſhe choſe,
A ſoft reſponſive voice was heard at every cloſe,
And Hope enchanted ſmil'd, and wav'd her golden hair.
And longer had ſhe ſung,—but, with a frown,
Revenge impatient roſe,

He

Whilſt Mr. Collins reſided in London, Dr. Johnſon fell into his company. "His appearance, ſays the Doctor, was decent and manly; his knowledge conſiderable, his "views extenſive, his converſation elegant. By degrees I gained his confidence; and "one day was admitted to him when he was immured by a Bailiff, that was prowling in "the ſtreet. On this occaſion recourſe was had to the Bookſellers; who, on the credit "of a tranſlation of Ariſtotle's Poeticks, which he engaged to write, with a large com-"mentary, advanced as much money as enabled him to eſcape into the country. He "ſhewed me the guineas ſafe in his hand (*i*)." Not long after this event, Mr. Collins found ſome conſolation in changing the ſcene, and viſiting his uncle, Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, who was then with the Britiſh army in Flanders. In a little time the Colonel died, and left his nephew about two thouſand pounds; a ſum which our Poet could ſcarcely think exhauſtible, and which he did not live to exhauſt. One of the firſt things he did after his uncle's deceaſe, was to repay the money he had obtained from the Bookſellers, on the credit of tranſlating Ariſtotle's Poeticks; for he no longer thought of performing that engagement. Mr. Collins's acceſſion of fortune came too late to be of any eſſential ſervice to him. His faculties had been ſo long harraſſed by anxiety, diſſipation, and diſtreſs, that he fell into a nervous diſorder, which brought with it an unconquerable depreſſion of ſpirits, and at length reduced the fineſt underſtanding to the moſt deplorable childiſhneſs. His diſorder was not alienation of mind, but general laxity and feebleneſs, a deficiency rather of vital than intellectual powers. What he ſpoke wanted neither judgment nor ſpirit: but a few minutes exhauſted him, ſo that he was forced to reſt upon the couch, till a ſhort ceſſation reſtored his powers, and he was again able to talk with his former vigour. When he felt the approaches of this dreadful malady, with the uſual

(*i*) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 311.

He threw his blood-ſtain'd ſword in thunder down,
And, with a withering look,
The war-denouncing trumpet took,
And blew a blaſt ſo loud and dread,
Were ne'er prophetic ſounds ſo full of woe.
And ever and anon he beat
The doubling drum with furious heat;
And tho' ſometimes, each dreary pauſe between,
Dejected Pity at his ſide,
Her ſoul-ſubduing voice applied,
Yet ſtill he kept his wild unalter'd mien,
While each ſtrain'd ball of ſight ſeem'd burſting from his head.
Thy numbers, Jealouſy, to nought were fix'd,
Sad proof of thy diſtreſsful ſtate,
Of differing themes the veering ſong was mix'd,
And now it courted Love, now raving call'd on Hate.

With eyes uprais'd, as one inſpir'd,
Pale Melancholy ſat retir'd,
And from her wild ſequeſter'd ſeat,
In notes by diſtance made more ſweet,
Pour'd thro' the mellow Horn her penſive ſoul:
And daſhing ſoft from rocks around,
Bubbling runnels join'd the ſound;
Thro' glades and glooms the mingled meaſure ſtole,
Or o'er ſome haunted ſtreams with fond delay,
Round an holy calm diffuſing,
Love of peace, and lonely muſing,
In hollow murmurs died away.
But O, how alter'd was its ſprightlier tone!
When Chearfulneſs, a nymph of healthieſt hue,
Her bow acroſs her ſhoulder flung,
Her buſkins gemm'd with morning dew,
Blew an inſpiring air, that dale and thicket rung,
The hunter's call to Faun and Dryad known;
The oak-crown'd Siſters, and their chaſte-eyed queen,
Satyrs and ſylvan boys were ſeen,
Peeping from forth their alleys green;
Brown Exerciſe rejoic'd to hear,
And Sport leapt up, and ſeiz'd his beechen ſpear.
Laſt came Joy's ecſtatic trial,
He with viny crown advancing,
Firſt to the lively pipe his hand addreſt,
But ſoon he ſaw the briſk awakening viol,
Whoſe ſweet entrancing voice he lov'd the beſt.
They would have thought, who heard the ſtrain,
They ſaw in Tempe's vale her native maids,
Amidſt the feſtal ſounding ſhades,
To ſome unwearied minſtrel dancing,
While, as his flying fingers kiſs'd the ſtrings,
Love fram'd with Mirth, a gay fantaſtic round,
Looſe were her treſſes ſeen, her zone unbound,
And he, amidſt his frolic play,
As if he would the charming air repay,
Shook thouſand odours from his dewy wings.

O Muſic, ſphere-deſcended maid,
Friend of pleaſure, wiſdom's aid,
Why, Goddeſs, why to us denied?
Lay'ſt thou thy ancient lyre aſide?
As in that lov'd Athenian bower,
You learn'd an all-commanding power,
Thy mimic ſoul, O nymph endear'd,
Can well recall what then it heard.
Where is thy native ſimple heart,
Devote to virtue, fancy, art?
Ariſe, as in that elder time,
Warm, energic, chaſte, ſublime!
Thy wonders, in that god-like age,
Fill thy recording Siſter's page—
'Tis ſaid, and I believe the tale,
Thy humbleſt Reed could more prevail,
Had more of ſtrength, diviner rage,
Than all which charms this laggard age,
Even all at once together found
Cæcilia's mingled world of ſound —
O bid our vain endeavours ceaſe,
Revive the juſt deſigns of Greece,
Return in all thy ſimple ſtate!
Confirm the tales her ſons relate (5)!"

(5) Collins's Poetical Works, p. 81—87.

"If the muſic, ſays Dr. Langhorne, which was "compoſed for this Ode, had equal merit with the "Ode itſelf, it muſt have been the moſt excellent "performance of the kind, in which poetry and "muſic have, in modern times, united. Other "pieces of the ſame nature have derived their great-"eſt reputation from the perfection of the muſic that "accompanied them, having in themſelves little "more merit than that of an ordinary ballad: but "in this we have the whole ſoul and power of poetry "——Expreſſion that, even without the aid of muſic, "ſtrikes to the heart; and imagery of power enough "to tranſport the attention, without the forceful al-"liance of correſponding ſounds. What, then, muſt "have been the effect of theſe united!" The Doctor, after illuſtrating ſome of the peculiar beauties of the Poem, concludes with obſerving, that, "upon the "whole, there may be very little hazard in aſſerting, "that this is the fineſt Ode in the Engliſh lan-"guage (6)." In the collection of Collins's works, there are two poems we have not yet mentioned. Theſe are, a Dirge in Cymbeline, and an Ode on the death of Mr. Thomſon, both of which are very beautiful. The Epiſtle to Sir Thomas Hanmer is the leaſt intereſting of our author's productions. We ſcarcely need to inform our readers, that his various excellencies as a Poet are particularly marked out by Dr. Langhorne.

(6) Obſervations on the Genius and Writings of Collins; annexed to his Poetical Works, p. 178—181.

weakneſs

weakneſs of men ſo diſeaſed, he eagerly ſnatched that temporary relief with which the table and the bottle flatter and ſeduce. But his health continually declined, and he grew more and more burthenſome to himſelf. Having continued, with ſhort intervals, in this pitiable ſtate, till the year 1756, he died in the arms of his ſiſter. In his laſt illneſs, he ſhewed to Dr. Joſeph and Mr. Thomas Warton, an Ode, inſcribed to Mr. John Hume, on the Superſtition of the Highlands; which they thought ſuperior to his other works, but which no ſearch has yet found (*k*).

(*k*) Langhorne's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. xii—xiv. Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 311, 312. 315, 316.

Not long after our Poet's deceaſe, the following character of him was drawn up by Dr. Johnſon: "Mr. Collins was a man of extenſive literature, and of vigorous faculties. "He was acquainted not only with the learned tongues, but with the Italian, French, "and Spaniſh languages. He had employed his mind chiefly upon works of fiction, and "ſubjects of fancy; and, by indulging ſome peculiar habits of thought, was eminently "delighted with thoſe flights of imagination which paſs the bounds of nature, and to "which the mind is reconciled only by a paſſive acquieſcence in popular traditions. He "loved Fairies, Genii, Giants, and Monſters; he delighted to rove through the meanders "of inchantment, to gaze on the magnificence of golden palaces, to repoſe by the wa-"terfalls of Elyſian gardens. This was, however, the character rather of his inclination "than his genius. The grandeur of wildneſs, and the novelty of extravagance, were al-"ways deſired by him, but were not always attained. Yet as diligence is never wholly "loſt, if his efforts ſometimes cauſed harſhneſs and obſcurity, they likewiſe produced, in "happier moments, ſublimity and ſplendour. This idea, which he had formed of excel-"lence, led him to Oriental fictions, and allegorical imagery; and, perhaps, while he "was intent upon deſcription, he did not ſufficiently cultivate ſentiment. His poems are "the productions of a mind not deficient in fire, nor unfurniſhed with knowledge either "of books or life, but ſomewhat obſtructed in its progreſs by deviation in queſt of miſ-"taken beauties.

"His morals were pure, and his opinions pious. In a long continuance of poverty, and "long habits of diſſipation, it cannot be expected that any character ſhould be exactly "uniform. There is a degree of want by which the freedom of agency is almoſt de-"ſtroyed; and long aſſociation with fortuitous companions will at laſt relax the ſtrictneſs "of truth, and abate the fervour of ſincerity. That this man, wiſe and virtuous as he "was, paſſed always unentangled through the ſnares of life, it would be prejudice and "temerity to affirm. But it may be ſaid, that at leaſt he preſerved the ſource of action "unpolluted, that his principles were never ſhaken, that his diſtinctions of right and "wrong were never confounded; and that his faults had nothing of malignity or deſign, "but proceeded from ſome unexpected preſſure, or caſual temptation.

"The latter part of his life cannot be remembered but with pity and ſadneſs. He lan-"guiſhed ſome years under that depreſſion of mind which enchains the faculties without "deſtroying them, and leaves reaſon the knowledge of right, without the power of pur-"ſuing it. Theſe clouds, which he found gathering on his intellects, he endeavoured to "diſperſe by travel, and paſſed into France, but found himſelf conſtrained to yield to his "malady, and returned. He was for ſome time confined in a houſe of lunatics, and "afterwards retired to the care of his ſiſter in Chicheſter, where death, in 1756, came "to his relief.

"After his return from France, the writer of this character paid him a viſit at Iſlington, "where he was waiting for his ſiſter, whom he had directed to meet him: there was "then nothing of diſorder diſcernible in his mind by any but himſelf; but he had with-"drawn from ſtudy, and travelled with no other book than an Engliſh Teſtament, ſuch as "children carry to the ſchool: when his friend took it into his hand, out of curioſity to "ſee what companion a man of letters had choſen, 'I have but one book,' ſays Collins, "but that is the beſt (*l*)."

(*l*) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 312—315.

To this character Dr. Johnſon hath ſince added, that Mr. Collins's diction was often harſh, unſkilfully laboured, and injudiciouſly ſelected. "He affected, ſays the Doctor, "the obſolete, when it was not worthy of revival; and he puts his words out of the "common order, ſeeming to think, with ſome later candidates for fame, that not to "write proſe is certainly to write poetry. His lines commonly are of ſlow motion, clogged "and impeded with cluſters of conſonants. As men are often eſteemed who cannot be "loved, ſo the poetry of Collins may ſometimes extort praiſe when it gives little "pleaſure (*m*)."

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 315, 316.

That Dr. Johnſon's eſtimate of the genius and writings of Mr. Collins is too ſevere, will be allowed by moſt readers. A very different opinion of his poetical excellence is maintained in the notes [*B*] and [*C*]; and other teſtimonies may be produced to the ſame purpoſe, from Critics of undoubted reputation. Mr. Thomas Warton, ſpeaking of Collins, calls him his lamented friend, "whoſe Odes will be remembered while any taſte for "true poetry remains (*n*)." "The genius of Collins, ſays Mr. Knox, ſeems in ſome "meaſure to have reſembled that of Tickell. Dignity, ſolemnity, and pathos, are the "ſtriking features of his compoſitions. None but a true Poet could have written the "Song over Fidele in Shakſpeare's Cymbeline (*o*)." Mr. Potter, treating of the Ode, aſſerts,

(*n*) Hiſtory of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 361. note.

(*o*) Knox's Eſſays, moral and literary, vol. ii. p. 379. Edition of 1782.

aſſerts, that Collins was the firſt of our Poets who reached its excellence. "His mind "was impreſſed with a tender melancholy, but without any mixture of that ſullen gloom "which deadens its powers: it led him to the ſofteſt ſympathy, that moſt refined feeling "of the human heart. His faculties were vigorous, and his genius truly ſublime: his "ſtyle is cloſe and ſtrong, and his numbers in general harmonious. He was well ac-"quainted with Æſchylus and Euripides, and drew deep from their fountains. His "thoughts had a romantic caſt, and his imagination a certain wild grandeur, which ſome-"times perhaps approaches to the borders of extravagance; but this led him to deſcrip-"tions and allegories wonderfully poetical: ſuch, for inſtance, is the antiſtrophe in his "Ode to Liberty, and the firſt part of his Ode to Fear: Æſchylus himſelf has not a "bolder conception, and the grandeur of thought is as greatly expreſſed. Dr. Johnſon "ſpeaks of this ſublime Poet with a tenderneſs which reflects honour on himſelf: he al-"lows him ſometimes to have ſublimity and ſplendour; but in the coldneſs of criticiſm "expreſſes ſome diſapprobation of his allegorical imagery, and is unjuſt to his harmony (*p*)."

(*p*) Potter's Inquiry into ſome Paſſages in Dr. Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, p. 15.

Though we agree with theſe ingenious Critics, in giving a much higher rank to Collins as a Poet than Dr. Johnſon ſeems willing to allow him, and though we condemn the exceſs to which the Doctor's ſtrictures are carried, it muſt be acknowledged, that they are not in every reſpect deſtitute of foundation. Mr. Collins is occaſionally, though not frequently, harſh in his numbers: his perſonifications appear, in a few inſtances, to be multiplied beyond juſt cauſe; and he is ſometimes blameably obſcure. Of the laſt fault, his Ode on the Poetical Character is a ſtriking example. But when every poſſible deduction is made from his merit, he will ſtill ſtand entitled to a very large proportion of praiſe; and his Ode on the Paſſions muſt ever be joined with Dryden's St. Cecilia, and Gray's Bard, as among the boldeſt and brighteſt efforts of the Lyric Muſe.

We ſhall conclude this article with a Sonnet from Dr. Langhorne's "Viſions of Fancy;" and we inſert it with the greater pleaſure, as it hints at the moral which is deducible from the life of our unfortunate Poet.

Reclining in that old and honoured ſhade,
Where MAGDALEN's graceful tower informs the ſky,
Urging ſtrong thought thro' contemplation high,
Wiſdom in form of ADDISON was laid;
Who thus fair truth's ingenuous lore convey'd
To the poor ſhade of COLLINS wandering by.
The tear ſtood trembling in his gentle eye,
With modeſt grief reluctant, while he ſaid—
"Sweet Bard! beloved by every Muſe in vain!
"With powers whoſe fineneſs wrought their own decay!
"Ah! wherefore, thoughtleſs didſt thou yield the rein
"To fancy's will, and chaſe her meteor ray?
"Ah! why forgot thy own Hyblæan ſtrain?
"(*q*) Peace rules the breaſt, where reaſon rules the day (*r*)."] K.

(*q*) Oriental Eclogues.

(*r*) Monthly Review, vol. xxx. p. 123.

*** [COLLINSON (PETER), * an excellent Citizen, a diſtinguiſhed Naturaliſt and Antiquary, and a zealous promoter of uſeful knowledge, was born on the 14th of January, 1693-4 (*a*). The family from which he deſcended had long been ſeated in the North of England; and his great-grandfather, who was of the ſame chriſtian name with himſelf, lived on his paternal eſtate, called Hugal-Hall, or Height of Hugal, near Windermere-Lake, in the pariſh of Stavely, about ten miles from Kendal in Weſtmoreland. What was his father's profeſſion, or where he inhabited, cannot be fully aſcertained; and we are equally incapable of determining at what place young Collinſon received the firſt rudiments of his education. Being intended for trade, he does not appear to have had any great degree of inſtruction in the learned languages. The buſineſs in which he was brought up, was that of a wholeſale dealer, in what is called man's mercery; and he had a brother, James, who ſeems to have been bred to the ſame buſineſs. It is ſuppoſed, that man's mercery was the employment of their father. At a proper age, the two brothers engaged in trade as partners, and this was a happy circumſtance for both of them; becauſe, as they lived in entire harmony, and their occupation did not require their preſence together, each of them had leiſure to attend to his particular ſtudies and purſuits, whether of pleaſure or improvement (*b*). Mr. Peter Collinſon had diſcovered, from his youth, a ſtrong attachment to Natural Hiſtory. The examination of inſects, and their ſeveral metamorphoſes, employed many of thoſe hours which, at his time of life, are too frequently devoted to leſs innocent and leſs improving objects. Plants alſo engaged his attention, and he began very early to make dried ſpecimens. So diligent was his curioſity with reſpect to matters of this kind, that, whilſt he was yet a young man, he obtained the notice and eſteem of the moſt eminent Naturaliſts of the age. Derham, Woodward, Dale, Lloyd, and Sir Hans Sloane, honoured him with their acquaintance and their friendſhip. He had a particular intimacy with Sir Charles Wager, which

* The account from which the materials of the preſent article are chiefly derived, and which has appeared in ſeveral publications, was the joint production of Dr. Fothergill and Michael Collinſon, Eſq. We are indebted to the latter gentleman for ſome additional information.

(*a*) From the information of Michael Collinſon, Eſq.

(*b*) Annual Regiſter for 1770. Part the 2d, p. 53, 54.

which he converted to the purpoſes of ſcience. At the inſtigation of Mr. Collinſon, Sir Charles made it his buſineſs, in the courſe of his numerous voyages, to pick up a variety of curioſities, which did not a little contribute to enrich Sir Hans Sloane's collection. With the ſame kind and liberal view, Sir Charles Wager encouraged the commanders under him, who were ſtationed in different parts of the globe, to procure whatever was rare and valuable in the ſeveral branches of Natural Hiſtory. Among the vaſt number of articles in Sir Hans Sloane's immenſe treaſury of nature, there were very few with which Mr. Collinſon was not well acquainted; his familiarity with Sir Hans being ſuch, that he viſited him at all times, and continued to do ſo till his death (*c*). To the other friends which Mr. Collinſon's ſcientific attainments procured him, though at a later period, muſt be added John, Earl of Bute; a nobleman who has now been long known in the world for his ſkill in botany, his diſtinguiſhed encouragement of that part of philoſophy, and his patronage of the liberal arts in general (*d*).

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) From the information of Michael Collinſon, Eſq.

It was not to Natural Hiſtory only that the knowledge of the gentleman who is the ſubject of the preſent article was confined. His acquaintance with the antiquities of his own country was very conſiderable. He was, therefore, well qualified to become a member of both the great literary inſtitutions with which London is adorned. Accordingly, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in December 1728, being then nearly thirty-five years of age. To the Society of Antiquaries he had the honour of belonging from its firſt inſtitution (*e*). How diligent and uſeful a member he was of the Royal Society, is apparent from many parts of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, to which we refer ſuch of our readers as are deſirous of obtaining a more particular view of his zeal in extending the boundaries of ſcience. Beſides his perſonal communications, which were curious and valuable, he promoted and preſerved a moſt extenſive correſpondence with the learned and ingenious of all countries. We ſhall only here take notice, that, in the fifty-firſt volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Mr. Collinſon, in a letter to the Honourable J. Th. Klein, Secretary to the City of Dantzick, has maintained the opinion of the migration of ſwallows, in oppoſition to that gentleman, who inſiſted that they are not birds of paſſage, but that, at the time of their going away, they retire under the water, and live therein all the winter. This hypotheſis Mr. Collinſon regards as incongruous to nature and reaſon, and urges the authority of Sir Charles Wager, one Captain Wright, and Mr. Adanſon, as eye-witneſſes of the travels of ſwallows (*f*). We have the rather been led to the mention of the controverſy, as our author's ſentiments have been ingeniouſly and ably oppoſed by Mr. Daines Barrington, firſt, in the ſixty-ſecond volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and ſince, with conſiderable additions, in the late publication of his Miſcellanies (*g*).

(*e*) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Monthly Review, vol. xxv. p. 2, 3.

(*g*) Miſcellanies by the Honourable Daines Barrington, p. 174—244.

Mr. Collinſon was not a little zealous, as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, to promote the ends of the inſtitution. One diſtinguiſhed teſtimony of his attention in this reſpect, is his paper relating to the round tower at Ardmore in Ireland. There are ſeveral of theſe towers in that kingdom, and different opinions have been formed concerning the deſign for which they were conſtructed. Mr. Charles Smith, upon the authority of ſome ancient Iriſh manuſcripts, maintains that they were uſed for impriſoning penitents, and with him Mr. Collinſon agrees. According to the manuſcripts, theſe penitents were placed in the uppermoſt ſtory of the tower, where having made probation, or done penance for a limited time, according to the heinouſneſs of their crimes, they then were permitted to deſcend to the next floor; and thus they proceeded by degrees, until they came to the door, which always faced the entrance of the church, where they ſtood to receive abſolution from the Clergy, and the bleſſings of the people (*h*). Plauſible as this account may appear, it has been ably controverted by Owen Saluſbury Brereton, Eſq; who thinks that the towers in queſtion were ancient Iriſh ſtructures, and that, from their ſituation near churches, and having a floor and windows only at the top, the principal uſe of them was to receive a perſon to call the people to worſhip, with ſome wind-inſtrument (*i*). Mr. Collinſon's extenſive correſpondence enabled him to procure, for the Society of Antiquaries, a relation of ſome very curious Tartarian antiquities (*k*). Wherever he was, or however ſeemingly engaged, nothing that deſerved notice at any time eſcaped him; and he minuted down every ſtriking hint that occurred to him either in reading or in company. With ſuch hints he was perhaps ſtill more furniſhed by converſation than from books; for there was ſcarcely a man of learning and ingenuity in England, of any profeſſion, with whom he was not acquainted. As to the foreigners who came into this country either for improvement or pleaſure, thoſe of them who were eminent for their knowledge in Natural Hiſtory, or for their proficiency in any art or ſcience, were conſtantly recommended to his friendly attentions. Among theſe was the celebrated Linnæus, with whom, during his reſidence in England, Mr. Collinſon contracted a peculiar intimacy, foſtered by congeniality of purſuits, and cemented and increaſed by a variety of reciprocal good offices. Their friendſhip continued unbroken, till it was interrupted by death. The numerous recommendations of foreigners to Mr. Collinſon were the natural reſult of his extenſive correſpondence, and did not a little contribute to enlarge it. In his obligations of this kind, he maintained the ſtricteſt punctuality. He acquainted the learned and ingenious in

(*h*) Archæologia, vol. i. p. 305—307.

(*i*) Archæologia, vol. ii. p. 80—82.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 222—226.

in distant quarters of the globe, with the discoveries and improvements that were here made in different branches of knowledge; and there is scarcely any part of the world from which he did not receive informations of a similar kind in return. From this various intelligence he had it in his power to promote, in several important respects, the honour and advantage of his native country (*l*).

(*l*) Annual Register, *ubi supra*, P. 54, 55.

In the year 1730, a subscription Library was begun at Philadelphia, in North-America, to which Mr. Collinson made a number of valuable presents, and procured others from his friends. As the Library Company had a considerable sum arising annually to be laid out in books, and needed a judicious friend in London to transact the business for them, he voluntarily and chearfully undertook that service, and executed it for more than thirty years successively. He not only assisted in the choice of books, but took upon himself the whole care of collecting and shipping them, without ever charging or accepting any consideration for his trouble. The success of this library, which was not a little owing to his kind countenance and good advice, encouraged the erection of others, in different places, on the same plan; so that, after some time, there were upwards of thirty subsisting in the several Colonies, which contributed greatly to the spreading of useful knowledge in that part of the world. The books recommended by him were all of the most valuable kind, and the catalogue of the first library was much respected and followed by those libraries that succeeded *. To the Directors of the Library at Philadelphia, among whom was Mr. Benjamin, now the famous Dr. Franklin, Mr. Collinson transmitted the earliest information of every European improvement in agriculture and the arts, and of every philosophical discovery. He sent over, in 1745, an account of some new experiments in electricity, that had lately been made in Germany, together with a glass tube, and proper directions with regard to the manner in which the experiments should be repeated. This was the first notice which Dr. Franklin had received on that curious subject; a subject which, being encouraged by the friendly reception Mr. Collinson gave to his letters concerning it, he has since prosecuted with a success that has rendered him eminent in all the countries of Europe (*m*), and, indeed, in every civilized part of the globe. Whatever different opinions may be formed of his political conduct, the Franklinian system of electricity will hand down his name, with great philosophical reputation, to the latest posterity.

*From a letter of Dr. Franklin's, in the Annual Register, vol. xix. Part the 2d, p. 53.

(*m*) Annual Register, vol. xiii. *ubi supra*. See also Dr. Franklin's letter, referred to above.

Among other instances of Mr. Collinson's active zeal to promote the advantage of his country, we must not omit to mention the account which he procured, and published, of the management of sheep in Spain, with respect to their migration from the mountains to the plains, and back from the plains to the mountains [*A*]. Perhaps this account, in some

[*A*] *The account which he procured, and published, of the management of sheep in Spain, &c.*] Though this account hath already appeared in the Annual Register for 1764, and in the Gentleman's Magazine for the same year, it is so curious and entertaining, and may hereafter be of such great utility, that we rather expect the thanks, than the censure of our readers, for giving it a place in the present article.

"*Account of the Sheep and Sheep-walks of Spain, in a Letter from a Gentleman in Spain, to Mr. Peter Collinson, F. R. S.*

"SIR,

"There are two kinds of sheep in Spain. The coarse-wooled sheep, who remain all their lives in their native country, and who are housed every night in winter; and the fine-wooled sheep, who are all their lives in the open air, who travel every summer from the cool mountains of the northern parts of Spain, to feed all the winter on the southern warm plains of Andalousia, Manca, and Extremadura. From computations made with the utmost accuracy it has appeared, that there are five millions of fine-wooled sheep in Spain, and that the wool and flesh of a flock of ten thousand sheep produced yearly about twenty-four reals a head, which we will suppose to be nearly the value of twelve English sixpences; of these but one goes clear a head to the owner yearly, three sixpences a head go yearly to the king, and the other eight go to the expences of pasture, tithes, shepherds, dogs, salt, shearing, &c.

"Thus the annual product of the five millions of sheep amounts to thirty-seven millions and a half of sixpences, a little more or less, of which there are about three millions and a half for the owners; above fifteen millions enter into the treasury, and seven millions and a half go to the benefit of the public. Hence it is that the Kings of Spain call these flocks in their ordinances, *the precious jewel of the crown.*

"Formerly this jewel was really set in the crown. A succession of many kings were lords of all the flocks: hence that great number of ordinances, penal laws, privileges, and immunities which issued forth in different reigns for the preservation and special government of the sheep: hence a royal council was formed under the title of the council of the grand royal flock, which exists to this day, though the king has not a single sheep. Various exigencies of state, in different reigns, alienated by degrees the whole grand flock from the crown, together with all its privileges, which were collected and published in the year 1731, under the title of laws of the royal flock; a volume in large folio of above five hundred pages.

"The wars and wants of Philip the first's reign forced that king to sell forty thousand sheep to the marquis of Iturbieta, which was the last flock of the crown.

"Ten thousand sheep compose a flock, which is divided into ten tribes. One man has the conduct of all. He must be the owner of four or five hundred sheep, strong, active, vigilant, intelligent in pasture, in the weather, and in the diseases of sheep. He has absolute dominion over fifty shepherds and fifty dogs, five of each to a tribe. He chuses them, he chastises them, or discharges them at will; he is the prepositus or chief shepherd of the whole flock. You may judge of his importance by his salary: he has forty pounds a year and a horse, whereas the first shepherd of a tribe has but forty shillings a year, the second thirty-four, the third twenty-five, the fourth fifteen, and a boy ten shillings a year. All their allowance is two pounds of bread a day each. They may keep a few goats and sheep in the flock, but the wool is for the master; they have only the lambs and the flesh. The chief shepherd gives them three shillings in April, and three in October, by way of regale for the road; and these

ſome future period, may not be conſidered as one of the leaſt of the benefits which have accrued from his extenſive and inquiſitive correſpondence. When America is better peopled,

are all the ſweets theſe miſerable wretches enjoy; expoſed every day in the year to all weathers, and every night to lie in a hut. Thus fare, and thus live, generally to old age, 25,000 men, who clothe Kings in ſcarlet, and Biſhops in purple; for that is the number computed to keep the fine-wooled ſheep of Spain, with the ſame number of dogs of the large maſtiff kind, who are allowed two pounds of bread a piece a day. I often ſaw theſe flocks in the ſummer ſheep-walks of the hills and vales of Leo, Old Caſtile, Cuenca, and Arragon. I ſaw them in their winter plains of Manca, Extremadura, and Andalouſia. I often met them in their peregrination from the one to the other. I ſaw and I ſaw again. One eye is worth an hundred ears. I enquired, I obſerved, and even made experiments. All this was done when I happily got acquainted with a good plain old Friar, who had a conſummate knowledge of all the mechanical, low, minute circumſtances and œconomy of a flock. He told me that he was the ſon of a ſhepherd, that he had followed fifteen long years the tribe of ſheep his father led; that at twenty-five years of age he begged an old primmer, that at thirty he could read, that at thirty-ſix he had learned Latin enough to read maſs and the breviary; that he was ordained by Don Juan Navarra, Lord Biſhop of Albarazzin, who, as it is known, even to a proverb in Spain, has ordained thouſands, declaring theſe forty years, in a loud voice, *That a Prieſt is the moſt precious boon which a Biſhop can beſtow, in the name of God, to mankind, even though he was as unlearned as an apoſtle:* that thus ordained he entered into the order of St. Francis; that he had never meddled in their affairs theſe twenty-four years paſt, but only ſaid maſs, confeſſed, inſtructed, and gave an eye to about five hundred wethers who grazed in the neighbouring downs for the uſe of the convent; that he had read the Bible, the Lives of the Saints, and the Lives of the Popes, with no other view in the world but to find out all that was ſaid about ſhepherds; that good Abel was the firſt ſhepherd, that all the patriarchs were ſhepherds, that the meek ſhepherd Moſes was choſen to deliver the people of God out of bondage; that Saul, in ſeeking his father's flocks, found a kingdom; that David went out from his flock to ſlay the Philiſtine giant; that 14,000 ſheep was the chief reward Job received for his invincible patience; that Iſidro, the protecting ſaint of Madrid, was not, as is vulgarly believed, an huſbandman, like wicked Cain, but that he was really a keeper of ſheep; that the great Pope Sixtus Quintus was verily and truly a ſhepherd, and not a ſwine-herd; that, for his part, he had forſaken his ſheep to become a ſhepherd of men. He had all theſe things by heart, juſt as he had all the minute circumſtances of the ſheep he had followed; and this latter would have been imperfect, had I not met him.

"The five millions of ſheep paſs the ſummer in the cool mountains and hills above-named. Before we begin their itineraries to their winter walks, let us ſee how a few flocks live in a couple of cantons, which I will chuſe to ſerve as examples for all the reſt: one is the Montana, the other is Molina Arragon. I ſelect theſe two for theſe reaſons; becauſe I paſſed two ſummers in one, and a ſummer in the other: one is the moſt northern part of Spain, and at the greateſt diſtance from the winter walks; the other is towards the eaſt, and the ſhorteſt journey the ſheep have to make: one is the higheſt, and the other the loweſt, ſummer walk in Spain; and becauſe one is full of aromatic plants, and the other has none.

"At the extremity of Old Caſtile there is a territory called the Montana: it is divided into two parts. The low mountains is that chain of mountains which bounds the Cantabrian ſea. The city of Santander is its chief port, from whence you aſcend ſoutherly, twelve long leagues, a ſucceſſion of high craggy mountains, to the town of Reynoſa in the Upper Montana, which aſcent reaches three leagues more, and then you always deſcend about fourteen leagues to the city of Burgos, the capital of Old Caſtile. Reynoſa is in the center of an open plain, ſurrounded by a ridge of high mountains, at whoſe feet are low hills of paſture land. The ſource of the great river Ebro is an hour's walk to the weſt of Reynoſa. All the ſpring rain, and ſnow waters of the mountains to the north of Reynoſa, run into the bay of Biſcay. The waters of the ſouthern chain are collected in the river Piſuerga, which running into the river Duero, are carried to the Atlantic ocean at Oporto, and all the water that falls into the plains of Reynoſa, runs with the Ebro into the Mediterranean, ſeven leagues below the city of Tortoſa. Hence we ſee that the adjacent parts of Reynoſa divide the waters of three ſeas, which lie north, eaſt, and weſt. Eight leagues ſquare of this Upper Montana is the higheſt land of Spain: the mountains riſe in the atmoſphere to the line of congelation. I ſee ſnow from my window this fourth of Auguſt that I am writing this. Some years ago, there uſed to fall ſo much ſnow, that the people were forced to dig lanes through the ſnow to go to church in winter; but there has fallen little ſnow ſince the Liſbon earthquake, and ſome years none at all. It certainly changed the climates of many parts of Spain. No man living ſaw, nor heard his father ſay he ſaw, ſnow fall in or about Seville, till the year 1756, which extraordinary appearance ſtruck a dread into ſome convents: they rung the bells to prayers, and made proceſſions to appeaſe the wrath of heaven, as if the falling flakes foreboded the laſt day. I found many plants only beginning to flower here, which I ſaw in ſeed below at Santander. I remember to have ſeen in Switzerland all the plants but two, which grow in the mountains, hills, and plains of Reynoſa, a ſmall yellow-flowered geniſtella, with an herbaceous, triangular-jointed ſtem, and wild gooſeberry buſhes. The high mountains abound with oak, birch, holly, and hazel.

"The hills and plains are fine paſture: I never ſaw a meadow in any other part of Spain, nor cows and horſes feed on hay. Theſe mountains are formed of ſand-ſtone, lime-ſtone, plaiſter-ſtone, [talc] and emery-ſtone. The ſand-ſtone is at the ſummit of the mountains and hills in ſome, and the lime-ſtone forms the body. You ſee the contrary in others, but the ſand-ſtone abounds, and the plaiſter is always the loweſt. As for example, the high mountain of Arandilla, which is about a ſmall league north of the town, is all ſand-ſtone at the ſummit; its body is a maſs of aſh-coloured lime-ſtone, in which you find impriſoned petrified cornua ammonis and ſcollop-ſhells, and beds of plaiſter-ſtone at his foot towards the plain, which join to ſtrata of black marble veined with white and yellow; which is no more than a purer lime-ſtone like all other marble, and you find great blocks of emery-ſtone in the plain and on the hill to the eaſt of Reynoſa, of which I will ſay a word, becauſe I think its nature is not truly known, at leaſt that of emery, which the looking-glaſs grinders of the king's fabric at St. Ildefonſo ſay is the moſt biting emery they ever uſed, and I never ſaw any other in its native matrix. That iron has been, and is now, in a fluid ſtate, percolating through the earth, and that it ſubſides, cryſtaliſes, or is precipitated to form different bodies, is demonſtrated by the black and red bloodſtone (hematites) by ſome beautiful ſtalactites, which are almoſt pure iron; by the eagle-ſtone; by figured pyrites; by native vitriol, and by native crocus. When this fluid iron penetrates a rock of ſand-ſtone, and only ſtains the ſurface of each grain of a browniſh, reddiſh, or yellow colour, it is only ſand and crocus. But when this fluid iron, joined with the cryſtaline matter, is in a fluid ſtate, in the very act of the cryſtaliſation of each grain of ſand, it incorporates with it, increaſes its weight and hardneſs, it is emery. The earths of the mountains and hills are of the nature of the rock below. If it be lime-ſtone, the ſoil caſt into any acid liquor will boil up with a violent efferveſcence, and the acid will diſſolve it. If the rock below be ſand-ſtone, plaiſter-ſtone, or emery, the earths of the hill or mountain will remain quiet in the acid; there is

peopled, when the mountainous parts are become more habitable, when the low-lands are unloaded of their vaſt foreſts, and properly cultivated, the fineſt ſheep in the world may

no efferveſcene nor diſſolution. I often obſerved that when the rocks below are mixed, (calcary and non-calcary) the ſoil of the ſurface is of a mixed nature too; and I always found the action of the acid to be weak or ſtrong upon theſe earths, in proportion to the ſtone that abounds. The farmers have found out by experience the genus of theſe two ſimple, and even the mixt ſoils; they know that corn grows beſt in the ſod that covers the lime-ſtone, that the mixed requires much manure, and that the deep, fat, clayey ſoil, which covers the ſand-ſtone, muſt have more ploughing and other labour than the farmer can afford; and corn-land and calcareous or lime-ſtone land, are ſynonymous terms in this country. Theſe rocks and earths would be improperly mentioned in a letter upon wool, were it not that the ſheep find out the nature of theſe three ſoils as ſurely as farmers and acids.

"The firſt thing the ſhepherd does when the flock returns from the ſouth to their ſummer downs, is to give them as much ſalt as they will eat. Every owner allows his flock of a thouſand ſheep one hundred aroves or twenty-five quintals of ſalt, which the flock eats in about five months: they eat none in their journey, nor in their winter walk. This has ever been the cuſtom, and it is the true reaſon why the kings of Spain cannot raiſe the price of ſalt to the height it is in France; for it would tempt the ſhepherds to ſtint the ſheep, which, it is believed, would weaken their conſtitutions and degrade the wool. The ſhepherd places fifty or ſixty flat ſtones at about five ſteps diſtance from each other, he ſtrews ſalt upon each ſtone, he leads the flock ſlowly through the ſtones, and every ſheep eats to his liking. But then they never eat a grain of ſalt when they are feeding in lime-ſtone land, whether it be on the graſs of the downs, or on the little plants of the corn-fields after harveſt-home. The ſhepherd muſt not ſuffer them to ſtay too long without ſalt: he leads them into a ſpot of [argilaceous] clayey ſoil, and in a quarter of an hour's feeding, they march to the ſtones and devour the ſalt. If they meet a ſpot of the mixed ſoil, which often happens, they eat ſalt in proportion. Aſk the ſhepherd why the ſheep eat no ſalt in lime-ſtone ſoil, and but little in the mixt? Becauſe, Sir, it is corn-land. I know, and indeed who does not know, that lime abounds in ſaline matter; but then the ſalt which chymiſts extract from it may not be the genuine ſalt of the lime-ſtone before calcination, for the fire may form new combinations. It may be ſea-ſalt, or at leaſt the muriatic acid which riſes in the vegetation of graſs, and ſatisfies the ſheeps taſte for ſalt. The latter end of July the rams are turned into the tribe of ewes, regulated at ſix or ſeven rams for every hundred. When the ſhepherd judges they are ſerved, he collects the rams into a ſeparate tribe to feed apart; but then there is another tribe of rams that feed apart too, and never ſerve the ewes, but which are merely for wool, and for the butchery: for though the wool and fleſh of wethers are finer and more delicate than thoſe of rams, yet the fleece of a ram weighs more than the fleece of a wether, who is likewiſe ſhorter-lived than the ram, which compenſation is the reaſon there are ſo few tribes of wethers in the royal flock of Spain. The fleeces of three rams generally weigh twenty-five pounds: there muſt be the wool of four wethers and that of five ewes to weigh twenty-five pounds. There is the ſame diſproportion in their lives, which depend upon their teeth; for when they fail they cannot bite the graſs, and they are condemned to the knife. The ewes teeth, from their tender conſtitutions, and the fatigue of breeding, begin to fail after five years of age, the wethers after ſix, and the robuſt ram not till towards eight. It is forbidden to expoſe rams fleſh to ſale, but the law is eluded; they cut the old rams, and as ſoon as the inciſion is healed, they are ſold to the butchers at a lower price than coarſe-wooled wethers. That is the reaſon ſuch bad mutton is generally eaten in Madrid, and that is the reaſon there are more rams and fewer lamb-ſtones ſold and eaten every day in the year in Madrid, than in the reſt of Europe.

"At the latter end of September they put on the redding or ochre: it is a ponderous irony earth, common in Spain: the ſhepherd diſſolves it in water, and dawbs the ſheeps backs with it from the neck to the rump. It is an old cuſtom. Some ſay it mixes with the greaſe of the wool, and ſo becomes a varniſh impenetrable to the rain and cold; others, that its weight keeps the wool down, and ſo hinders it from growing long and coarſe; and others, that it acts as an abſorbent earth, receives part of the tranſpiration, which would foul the wool, and make it aſperous.

"The latter end of September the ſheep begin their march towards the low plains. Their itinerary is marked out by immemorial cuſtom, and by ordinances, and is as well regulated as the march of troops. They feed freely in all the wilds and commons as they paſs through; but as they muſt neceſſarily paſs through many cultivated ſpots, the proprietors of them are obliged by law to leave a paſſage open for the ſheep, through vineyards, olive-yards, corn-fields, and paſture land common to towns; and theſe paſſages muſt be at leaſt ninety yards wide, that they may not be too crowded in a narrow lane. Theſe paſſages are often ſo long that the poor creatures march ſix or ſeven leagues a-day to get into the open wilds, where the ſhepherd walks ſlow to let them feed at eaſe and reſt, but they never ſtop: they have no day of repoſe: they march at leaſt two leagues a day, *ever following the ſhepherd*, always feeding or ſeeking with their heads towards the ground till they get to their journey's end, which, from the Montana to Extremadura, is about one hundred and fifty leagues, which they march in leſs than forty days. The chief ſhepherd's firſt care is to ſee that each tribe is conducted to the ſame diſtrict it fed in the year before, and where the ſheep were yeaned, which they think prevents a variation in the wool: though indeed this requires but little care; for it is a notorious truth, that the ſheep would go to that very ſpot of their own accord. His next care was to fix the toils where the ſheep paſs the night, leſt they ſhould ſtray, and fall into the jaws of wolves. Laſtly, the ſhepherds make up their poor huts with ſtakes, branches, and brambles; for which end, and for firing, they are allowed by the law to cut off one branch from every tree. I believe this to be the reaſon, that all the foreſt-trees near the ſheep-walks in Spain are as hollow as willow-pollards. The roots of trees and the quantity of ſap, increaſe yearly with the branches: if you lop off theſe, all the ſap that ſhould go to the annual production, and to the nouriſhment of buds, ſtems, leaves, flowers, fruit, and growth of the branches, remains in the trunk; from hence ſtagnation, fermentation, and rottenneſs. Next comes the time when the ewes begin to drop their lambs, which is the moſt toilſome and moſt ſolicitous part of the paſtoral life. The ſhepherds firſt cull out the barren from the pregnant ewes, which are conducted to the beſt ſhelter, and the others to the bleakeſt part of the diſtrict. As the lambs fall, they are led apart with their dams to another comfortable ſpot. A third diviſion is made of the laſt yeaned lambs, for whom was allotted from the beginning the moſt fertile part, the beſt ſoil, and ſweeteſt graſs of the down, that they may grow as vigorous as the firſt yeaned, for they muſt all march the ſame day towards their ſummer-quarters: the ſhepherds perform four operations upon all the lambs about the ſame time in the month of March, but firſt they pay the twentieth lamb; the other half tithe is paid in the winter walk: they cut off their tails five inches below the rump for cleanlineſs: they mark them on the noſe with a hot iron: they ſaw off part of their horns, that the rams may neither hurt one another nor the ewes: they render impotent the lambs doomed for docile bell-wethers, to walk at the head of the tribe; they make no inciſion; the ſhepherd turns the teſticles with his finger twenty

may poſſibly cover the plains of Carolina, Georgia, Eaſt and Weſt-Florida, in the winter months, and retreat to the mountains as the ſummer heats increaſe and dry up the herbage. In

times about in the ſcrotum, till he twiſts the ſpermatic veſſels as a rope, and they wither away without any danger. As ſoon as the month of April comes about, which is the time of their departure, the ſheep expreſs, by various uneaſy motions, a remarkable reſtleſſneſs, and ſtrong deſire to go off. The ſhepherds muſt exert all their vigilance leſt they ſhould eſcape; and it has often happened, that a tribe has ſtolen a forced march of three or four leagues upon a ſleepy ſhepherd: but he is ſure to find them, for they return exactly the ſame way they came; and there are many examples, of three or four ſtrayed ſheep walking an hundred leagues to the very place they fed in the year before. Thus they all go off towards their ſummer mountains in the ſame order they came, only with this difference, the flocks that go to Leon and Caſtile are ſhorn in the road, where we will ſtay a little to ſee the apparatus of this operation, whilſt the other flocks march on to Molina Arragon. They begin to ſheer the firſt of May, provided the weather be fair; for if the wool were not quite dry, the fleeces which are cloſe piled upon one another would ferment and rot: it is for this reaſon that the ſheering houſes are ſo ſpacious. I ſaw ſome which can contain in bad weather twenty thouſand ſheep, and coſt above 5000l. ſterling: beſides, the ewes are creatures of ſuch conſtitutions, that if they were expoſed immediately after ſheering to the air of a bleak night, they would all periſh.

"There are one hundred and twenty-five ſheermen employed to ſheer a flock of ten thouſand ſheep: a man ſheers twelve ewes a day and but eight rams: the reaſon of this difference is, not only becauſe the rams have larger bodies, ſtronger and more wool, but the ſheermen dare not tie their feet as they do thoſe of the unreſiſting ewes. Experience taught, that the bold rebellious ram would ſtruggle even to ſuffocation in captivity under the ſheers: they gently lay him down, they ſtroke his belly, they beguile him out of his fleece: a certain number of ſheep are led into the great ſhelter-houſe, which is a parallelogram of four or five hundred feet long, and one hundred wide, where they remain all day: as many as they judge can be diſpatched by the ſheermen next day, are driven from the ſhelter-hall into a long, narrow, low gut, which is called the ſweating-place, where they remain all night, crowded as cloſe together as the ſhepherd can keep them, that they may ſweat plentifully, which, as they ſay, is to ſoften the wool for the ſheers, and oil their edges. They are led by degrees in the morning into the ſpacious ſheering-hall, which joins the ſweating-room. The ſhepherd carries them off as faſt as they are ſheered, to be marked with tar; and as this operation is neceſſarily performed upon one at a time, it gives a fair opportunity to the ſhepherds to cull out for the butchery all the ſheep of the flock who have out-lived their teeth. The ſheered ſheep go to the fields to feed a little if it be fine weather; and they return in the evening to paſs the night in the yard before the houſe, within the ſhelter of the walls; but if it be cold and cloudy they go into the houſe. They are thus brought by degrees to bear the open air; and their firſt days journies from the ſheering-houſe to the mountains are ſhort, where we will leave them to conclude their annual peregrination, and go ſee how fare the flocks of Molina Arragon, which have by this time got thither; but while the mule is ſaddling, a word of the ſhorn wool.

"The ſheep and ſheerers diſpatched, the firſt thing done is to weigh the whole pile of wool; the next is to divide each fleece into three ſorts of wool: the back and belly give the ſuperfine; the neck and ſides give the fine; the breaſt, ſhoulders, and thighs, the coarſe wool. A different price is fixed upon theſe three claſſes, though the general cuſtom is to ſell the whole pile together at a mean price. It is ſold after it is waſhed, when it is to go out of the kingdom, or to any conſiderable diſtance in it; for as it never loſes leſs than half its weight in waſhing, and often more when the ſweating is violent, half the carriage is ſaved.

"Here I ſee that I have changed the order I propoſed in ſetting out; for I have followed the ſheep from the mountains to the plains, and back again; but it is not worth mending.

"Thirty-one leagues S. E. of Madrid, and five leagues S. of the ſource of the river Tagus, is the town of Molina Arragon, capital of a lordſhip of the crown, which is twelve leagues wide, as many long, and almoſt in the center of Spain. The high lands of this little territory are covered with pine-trees; the low lands feed about 150,000 ſheep. Here I learnt ſome truths, which prove that the three following opinions ſhould be ranked amongſt vulgar errors.

"1. That ſheep eat and love aromatic plants, and that the fleſh of thoſe that feed on hills where the ſweet herbs abound has a fine taſte.

"2. That ſalt ſprings are not found in the high primitive mountains, but in the low hills and plains only.

"3. That metallic vapours deſtroy vegetation; that no rocks nor mountains pregnant with rich veins of ore are covered with rich vegetable ſoil.

"The town of Molina is almoſt in the middle of the ſheep-walks. The ſolid part of the country is formed of red and grey ſand-ſtone, lime-ſtone, white and grey granite, and plaiſter-ſtone, white, grey, yellow, blueiſh, greeniſh, and blood-red; in ſome places theſe are all beautifully mixed in one ſtratum. Time and moiſture uncompound theſe ſtones: for they have mouldered, and are daily mouldering into the ſoil of the country, which is always of the ſame nature as that of the rock. The red fuller's earth, with which the manufacturers of Molina clean their cloth, is evidently the very grains of ſand of the red rock degraded into earth. The rocks about the town contain either ſalt or ſaltpetre: you ſee the hewn ſtones of the houſes covered with ſaline efflorescences which are drawn out by the ſun after rain. The whole territory of Molina is full of ſalt ſprings; but there is a copious ſalt ſpring riſing out of a land yet higher than the ſource of the Tagus, and not far from it, which is one of the higheſt lands in all the inward parts of Spain, for it divides the waters of the ocean and Mediterranean. The Tagus runs one hundred and fifty leagues to Liſbon, and the two rivers Gaudalvair and Sucar, which riſe near it, run to Valencia. This ſpring furniſhes ſalt to the juriſdiction and biſhopric of Albarrazin. There is another ſalt ſpring, in a high land too, which ſupplies the eighty-two towns and villages of Molina Arragon with ſalt. Now I will mention the ſalt ſpring that iſſues out of a ſpot in the Montana, which is higher than the ſource of the Ebro, and about a quarter of a mile from it.

"There are many iron, copper, lead, and pure pyritous ores in theſe ſheep-walks, where grow the ſame plants and the ſame ſweet graſs as in the other parts. I will give one example: about two hours walk N. W. of Molina there is a little hill called the Platilla: it is about half a league over from valley to valley; its body is ſolid, rocky, of white granite, through which run in different directions, and without any order, an infinite number of blue, green, and yellow veins of rich copper ores, which hold a little ſilver, mineralized by a great quantity of arſenic and ſulphur. The very ſurface of the rock is in many places ſtained blueiſh and green, and the veins of ore are not above a foot deep in the fiſſures and in the ſolid rock, which contain lead ore ſometimes up to the ſurface.

"The following plants grow out of the ſoil which covers theſe arſenical ſulphureous veins, and which is not above a foot deep. True oak, ilex, whoſe leaves fall, white-thorn, juniper; theſe are poor ſhrubs, becauſe they are browzed by the goats. Cyſtus, wild roſe, uva-urſi, phlomis ſalviæ, fol. fl. luteo, verbaſcum of the highways, ſtœchas, ſage, thymum legitimum, clus, ſerpyllum, greater and leſſer; roſemary, helianthemum, pimpinella, chamædris, filipendula, ſtachys lychnoides, incana anguſtifolia flo. aureo.

In conſequence of the late American revolution, ſuch an improvement would not now be productive of that benefit to this kingdom, which Mr. Collinſon expected from it: but it is worthy of conſideration, whether the œconomy of Spain might not be introduced with advantage even in England; with this difference, that the hills ſhould be choſen for the reſidence of the ſheep in winter, and the wetter low-lands reſerved for their paſture in ſummer (*n*).

(*n*) Annual Regiſter, vol. xiii. *ubi ſupra.*

reo. var. The great aſphodel, coronilla of the meadows, gallium luteum, yarrow, campanula radice eſculenta à jacobea, which I ſaw grow in the ſand of the ſea-ſide, and is all quite white. A gladiolus, and a little glaucium, which grow in corn-fields in Spain; leucanthemum of the meadows, orchis, ornithogalum, muſcaria, polygala, and about twenty kinds more, which are found likewiſe in meadows, corn-fields, highways, hedges, and ſea-ſhores; yet the non-calcary earth of this mineral hill is covered with the ſame ſweet ſmall graſs as the reſt of the country, even the lime-ſtone land. I made the ſame obſervations at the three greateſt mines in Europe; St. Mary of the mines in Alſatia; Clauſtahl in the Hartz-mountains of Hanover; and Freyberg in Saxony. The mines of St. Mary are at the head of a valley in the Voge-mountains; its hills are ſome of them covered with oak and pines, others with apple, pear, plum, and cherry-trees: others are fine green downs for ſheep and cows, with a great variety of plants; others are fields of wheat, which in the year 1759 (as I find it in my notes) gave a product of eight for one. All theſe things grow in a foot or two deep of ſoil, which covers a rock full of the moſt arſenical, ſulphureous ſilver, or copper, lead, and cobalt ore in Europe, and moſt of their veins near the ſurface.

"The mines of Clauſtahl are in a plain which is, in truth, the ſummit of a mountain. The Dorothy and Caroline veins of ſilver, lead, and copper ore ſtretched away eight miles to the Wildman mountain. The fineſt meadows and ſweeteſt graſs, are upon theſe veins, and all their branches near the city; they feed nine hundred cows, and two hundred horſes. They are mowed in June; a ſecond graſs ſprings up, which is mowed in Auguſt. A multitude of plants grow in theſe meadows over the mines, as valerian, gallium fl. albo, coronilla, chryſanthemum ſegetum, leucanthemum, viola tricolor. biſtort. bonus henricus, St. John's wort, agrimony, ladies mantle, tuſſilago, &c.

"The mines of Freyberg are in the lower hills near the city: I ſaw them all covered with barley in the month of July. A ſtranger would not imagine that men were reaping corn over hundreds of miners heads, who were blowing up veins of ore, arſenic, and brimſtone.

"It is true, I alſo ſaw mines in the barren naked mountains and hills; but it is certain that their barrenneſs is not the effect of mineral vapours. The air, moiſture, heat, and cold, have more power over the ſurfaces of ſome rocks than others, to moulder the ſtone into earth: ſuch is the high mountain Ramelſberg, at whoſe foot is the imperial city of Goſlar, whoſe inhabitants live, and have lived theſe nine hundred years, by the mine of this ſteep barren mountain. I crept up to its ſummit, and found it was ſplit and cracked into millions of fiſſures, from a foot wide to a hair's breadth; that in other places the rock was ſhivered into ſmall rotten ſtones, which, in ſome ſpots, were perfectly uncompounded and fallen into earth, from whence ſprang a little graſs, moſs, and a few plants. In ſhort, I ſaw that the time of its decay into vegetable mould was not yet come, and that the mountain Ramelſberg will be one day as green as Clauſtahl; which ſhews, I think, that the world is not ſo old as ſome men fancy. I will make no apology to Mr. Peter Collinſon for this digreſſion: I heard Fame declare him twenty years ago an enemy to error; he muſt love truth, though he finds it placed out of order.

"As my duty obliged me to paſs hundreds of days at the Platilla mine of Molina, I ſaw thouſands of ſheep feed around it. I obſerved, that when the ſhepherd made a pauſe, and let them feed at their will, they ſought only for the fine graſs, and never touched any aromatic plant; that when the creeping ſerpillum was interwoven with the graſs, the ſheep induſtriouſly noſed it aſide to bite a blade, which trouble made them ſoon ſeek out a pure gramineous ſpot. I obſerved too, when the ſhepherd perceived a threatening cloud, and gave a ſignal to the dogs to collect the tribe, and then go behind it, walking apace himſelf to lead the ſheep to ſhelter; that as they had no time to ſtoop they would take a ſnap of ſtœchas, roſemary, or any other ſhrub in their way; for ſheep will eat any thing when they are hungry, or when they walk faſt. I ſaw them greedily devour henbane, hemlock, glaucium, and other nauſeous weeds, upon their iſſue out of the ſheering-houſe. If ſheep loved aromatic plants, it would be one of the greateſt misfortunes that could befal the farmers of Spain. The number of bee-hives is incredible: I am almoſt aſhamed to give under my hand, that I knew a pariſh prieſt who had five thouſand hives. The bees ſuck all their honey, and gather all their wax from the aromatic flowers, which enamel and perfume two-thirds of the ſheep-walks. This prieſt cautiouſly ſeizes the queens in a ſmall crape fly-catch; he clips off their wings; their majeſties ſtay at home. He aſſured me that he never loſt a ſwarm from the day of this diſcovery to the day he ſaw me, which I think was five years.

"The ſhepherd's chief care is not to ſuffer the ſheep to go out of their toils till the morning ſun has exhaled the dew of a white froſt: and never let them approach a rivulet or pond after a ſhower of hail, for if they ſhould eat the dewy graſs, or drink hail-water, the whole tribe would become melancholy, faſt, pine away, and die, as often happened. Hail-water is ſo pernicious to men in this climate, that the people of Molina will not drink the river water after a violent ſhower of hail: experience taught the danger: but let it be never ſo muddy, and riſe never ſo high after rain, they drink it without fear. Perhaps this may be the unheeded cauſe of many endemical epidemics of other cities. The ſheep of Andalouſia, who never travel, have coarſe, long, hairy wool. I ſaw a flock in Extremadura whoſe wool trailed on the ground. The itinerant ſheep have ſhort, ſilky, white wool. I do believe, from a few experiments and long obſervation, that if the fine-wooled ſheep ſtayed at home in the winter, their wool would become coarſe in a few generations. If the coarſe-wooled ſheep travelled from climate to climate, and lived in the free air, their wool would become fine, ſhort, and ſilky in a few generations.

"The fineneſs of the wool is due to the animal's paſſing its life in an open air of equal temperature. It is not colder in Andalouſia and Extramadura in the winter, than it is in the Montana or Molina in ſummer. There is little froſt in Andalouſia; ſometimes it ſnows in June in Molina. I felt a cold day upon the leaſt cloud in ſummer. Conſtant heat or conſtant cold, with houſing, are the cauſes of coarſe, black, and ſpeckled wool. All the animals I know, who live in the open air, conſtantly keep up to the colour of their ſires. There are the moſt beautiful brindled ſheep in the world among the coarſe-wooled ſheep of Spain. I never ſaw one amongſt the fine-wooled flocks; the free but leſs abundant perſpiration in the open air is ſwept away as faſt as it flows; whereas it is greatly increaſed by the exceſſive heat of numbers of ſheep houſed all night in a narrow place. It fouls the wool, makes it hairy, and changes its colour. The ſwine in Spain, who paſs their lives in the woods, are all of one colour, as the wild boars. They have fine, ſilky, curled briſtles. Never did a Spaniſh hog's briſtle piece a ſhoe. What a quantity of dander is daily ſecerned from the glans of a ſtabled horſe! the curry-comb and hair-cloth ever in hand. How clean is the ſkin of an horſe that lives in the open air.

I am, Sir, &c.

W. B. (1)."

(1) Annual Regiſter for 1764. Part 2d, p. 77—89.

So early as the year 1740, Mr. Collinſon had riſen to conſiderable reputation among thoſe who were beſt acquainted with Botany and Natural Hiſtory in Great-Britain. His collection was very large, and his ſpecimens well choſen. He had a botanical garden at Mill-Hill, near Endfield, which contained many curious plants, not at that time to be found in any other, the number of which was continually increaſing till his death. The collection and garden which he had formed, procured him the acquaintance of a variety of perſons of rank and diſtinction in the kingdom, who were diſtinguiſhed by their taſte in planting and horticulture, or deſirous to make rural improvements. With ſome of theſe he frequently ſpent a few days at their ſeats, commending and cenſuring what he approved and diſapproved in the deſigns they were carrying on, with an integrity and taſte which did equal honour to the ſimplicity of his manners, and the rectitude of his judgment. The experience of a long life had furniſhed him with an extenſive knowledge of the various methods of cultivation, and of the particular ſoil and aſpect which were beſt adapted to different plants and trees. By his ſuperior ſkill in the fitteſt method of improving beauties, and hiding incurable defects, he often prevented young planters from committing capital miſtakes, and rectified others, into which they had been miſled by the ignorant or the deſigning. He prevailed upon many of his friends to adopt, and to perſevere in the rational amuſements of planting and horticulture; and this they did to the mutual advantage of themſelves and their country (*o*). "Planting, he uſed to ſay, and "gardening, ſupply a fund of entertainment, the moſt laſting and reaſonable of any occupation in this life; pleaſures not to be purchaſed. The trees which we ourſelves "have planted, the fruits we have raiſed, the plants we have cultivated, ſeem to be like "our children, a kind of new creation. Their ſhade, their taſte, their fragrance, and "their beauties, affect us with a richer repaſt than any others. What a pleaſing ſcene, "would he obſerve, lies open to a young man of fortune, devoted to ſuch amuſements! "Each ſucceeding year produces new ſhades, other fruits, freſh beauties, and brings beſides moſt certain profit. To behold the riſing groves, barrenneſs made fertile, our "country improved, ourſelves made uſeful and happy, and poſterity enriched! When on "this favourite ſubject, a very natural reflection often eſcaped him, that he ſeldom knew "a man poſſeſſed of a taſte for ſuch pleaſures, who was not at the ſame time temperate "and virtuous. And indeed he had a right to make the obſervation; for he had the ſatisfaction of reckoning among his moſt intimate friends, men of the moſt amiable and "unblemiſhed characters, in all ſtations, parties, and diſtinctions (*p*)." Nor was Mr. Collinſon only employed in promoting this taſte among his friends, in enlarging their views, and in correcting and refining their judgments, but alſo in furniſhing them with the means of increaſing their plantations. It is but doing juſtice to his memory, to mention that he was the firſt who introduced the great variety of ſeeds and ſhrubs, which are now the principal ornaments of every garden; and that it was owing to his indefatigable induſtry, that ſuch a number of perſons of the firſt diſtinction are enabled to behold groves tranſplanted from the weſtern continent, flouriſhing as luxuriantly in their ſeveral domains, as if they were already become indigenous to Britain (*q*).

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) Annual Register, vol. xix. for 1776. Part 2d, p. 50.

(*q*) *Ibid.*

Mr. Collinſon's buſineſs in the mercantile way was chiefly to North-America and the Weſt-Indies, and particularly to the former. He had peruſed every performance that had been written reſpecting the Natural Hiſtory and produce of our own ſettlements, and indeed of all the European Colonies in the New World. This enabled him to make enquiries into whatever was curious and uſeful, and brought him acquainted with the moſt intelligent people who came from America. One reſult of his various enquiries was, that a taſte for Natural Hiſtory, and botanical reſearches, was excited in that part of the globe. It perhaps may ſafely be aſſerted, that every thing of this kind which has appeared in the American Colonies, was principally owing to his encouragement. That eminent Naturaliſt, John Bartram, may almoſt be ſaid to have been created ſuch by Mr. Collinſon's aſſiſtance. He it was who firſt recommended to him the collecting of ſeeds, and afterwards aided him in diſpoſing of them in this country. Animated by his friend, Mr. Bartram perſevered in inveſtigating the plants of America with indefatigable labour, and with a ſucceſs which has rendered his name not a little illuſtrious. The quantities of new ſeeds which Mr. Collinſon received from the weſtern world, not only ſupplied his own garden with every thing that was curious, but furniſhed him with the means of procuring others in exchange, from the moſt diſtant parts of the globe. This mutual exchange was carried on from America through Europe and Aſia, even ſo far as to Pekin. In managing ſuch an extenſive correſpondence, Mr. Collinſon's punctuality, care, and generoſity, were eminently diſtinguiſhed (*r*).

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 51.

In conſequence of Mr. Collinſon's connection with the Americans, he frequently urged to them the benefit, nay the neceſſity of cultivating flax, hemp, wine, ſilk, and other products. In moſt of the northern and ſouthern Colonies, there are a variety of native grapes growing wild in the woods, and thriving among the trees and buſhes by which they are ſupported. As theſe yield fruit in plenty of different kinds, and many of them are capable of producing a rich and good wine, it would be eaſy in autumn to collect a ſufficient quantity for the purpoſe of making a trial. A few perſons have done it with

ſucceſs, and nothing is wanting but a general application to the proper modes of conducting the buſineſs (*s*).

(*s*) *Ibid.*

Mr. Collinſon was fond of fruit to an extreme, and of flowers he was a perpetual admirer. He was ſeldom without them in his houſe, from the early ſnowdrop to the autumn cyclamen. He would often relate, with pleaſure, the aſtoniſhing advancement that had been made during his time in horticulture. He uſed to mention inſtances of various plants which, at their firſt introduction, would not bear our winters without ſhelter, but which now endured almoſt our hardeſt froſts; ſo that foreigners ſtood amazed at the power of vegetation in this country, and the happy temperature we enjoy, notwithſtanding the unmerited murmurs of the unthinking and the injudicious, againſt a climate eminently favourable to the real happineſs of mankind (*t*). Why Mr. Collinſon was not elected a Curator of the Britiſh Muſeum, may continue a matter of ſurprize, ſo long as the Muſeum itſelf exiſts. He was one of the founder's moſt intimate and ancient friends, was well acquainted with every ſubject it contained, and had done perhaps more to promote the knowledge of Natural Hiſtory, than any individual in that truſt. But never did the leaſt hint upon the ſubject eſcape from him, or any ſymptom of diſguſt, from ſuch an apparent neglect, ſhew itſelf in his behaviour. He had no higher an ambition than to render his knowledge ſubſervient to the common good, whether in or out of the direction of that vaſt and ineſtimable treaſure (*u*).

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 51.

(*u*) Obſervations communicated by Michael Collinſon, Eſq.

Excepting ſome attacks of the gout, Mr. Collinſon generally enjoyed perfect health, and great equality of ſpirits. Thoſe trials which are incident to man he bore with reſignation and fortitude. In ſuch a courſe of life he arrived to his ſeventy-fifth year; when, being on a viſit to Lord Petre, in Eſſex, for whom he had a ſingular regard, he was ſeized with a total ſuppreſſion of urine, which baffled every attempt to relieve it, and, on the 11th of Auguſt, 1768, deprived his family, his friends, and his country, of a man devoted to their intereſt and advantage (*w*). In 1724, he had married Mary, the daughter of Michael Ruſſell, Eſq; of Mill-Hill, in the pariſh of Hendon, Middleſex, a lady of exemplary character, with whom he lived in the greateſt conjugal felicity, and whom he had the great misfortune to loſe, in the year 1753. By this lady he left iſſue, a ſon and a daughter (*x*), Michael Collinſon, Eſq; and Mary, married to John Cator, Eſq; of Beckenham, in Kent, and ſome time Member of Parliament for Wallingford, Berks. Mr. Peter Collinſon had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing both his children take the ſame bias with himſelf, and of being aided by them in his purſuits. He left behind him a vaſt treaſure of dried ſpecimens of plants. His garden was repeatedly expoſed to cruel depredations, by which he loſt a multitude of the valuable productions of his botanical ſkill and labour. Many others were deſtroyed by the villains in the very act of plunder. Nevertheleſs, there ſtill remains a ſmall treaſure of rare plants, in greater perfection than can be ſeen perhaps in any other ſpot (*y*).

(*w*) Annual Regiſter, vol. xix, *ubi ſupra.*

(*x*) From the information of Michael Collinſon, Eſq.

(*y*) Annual Regiſter, vol. xix. *ubi ſupra.*

Mr. Collinſon's ſtature was below the middle ſize, and the habit of his body ſomewhat corpulent. In his dreſs he was plain, and probably the more ſo from having been bred a Quaker. His aſpect was pleaſing and ſocial, and his temper open and communicative; for to lock up knowledge from others he conſidered as treaſon to mankind. Though he was an œconomiſt, his œconomy was not of that ſevere kind, which prevented him from having a heart that ſympathized with diſtreſs, and a hand that was open to relieve it (*z*). He roſe very early, and, whilſt in the country, his time was almoſt conſtantly employed in his garden, obſerving and aſſiſting the operations of nature, or in the ſtudy of other parts of phyſical knowledge, which contributed to his health and pleaſure. Incloſed in Mr. Collinſon's will, was found a paper, importing, that he hoped he ſhould leave behind him a good name, which he valued more than riches; that he had endeavoured not to live uſeleſsly; and that all his days he conſtantly aimed to be a friend to mankind (*a*). As it was thus the wiſh of this excellent Citizen to quit the world with an honourable reputation, ſo it affords the trueſt ſatisfaction to thoſe who were the moſt nearly connected with him in friendſhip and in blood, even in the tendereſt moments of reflection, that his deſire has been fully gratified. No man has gone down to the grave with a fairer character, or more generally been lamented, at his deceaſe, by his friends and acquaintance. Indeed, it could not be otherwiſe: for his life was a continued exertion of laudable induſtry, and all his ſtudies and purſuits had the honour and happineſs of mankind for their object. It was for this end that he promoted great and uſeful undertakings, communicated to the public curious and intereſting accounts of improvements in Huſbandry and Natural Hiſtory, and endeavoured to reſcue from oblivion the memories of thoſe perſons who had deſerved well of their fellow-creatures (*b*). Such were the views, and ſuch the conduct of Mr. Peter Collinſon. Without pretenſions to what uſually goes under the appellation of literature, he was diſtinguiſhed by his extenſive and various knowledge; and without public ſtation, he was the means of producing national advantages. He obtained, during life, an influence which wealth cannot give; and his name will be had in honourable remembrance, when external dignities and ſplendid titles are forgotten.] K.

(*z*) Annual Regiſter, vol. xiii. Second part, p. 57.

(*a*) Annual Regiſter, vol. xix. *ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) From hints communicated by Michael Collinſon, Eſq.

COLSTON (EDWARD), a perſon ever memorable for his great and extenſive charities, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was the eldeſt ſon of William Colſton, Eſq; [*A*], by Sarah his wife, and born in Temple pariſh, in the city of Briſtol, November 2, 1636 (*a*). He was brought up to trade, probably under his father, (who was a moſt eminent Spaniſh Merchant) and reſided ſome time in Spain; as did alſo his brothers, two of whom were inhumanly murdered there by aſſaſſins [*B*]. Through a very laudable induſtry, and in the courſe of a long and happy life, he acquired very great riches [*C*]; of which he expended a conſiderable part in works of beneficence and charity. In the year 1691, he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St. Michael's-Hill Alms-houſe, in Briſtol [*D*]. The ſame year, he gave houſes and lands, without Temple-gate, in that city, to the Society of Merchants for ever, towards the maintenance of ſix poor old decayed ſailors, to the yearly value of twenty-four pounds. In 1696, he purchaſed a piece of ground in Temple-ſtreet, in the ſame city; and built, at his own charge, a ſchool and dwelling-houſe for a maſter, to inſtruct forty boys in writing, arithmetic, and the Church-catechiſm [*E*]. In 1702, he gave five hundred pounds towards rebuilding Queen Elizabeth's Hoſpital, on the College Green, in Briſtol; and for the maintenance, cloathing, and education of ſix boys there, and putting them out apprentices, he appropriated an eſtate, out of which is paid to the maſter the yearly ſum of ſixty pounds, excluſively of all taxes and charges, beſides ten pounds for placing out the boys apprentices. In the year 1708, he ſettled his great benefaction of the Hoſpital in St. Auguſtine's Back, in the city aforeſaid, conſiſting of a maſter, two uſhers, and one hundred boys [*F*]. He alſo give ſix pounds *per annum* to the Miniſter of All-Saints in Briſtol, for reading prayers every Monday and Tueſday morning throughout the year; and one pound a year to the Clerk and Sexton. Likewiſe ſix pounds yearly, for ever, for a monthly ſermon and prayers to the priſoners in Newgate there; and twenty pounds to be paid yearly, for ever, to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen ſer-

(*a*) From Mr. Colſton's monument, in All-Saints church in Briſtol; and from an account ſent by the Rev. Mr. Tucker.

Ibid. p. 52.

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of* William Colſton, *Eſq;*] Who was a very eminent Spaniſh Merchant, as is ſaid above. He was uſually ſtiled *Deputy* Colſton, becauſe generally *deputed* by the corporation of the city to officiate for the Mayor-Elect, when he went to London to take the oaths; which the Mayors of Briſtol always did before the new charter granted to that city by Queen Anne. This circumſtance is a ſtrong proof, both of his ſtation in life, and of his character for integrity and virtue. Sarah, his wife, was a Counſellor's daughter (1). Their ſon, Mr. Edward Colſton, erected a monument to their memory, in the church of All-Saints in Briſtol; the inſcription on which is as follows: 'To the dear memory of his father William 'Colſton, Eſq; and of his Mother Sarah Colſton, in-'terred near this place in the ſepulchre of his anceſ-'tors; as alſo their four ſons, William, Thomas, 'Robert, and William, and their two daughters, 'Martha and Martha, who were all natives and inha-'bitants of this city. William his father died 21ſt 'Nov. 1681, aged 73 years; and Sarah his mother 'the 23d Dec. 1701, aged 93 years.

'Edward Colſton, their eldeſt ſon, born likewiſe in 'this city, but inhabitant of London, hath dedicated 'this monument.'

(1) From the ſame account as above.

[*B*] *Two of whom were inhumanly murdered by aſſaſſins.*] There is a tradition, that when Mr. Colſton and his two brothers were in Spain, in their diſputes with the Papiſts it was often objected to them, 'That 'the Reformed religion produced no examples of great 'and charitable benefactions;' to which they were wont to reply, That if it pleaſed God to bring them ſafe home, they would wipe off that aſperſion. Upon which, two of them were poiſoned, to prevent their return: but their elder brother, Mr. Edward Colſton, eſcaped. Such is the tradition: but it is more certain, that one or both of them, were aſſaſſinated by banditti's or bravoes; very common in Spain and Portugal.

[*C*] *He acquired very great riches.*] The viſible means whereby he acquired his riches, were as follows: 1. Being the eldeſt ſon, he received a handſome fortune from his parents. 2. Surviving all, if not moſt of, his brothers and ſiſters, he received theirs likewiſe: and the brothers had made very great additions to theirs by trade. 3. The Colſton family had at that time the two moſt valuable branches of trade, in that part of the kingdom, almoſt entirely to themſelves, *viz.* the fruit, and the oil, trade; Mr. Colſton having two ſhips always employed in that buſineſs: and oil was much more in uſe formerly than at preſent. Mr. Colſton not only ſupplied all, but purchaſed it abroad at a very great advantage, by advancing money to thoſe neceſſitous people, the Spaniards and Portugueſe, before their vintage, and being allowed a diſcount. 4. He never inſured a ſhip, ſaving that expence, and yet he never loſt one (2).

(2) From the account as above.

[*D*] *In the year* 1691, *he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St. Michael's-hill alms-houſe in Briſtol.*] The front and two ſides are faced with free-ſtone. It contains a chapel neatly adorned; twenty-four apartments; and other conveniencies, for twelve men and twelve women. The elder brother receives ſix ſhillings; and each of the others three ſhillings, weekly; beſides an allowance for coal, *&c.* To a Clergyman is paid the ſum of ten pounds yearly. He is to read the Common-Prayer, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, twice every day, except when prayers are read in St. Michael's church; at which every member of this alms-houſe is to attend. The endowment, or eſtate given for this charity, ariſes chiefly from fee-farm rents, and amounts yearly to two hundred and eighty-two pounds, three ſhillings, and four-pence. The overplus of this eſtate is paid towards the maintenance of the ſix Sailors in the merchants alms-houſe in King's-ſtreet. The charge of building and finiſhing this houſe amounted to about two thouſand five hundred pounds.

[*E*] *To inſtruct forty boys, in writing, arithmetic, and the Church-catechiſm.*] The boys are likewiſe to be cloathed. The eſtate given for this charity is an annuity of fourſcore pounds yearly, clear of all charges.

[*F*] *In*—1708, *he ſettled his great benefaction, of the hoſpital in St. Auguſtine's Back, in the city aforeſaid, &c.*] For the maintenance, cloathing, and education of theſe boys, and for placing them apprentices, he gave an eſtate, moſtly ariſing by fee-farm rents, to the yearly value of thirteen hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and ſix-pence farthing. And the charge of firſt fitting up the hoſpital, and making it convenient for the purpoſe, amounted to about eleven thouſand pounds. Out of that eſtate is to be paid yearly, ten pounds to a clergyman of the Church of England, for explaining and inſtructing the children in the Church-Catechiſm: and in caſe the eſtate given for this charity, be not ſufficient to anſwer the charges upon it, the executors are impowered to ſupply any deficiencies which have been, and to prevent them for the future.

mons

mons in the time of Lent [G]; beſides many occaſional charities and benefactions to ſeveral Churches and Charity-ſchools in the ſame city of Briſtol [H].—Moreover, he built an Alms-houſe for ſix poor people at Shene, in Surrey. He gave ſix thouſand pounds for the augmentation of ſixty ſmall livings [I]. To St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital, London, he gave two thouſand pounds, wherewith was purchaſed an eſtate of one hundred pounds a year, which is ſettled on that Hoſpital; and he left to the ſame, by will, five hundred pounds more. To Chriſt's Hoſpital, at ſeveral times, he gave a thouſand pounds; and bequeathed thereto the like ſum afterwards. As alſo to St. Thomas's Hoſpital, and to Bethlehem, five hundred pounds a piece. To the Work-houſe without Biſhopſgate, two hundred pounds. To the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign Parts, three hundred pounds. He left, moreover, very handſome legacies to Mortlake, in Surrey, where he died [K]. And gave the ſum of one hundred pounds *per annum* to be continued for twelve years after his death, and to be diſtributed, by the direction of his executors, either to place out every year ten boys apprentices, or to be given towards the ſetting up ten young tradeſmen, to each ten pounds: in the whole, twelve hundred pounds. He gave likewiſe to eighteen Charity-ſchools, in ſeveral parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceaſe, to each ſchool yearly five pounds; or in all, each year, ninety pounds [L]. Finally, he gave towards building a Church at Manchester, in Lancaſhire, twenty pounds; and towards the building of a Church at Tiverton, in Devonſhire, fifty pounds. Beſides theſe known and public benefactions, he gave away every year large ſums in private charities, which was his practice for the courſe of many years; and there is reaſon to believe, that theſe were not much ſhort of his public charities (*b*). His uſual method was, never to give any thing to common beggars; but he always ordered, that poor houſekeepers, ſick, and decayed perſons, ſhould be ſought out as the fitteſt objects for his charity. In building his Hoſpitals and Alms-houſes, he ſhowed that his judgment could not be impoſed upon by the workmen, as to the goodneſs of the materials, or the value of their work: for, as he underſtood thoſe things very well, he drove what they would call a hard bargain; and paid all the workmen himſelf, if preſent, or elſe ordered them to be paid, every Saturday night. If they worked longer than their cuſtomary hours, he paid them proportionably; if otherwiſe, he deducted; but never allowed any thing for drink. It is obſervable, that all the Colſton family were animated with a ſpirit of charity and piety. Several of Mr. Edward Colſton's public benefactions were deſigned, and ſome actually begun, by his brothers; which he afterwards

(*b*) From Mr. Colſton's Funeral Sermon, by Dr. Harcourt, preached in the church of All-Saints in Briſtol, Oct. 29, 1721, and printed at London the ſame year.

[G] *And twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen ſermons in the time of Lent.*] The ſubjects on which he himſelf appointed they ſhould be preached, are theſe: The Lent-Faſt; againſt Atheiſm and Infidelity; the Catholic Church; the Excellence of the Church of England; the Powers of the Church; Baptiſm; Confirmation; Confeſſion and Abſolution; the Errors of the Church of Rome; Enthuſiaſm or Superſtition; Reſtitution; Frequenting the Divine Service; Frequent Communion; the Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour.

[H] *Beſides many occaſional charities and benefactions to ſeveral churches and charity-ſchools in Briſtol.*] Particularly——to the cathedral, towards beautifying the choir, the marble about the communion-table, and organ, *&c.* at ſeveral times, two hundred and ſixty pounds.——Towards rebuilding the Tower, and the repair and beautifying the chancel of All-Saints church, at three ſeveral times, two hundred and fifty pounds.——Towards the building a new iſle in Clifton-church near Briſtol, fifty pounds.——Towards the building of a gallery, and erecting an organ in St. James's church, fifty pounds.——Towards an organ to be erected in St. Mary Redcliff, a hundred pounds.——Towards the repair of St. Michael's church, fifty pounds.——Towards the repair of St. Stephen's church, fifty pounds.——Towards the altar-piece, ceiling, and portal, in the Temple-church, one hundred and ſixty pounds.——Towards the repair of St. Thomas's church, fifty pounds.——For an altar-piece in the church of St. Werburgh, one hundred and ſixty pounds. In 1702, he gave to the Mint work-houſe, for employing the poor, two hundred pounds. And for placing out poor boys and girls apprentices, two hundred pounds more. He gave yearly ſixty pounds, to the charity-ſchools in the pariſhes of St. Philip and St. Jacob, St. Thomas and Redcliff, St. James's, and to ſeveral erected in other places. And left by will, to the charity-ſchools erected in the pariſhes of St. Philip and Jacob, ten pounds; of St. Thomas and Redcliffe, ten pounds; of St. Auguſtine and St. Michael, ten pounds; of St. James, ten pounds. And to each of theſe ten pounds yearly, to be continued for twelve years after his death. All this in Briſtol.

[I] *He gave ſix thouſand pounds, for the augmentation of ſixty ſmall livings.*] This gift at firſt was four thouſand pounds, to which he afterwards added the other two thouſand pounds. No more than a hundred pounds was to be given to one living. The diſtribution was to be after this manner: any living that was entitled to Queen Anne's bounty might have this too, on condition, that every pariſh, which did receive this, ſhould be obliged to raiſe one hundred pounds, to be added to the hundred pounds allowed by Mr. Colſton. Many livings have had the grant of this bounty from Mr. Colſton (3).

(3) See Ecton's *Liber Valorum*, &c. edit. 1728, in the beginning.

[K] *He left moreover very handſome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died.*] He bequeathed for the education and cloathing of twelve boys and twelve girls, in that place; to be continued for twelve years after his death, yearly forty-five pounds; amounting in the whole to five hundred and forty pounds. Moreover, he gave eighty-five pounds (as many as he was years old) to be diſtributed to eighty-five poor men and women there, to each twenty ſhillings, at the time of his deceaſe.

[L] *He gave likewiſe to eighteen charity-ſchools in ſeveral parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his deceaſe, to each ſchool yearly, five pounds, &c.*] Thoſe eighteen charity-ſchools were:——In Berkſhire; at Longcottin, in the pariſh of Shrevenham: at Shrevenham: at Farrington: and at Stanford.——In Devonſhire; at Plymouth: and at Barnſtable.——In Dorſetſhire; to one at Dorcheſter ſet up by Madam Strangeways.——In Hampſhire; to one at Alton.——In Kent, at Stroud near Rocheſter: and at Chiſlehurſt near Bromley.——In Middleſex; at Highgate: and at Brentford.——In Northamptonſhire; to one at Kettering.——In Oxfordſhire; to one at Bradwell, if the inhabitants thereof can maintain twenty-five boys.——In Somerſetſhire; at Chewſtoke: at Froom: at Farmborough.——In Wiltſhire; to one at Box near Bath (4).

(4) See Dr. Harcourt's Sermon, as above.

confirmed

confirmed and enlarged (*c*). Some years before his deceaſe he retired from buſineſs, and came and lived at London, and at Mortlake, where he had a country-ſeat. At this laſt place he died, October 11, 1721, aged eighty-four years, eleven months, and nine days; and was buried the 29th of the ſame month, in the church of All-Saints, in Briſtol, where there is a monument erected to his memory [*M*]. His charity was his moſt ſhining virtue [*N*], as is abundantly manifeſt from thoſe many inſtances of it mentioned above. As for the reſt of his character, he was a conſtant communicant with the Church of England, a moſt zealous advocate for her doctrines, worſhip, and diſcipline, in oppoſition to Popery as well as Fanaticiſm, and a moſt lively and exemplary ſon of it (*d*). He was, likewiſe, a perſon of great temperance, meekneſs, evenneſs of temper, patience, and mortification. He always looked chearful and pleaſant, ſcarcely ever in the leaſt diſcompoſed; and was naturally of a very peaceable and quiet diſpoſition. He was remarkably circumſpect in all his actions; always obſerved the ſame regularity in keeping his accounts, as when he began the world, and was a very good maſter of book-keeping (*e*). His ſtrength continued vigorous, his underſtanding clear, his apprehenſion quick, and his judgment ſound, long beyond the age of man, even to reach almoſt to the end of his eighty-fifth year, without decay in his underſtanding, without labour or ſorrow (*f*).

(*c*) From the information as above.

(*d*) Dr. Harcourt, *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) From the information as above.

(*f*) Dr. Harcourt, *ubi ſupra*.

[*M*] *Where there is a monument erected to his memory.*] The inſcription thereon, contains an enumeration of his public charities, already mentioned in this article. Then on the pedeſtal, or baſe, is added as follows:

'Edward, the ſon of William Colſton, Eſq; and 'Sarah his wife, was born in this city, Nov. 2, 1636, 'died at Mortlake in Surrey, October 11, 1721, and 'lies buried near this monument.'

[*N*] *His charity was his moſt ſhining virtue.*] And ſo extenſive was it, that, as Dr. Harcourt obſerves (5), 'To do juſtice to his character, would oblige one to 'enumerate almoſt every kind of charity, whereby we 'can promote the glory of God, or relieve the neceſ-'ſities of our fellow-creatures. Scarcely any ſort of 'temporal calamity eſcaped his charitable aſſiſtance; 'nor is there ſcarcely one ſpiritual want, towards the 'removing of which he did not piouſly and freely af-'ford his contribution. In ſhort, the charities which 'have taken either their foundation or improvement 'from his open hand, are ſo numerous, that the variety 'will appear ſo great as to ſurprize; and the immenſe-'neſs of the ſums expended in them will be judged ex-'treamly large, when it ſhall be conſidered, that they 'are the charity of one private perſon. From his 'bountiful benefactions, the ignorance of the young, 'the miſeries of the infirm, and the helpleſs neceſſities 'of the old, are removed, eaſed, and relieved.' M.

(5) Sermon, as above.

*** [The two beautiful quotations, which are under the picture of this moſt excellent and charitable gentleman, deſerve to be inſerted. They are as follows:

Hic non divitias nigrantibus abdidit antris,
Nec tenebris damnavit opes: ſed largior imbre
Sueverat innumeras hominum ditare catervas.
Quippe velut denſos currentia munera nimbos
Cernere ſemper erat; populis undare Penates,
Affiduos intrare inopes, remeare beatos.

CLAUDIAN.

Ἐβέλετο τὰς εἰκόνας τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα μᾶλλον, ἢ τῦ σώματος, καταλιπεῖν. ISOCRATES (6).

(6) Communicated by the Rev. Paul Wright, D. D.

It is a great pleaſure to find that beneficent inſtitutions maintain their original purity and ſpirit, and continue to anſwer the valuable purpoſes they were intended to promote. This pleaſure the editor of the preſent work lately experienced, with regard to Mr. Colſton's grand benefaction at Briſtol, the hoſpital in St. Auguſtine's Back, for the maintenance, cloathing, education, and apprenticing of a hundred boys. In going to ſee the hoſpital, in company with ſome friends, on account of Chatterton's having been brought up there, I was much ſtruck with the neatneſs, cleanlineſs, and good order which were apparent in every part of the building. It is to be obſerved, that the viſit, being entirely accidental, could not poſſibly be known by any of the people concerned in the care of the Houſe. I believe that the truſtees of the ſchool, who are ſome of the firſt citizens of Briſtol, are very exact in enforcing the regulations, and promoting the intentions of the worthy founder; and I was informed, that many perſons have been educated in the hoſpital, who have become very reſpectable and uſeful members of ſociety.] K.

COMBER, or CUMBER (THOMAS), a conſiderable Divine in the XVIIth century [*A*], was born in Weſtram in Kent, in the year 1645 (*a*), being the ſon of James Cumber, of that pariſh, [by Mary his wife, daughter of Bryan Burton, of Weſterham; which James was fourth ſon of John Comber, of Allington, in Suſſex, Eſq; deſcended from an ancient family long reſident in that county.] He was educated in grammar-learning in his native place, by Thomas Walter, and William Holland, Vicars of Weſtram. At fourteen years of age, on the 18th of April, 1659, he was admitted into Sidney-Suſſex-College, in Cambridge, under the tuition of Edmund Matthews, B. D. The 16th of

(*a*) This appears from his age at the time of his death. See his epitaph below.

[*A*] *A conſiderable Divine in the* XVII*th century.*] His ſurname, as printed in his works, is *Comber*; but it is written *Cumber*, in the admiſſion-book of Sidney-college. He muſt not be confounded with another Dr. Thomas Comber, who lived in the ſame century, and was of Trinity-college in Cambridge. This laſt was born in Suſſex, Jan. 1, 1575; admitted Scholar of Trinity-college, May 11, 1593; Fellow of the ſame, October 2, 1597; Junior Dean, October 2, 1608; Preacher, October 16, 1609; Greek Examiner, October 2, 1611; Chief Reader, October 2, 1612; Senior Dean, October 2, 1618, 1619, and 1625; Senior Treaſurer, Dec. 13, 1620, and Dec. 20, 1621; appointed Dean of Carliſle, Aug. 28, 1630; and ſworn in Maſter of Trinity-college, Oct. 12, 1631 (1). He wrote 'An Hiſtorical Vindication of the Divine 'Right of Tithes, &c.' againſt Mr. Selden's Hiſtory of Tithes, 4*to*. In 1642, he was impriſoned, plundered, and deprived of all his preferments. He died Feb. 28, 1653, at Cambridge, and was buried March 3, in St. Botolph's church in that town (2).

(1) From the College Regiſtry.

(2) Br. Willis, as above, amongſt the Deans of Carliſle. For a fuller account of him, ſee D. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 447. and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 9.

[This Thomas Comber, Dean of Carliſle, was of the ſame family as the foregoing. He married Suſan, daughter of —— Freeſton of Norwich, relict of —— Cotton of London, Eſq; who, after his death, married, thirdly Sir Thomas Sclater of Cambridge, Bart. and M. D. He had an only daughter, Mary Comber, who married William Johnſon of Ruſhton-Grange, Com. Ebor. Eſq; by whom ſhe was great-grandmother of J. Allen of Ruſhton-Grange, and of Temple-Belwood Com. Linc. Eſq; who has an original half-length picture of this Dean Comber, and other memorials concerning him.] *

* The two additions, included in brackets, are by John Charles Brooke, Eſq.

January, 1662-3, he was elected Scholar of that houſe; and the next day had his grace in college for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*): which he accordingly took, and compleated in the Univerſity (*c*). On the 26th of May, 1666, he had likewiſe his grace for the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*). It moreover appears, that he was created Doctor in Divinity between the years 1676 and 1679; but as his name doth not occur in any of our univerſity regiſters, it is therefore probable, that he had that degree conferred upon him at Lambeth. On the 5th of July, 1677, he was collated by Archbiſhop Sterne to the Prebend of Holme, in the cathedral church of York (*e*); which he quitted the 19th of July, 1681, for the Prebend of Fenton, in the ſame church (*f*). The 19th of January, 1683-4, he was alſo collated to the Præcentorſhip (*g*). Upon the deprivation of Dr. Dennis Granville, he was nominated, April 23, 1691, to ſucceed him in the Deanery of Durham; whereupon he reſigned his Præcentorſhip of York (*h*). He was Chaplain to Anne, Princeſs of Denmark, and to King William and Queen Mary. He died November 25, 1699, in the fifty-fifth year of his age (*i*); and was buried at Stonegrave, in Yorkſhire, of which it ſeems he was Rector. There is a tomb-ſtone on his grave, with an inſcription [*B*]. He was author of ſeveral works, chiefly on the Common Prayer; in which he ſhows great piety, and very extenſive learning, having been well read in ſacred and prophane authors, both ancient and modern. Thoſe works of his, are, I. A Scholaſtical Hiſtory 'of the Primitive and general Uſe of Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church: Together with 'an Anſwer to Mr. David Clarkſon's late Diſcourſe concerning Liturgies.' Lond. 1690. Dedicated to King William and Queen Mary. II. 'A Companion to the Temple; or, 'A Help to Devotion in the Uſe of the Common Prayer.' Part I. On Morning and Evening Prayer. Part II. On the Litany, with the occaſional Prayers and Thankſgivings [*C*]. III. 'A Companion to the Altar; or, An Help to the worthy Receiving of the 'Lord's Supper, by Diſcourſes and Meditations upon the whole Communion-Office [*D*].' IV. 'A brief Diſcourſe upon the Offices of Baptiſm, Catechiſm, and Confirmation [*E*].' Printed at the end of the Companion to the Altar. V. 'A Diſcourſe on the occaſional 'Offices in the Common Prayer, *viz.* Matrimony, Viſitation of the Sick, Burial of the 'Dead, Churching of Women, and the Commination [*F*].' VI. 'A Diſcourſe upon 'the Manner and Form of making Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.' Lond. 1699, 8*vo*. Dedicated to Archbiſhop Teniſon. VII. 'Short Diſcourſes upon the whole Common 'Prayer, deſigned to inform the Judgment, and excite the Devotion of ſuch as daily uſe 'the ſame.' Chiefly by way of paraphraſe [*G*]. Lond. 1684, 8*vo*. Dedicated to Anne, Princeſs of Denmark, to whom the author was Chaplain. VIII. 'Roman Forgeries in 'the Councils during the firſt four Centuries: Together with an Appendix, concerning

(*b*) All this is taken from a Memorandum entered into Sydney-College books.

(*c*) From the Univerſity Regiſter, communicated by Dr. W. Richardſon.

(*d*) Dr. W. Richardſon could not find that he ſubſcribed; and therefore queſtions whether he compleated this degree in the Univerſity.

(*e*) Survey of the Cathedral of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1727, 4*to*. p. 143.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 134.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 77.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 256. 77; and J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 352.

(*i*) From his epitaph.

[*B*] *There is a tomb-ſtone on his grave, with an inſcription.*] Which is as follows: *M. S. Siſte, viator, gradum, mora non erit diſpendium ſcire, quanti Viri venerandos premis Cineres, Exuvias mortales (perenni Felicitati maturas) heic de poni voluit* Thomas Comber, S. T. P. *grande Nomen, pluribus haud opus. Vir Pietate, Eruditione, Ingenio, Judicio, ceteriſq; Animi dotibus clarus; majore vero (fingentem non audis panegyrin ob Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ cauſam) quoad Doctrinam, Cultum, Diſciplinam, contra Novatores omnes Scriptis feliciter defenſor, dignus haud Simplici Marmore. Gulielmo & Mariæ Principibus illuſtriſſimis à Sacris, Eccleſiæ Dunelmenſis per decennium, breve nimis, Decanus; ad maxima quæque capeſſenda idoneus, adque altiora munera promovendus, niſi publicis votis obſtitiſſet Mors invida.——Plura, licet meritis debita, non capiet Marmor: probis omnibus Luctum & ſui deſiderium relinquens, deceſſit* 25 *die Novembris*, 1699 *Ann. Salutis, Ætatis* 55. *Provectiore Senio, modo viſum Deo, dignus* (3).

(3) Br. Willis, among the Deans of Durham, p. 256, 257.

[*C*] *With the occaſional Prayers and Thankſgivings.*] Printed in two volumes 8*vo*, 1679. His general method in this work, is to give, *firſt*, an analyſis of each part: *ſecondly*, an explanation of it: *thirdly*, a paraphraſe; and, *laſtly*, a meditation upon it.

[*D*] *A Companion to the Altar*, &c.] It is dedicated by the author to his patron Richard Archbiſhop of York——To whom, as he obſerves, he was obliged to make this tender by his condition and his duty, by gratitude and affection;——having firſt received the Holy Order of Prieſthood, and the power of diſpenſing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from his Grace's hands. — He obſerves, in the ſame place, that 'There is nothing more uſeful to the friends of 'this Church, nor more convincing to the diſſenters 'from it, than to preſent her pure and primitive order 'of worſhip in its natural and lovely ſplendor.'—— The *Imprimatur* bears dates January 21, 1673-4. It was ſo well received, that a fourth edition came out in 1685, within the ſpace of eleven years. The whole is divided into four parts, containing learned obſervations, and then paraphraſes, and meditations upon each branch of the Communion-Office.

[*E*] *A Diſcourſe upon the Offices of Baptiſm, Catechiſm, and Confirmation.*] The author dedicates it to Dr. Tillotſon, then Dean of Canterbury: and ſays, 'it will contribute to the reputation of theſe tracts, to 'be uſhered in with ſo worthy a name, and add to 'their author's character, to be reckoned among the 'number of your friends.'

[*F*] *A Diſcourſe on the occaſional Offices*, &c.] Firſt printed in 1676, 8*vo*. Theſe four laſt pieces, were re-printed together in one volume, fol. 1701, divided into four parts. They are dedicated to King William.

[*G*] *Short Diſcourſes upon the whole Common-Prayer*, &c.] He tells us in his Dedication, that the importunity of his friends had engaged him to write theſe ſhorter Diſcourſes, for the uſe of thoſe who wanted time to conſider the larger work, *i. e.* his Companion to the Temple and Altar. As for the method and deſign of it, Firſt, the Original and Antiquity of every part of Common-Prayer is therein declared. Secondly, the method of each ſeveral piece is cleared. Thirdly, the ſenſe of all is opened by divers plain and natural obſervations on the matter of theſe offices, to help all to perform them with a devotion ſuitable to their great worth. And it is deſigned, 1. To inſtruct thoſe who did not underſtand, or rather not obſerve, theſe excellencies to be in the Common Prayer. 2. To furniſh the devout ſons of the Church with profitable meditations, to enlarge upon in their minds in the uſe of theſe prayers, and to put them into a right frame for ſaying them affectionately, and with a holy importunity. 3. It is deſigned to convince the miſtaken Diſſenters if they will hear reaſon; if not, to diſcover to others the injuſtice and malice of their clamours againſt it (4).

(4) This is the account given of it by the author, in the Preface.

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'the Forgeries and Errors in the Annals of Baronius [*H*].' Lond. 1689, 4*to*. He is said, in his epitaph, to have been a perſon eminent for piety, learning, ingenuity, judgment,

[*H*] *Roman forgeries in the Councils*, &c.] In the introduction he obſerves, that in the allowed Romiſh editions of the Councils (thoſe of Binius, *Colon.* 1618, and of Labbé and Coſſart, *Paris*, 1671) 'there is 'ſuch adding and expunging, ſuch altering and diſ-'guiſing things in the body of the Councils, and ſuch 'excuſing, falſifying, and ſhuffling in the notes, that 'a judicious reader will ſoon perceive, thoſe venerable 'records truly ſet down and explained, do not favour 'them. But theſe corruptions are carried on with 'ſuch confidence and cunning, that an *unexperienced* '*and unwary ſtudent*, may be impoſed on by this 'ſpecious ſhew of venerable antiquity: for their ſakes 'therefore he thought it neceſſary to take a ſhort view 'of that fraud and policy which is ſo commonly made 'uſe of in thoſe editions of the Councils which paſs 'through the Roman mint.' —— Then he ſays he hopes '*this undertaking* will be many ways uſeful: 'Firſt, It will tend to the eaſe of thoſe who intend to 'read over the tomes of the *Councils*, or the Annals 'of Baronius, and ſave them much time and pains by 'preſenting the principal errors of thoſe great vo-'lumes at one view, which they would ſpend a long 'time in ſearching after, if they were to gather them 'up as they lie diſperſed. Secondly, It may be very 'uſeful to thoſe who deſire to be rightly informed in 'the controverſies between us and the Roman Church, 'becauſe it will give them a clear proſpect of what 'Councils and other antiquities are authentic, and 'may be allowed for evidence in this diſpute; wherein 'our adverſaries have ſo little regard to their own 'honour, that generally one half of their evidence is 'ſuch as they have either forged or corrupted. 'Thirdly, It will be neceſſary (by way of antidote) 'to prepare thoſe, who by reading books ſo full 'of infection, may by theſe plauſible falſifications 'be in danger to be ſeduced into a great eſteem of the 'opinions and practices of the Roman Church; when 'they find ſo many ſeemingly ancient tracts and Coun-'cils brought in to juſtify her in all things, and ſee '(by this falſe light) all Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory and 'Records ſo modelled, as to perſuade their readers, 'that in the pureſt Chriſtian times, all things were 'believed and done in the Catholic Church juſt as 'they are now at Rome. But when it ſhall appear, 'that all this is a continued ſeries and train of im-'poſtures, it will render their notions and practices, 'not only ſuſpected, but odious, as needing ſuch vile 'and baſe artifices, to make them ſeem agreeable to 'true Antiquity.' M.

*** [Beſides the works of Dr. Comber, mentioned above, he publiſhed "Chriſtus Triumphans, Co-"mœdia Apocalyptica, Autore Johanne Foxo, Anglo. "Edita eſt olim Baſileæ, anno 1556, nunc denuo "edita, & Scholarchis Ludique literarii Moderato-"ribus dedicata, ob inſignem Styli Elegantiam in "Scholas utiliſſime admittenda. Editore. T. C. "Sidn. Collegii, A. M. Apocal. xxii. 17. Spiritus "& Sponſa dicunt, Veni Domine." Londini. Impenſis Rob. Clavel, apud quem proſtant in vic. vulg. voc. Little Britain, 1672. He publiſhed likewiſe in 12*mo*. "Friendly and ſeaſonable Advice to the "Roman Catholics of England." By a charitable Hand. Mr. Archdeacon Blackburne's Copy is, "The fourth Edition enlarged, with an Addition of "the moſt convincing Inſtances and Authorities, and "the Teſtimony of their own Writers for the ſame." London: printed for Charles Brome, 1686.

Dr. Comber correſponded with Tillotſon, Sharp, Burnet, Hicks, Cave, Lake, and other eminent Divines of the laſt century. In conſequence of this correſpondence, a noble collection of letters came into the poſſeſſion of the family, and belonged to the late Dr. Thomas Comber, of Buckworth, in the county of Huntingdon. Mr. Blackburne has formerly ſeen and peruſed moſt of theſe letters, and hath often regretted that ſo many curious particulars, relative to the times in which they were written, ſhould be loſt to the public. They are yet preſerved, but perhaps greatly injured by damp and other accidents, in the uninhabited and ruinous Manſion-Houſe, appertaining to the family, at Eaſt-Newton in Yorkſhire. Dean Comber wrote, alſo, his life, with his own hand; which, likewiſe, is locked up in the library of the ſame manſion. It unfortunately happens, on account of the heir of the Combers being a minor, that no acceſs can be had at preſent to theſe valuable materials; the truſtees of the young gentleman not thinking themſelves ſufficiently authorized to communicate them during his minority (5). We muſt wait, therefore, for a future opportunity of making more important additions to the preſent article.

(5) From the information of the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Blackburne, of Richmond, Yorkſhire.

We ſhall here ſubjoin an account of the Comber family, with which we have been favoured by John-Charles Brooke, Eſq; Somerſet Herald, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London.

Dr. Thomas Comber, Dean of Durham, married Alice, eldeſt daughter and coheir of William Thornton of Eaſt-Newton, in the pariſh of Stonegrave, in the North-Riding of the county of York, Eſq; by Alice his wife, daughter of Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford of Kirklington, in the ſaid county, Knight, ſometime Lord Deputy of Ireland; by which Lady, he ultimately came in for the manor of Eaſt-Newton, and a conſiderable eſtate in Yorkſhire; and by her had iſſue, beſides three ſons who died young, Thomas his heir, and two daughters, Alice and Mary.

Thomas Comber of Eaſt-Newton, Eſq; his ſon, was a Juſtice of Peace and of the Quorum for Yorkſhire. He married Anne, daughter of Andrew Wilſon of Eaſingwold, relict of the Rev. Elias Micklethwaite, Vicar of Gilling, and died 12th May, 1765, and was buried at Stonegrave, having had iſſue Thomas his heir; William, Vicar of Kirkby-Moorſide, and Rector of Kirkby-Overcarr in Yorkſhire, and Juſtice of Peace, who married Dorothy, daughter and heir of James Arbuthnot, of Ampleford in the ſaid county, Eſq; by whom he has no iſſue (1783); and Andrew, who died a minor.

Thomas Comber, of Eaſt-Newton, his eldeſt ſon, was of Jeſus-college, Cambridge, L.L.D. and Rector of Morborne and Buckworth, in the county of Huntingdon. He was a man of conſiderable parts and learning, and author of ſome works. He married his couſin Mary, eldeſt daughter of William Brooke, of Dodworth, Eſq; hereafter mentioned; by whom he had five children, Anne, Thomas, Duncombe, William-Turner, and Andrew, all (1783) under age. He died at Buckworth, on the 9th of April, 1778, and was buried at Stonegrave.

Alice, Dean Comber's eldeſt daughter, married, firſt Francis Blackburne, of St. Nicholas, near Richmond, in the county of York, by whom ſhe had iſſue Francis Blackburne, Thomas, who died young at Cambridge, and Jane, who was the firſt wife of Sir Oneſiphorus Paul, of Woodcheſter, in the county of Glouceſter, Bart. The ſaid Alice married, ſecondly William Kirkby, of Kirkby and Aſhlack, in Lancaſhire, Eſq; by whom ſhe had iſſue William-Comber Kirkby, of Aſhlack, Eſq; James and Sarah, all living in 1783. She died in Nov. 1740, and is buried at Kirkby.

Francis Blackburne, M. A. [Archdeacon of Cleveland, Yorkſhire, Vicar of Richmond in the ſame county, well known in the republic of letters, by his able and learned publications, married Mrs. Elſworth, a widow lady, by whom he had five children, who arrived to years of maturity, three ſons and two daughters. Francis, the eldeſt ſon, is Vicar of Brignall, Yorkſhire. Thomas, the ſecond ſon, was bred at Peterhouſe-College, Cambridge, and was likewiſe intended for the Church; but declining to make the uſual ſubſcriptions, he relinquiſhed his proſpects, which were very conſiderable, and retired to Edinburgh, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic, and became M. D. He ſettled as a Phyſician at Durham, in which city he died young, having obtained a great reputation. Some time before his deceaſe he was choſen a Fellow of the Royal Society. William, the youngeſt ſon, M. D. has ſucceeded his brother at Durham. Jane, Archdeacon Blackburn's eldeſt daughter, is married to the Rev. Dr. Diſney; and Sarah, the youngeſt, to the Rev. Mr. Hall. *]

* Addition, by the Editor.

Mary, Dean Comber's younger daughter, married Thomas Brooke, of Dodworth, in the Weſt-Riding of

ment, and other excellent qualities, and a ſtrenuous defender of the doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline of the Church of England.

of Yorkſhire, A. M. Rector of Richmond, who was eldeſt ſon and heir of William Brooke, of the ſame place, Eſq; by whom ſhe had iſſue William, and Anne, married to Richard Fenton, of Banktop, Eſq; Clerk of the Peace for the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire (by whom an only daughter, Mary, now the wife of Sir William Wake, of Courtenhall, in Northamptonſhire, Bart.) She died July 20, 1768, and was buried at Silkſton.

William Brooke, of Dodworth, Eſq; A. M. of St. John's-college, Cambridge; married Alice, eldeſt daughter and coheir of William Mawhood, of Doncaſter, and died Auguſt 24, 1755, and was buried at Silkſton, leaving iſſue William; John-Charles Brooke, of Pond, in Yorkſhire, Somerſet-Herald, and F.S.A. Mary, married to her couſin Dr. Thomas Comber before-mentioned; Margaret, and Jane married to Richard-Horton Briſco, of Briſco, in Cumberland, Eſq;

William Brooke, of Dodworth, Eſq; married Elizabeth Morris, by whom he hath Thomas, William, Jane, and Margaret, all infants (1783.)] K.

COMPTON (WILLIAM), anceſtor of the preſent noble Earls of Northampton and Wilmington, was the ſon of Edmund de Compton [*A*], and born in the year 1481 (*a*). The firſt foundation of his ſucceeding honours and riches, was, his being made, in the eleventh year of his age (*b*), one of the Pages to Henry Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Henry VIII. who, as ſoon as he came to the crown, made him Groom of his Bedchamber (*c*); and, before the expiration of that year, chief Gentleman of his Bedchamber (*d*). He grew ſo much in favour with that King, that he was appointed by him, in the ſecond year of his reign, 1510, Groom of the Stole (*e*); and, ſoon after, Conſtable of Sudley-Caſtle, in Glouceſterſhire (*f*); as he was alſo of Glouceſter-Caſtle, in 1511 (*g*). In conſideration of his good and faithful ſervices, he obtained, in 1512, November the 7th, a ſpecial grant, to himſelf and his heirs, of an honourable augmentation to his arms (*h*), out of the King's own royal enſigns and devices [*B*]; and, on the 4th of February next enſuing, the King conferred on him the office of Uſher of the Black Rod, with an allowance of twelve-pence a day for that ſervice (*i*). He had likewiſe, the ſame year, by his Majeſty's favour, a large grant, to himſelf, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten (*k*), of ſeveral lands and manors [*C*]. In 1513, being a Knight, he had a commiſſion to retain men in any of thoſe lordſhips belonging to the monaſteries whereof he was then ſteward, for the ſervice of the King in his wars (*l*); and, in the expedition to Terouenne and Tournay, the ſame year, led the rere guard of the King's army (*m*). Shortly after, he was made one of the Knights for the King's body (*n*); as alſo Chancellor of Ireland, with liberty to execute that office by a ſufficient deputy (*o*). But he did not hold it long; for, two years after, namely, in 1515, it was given to the Archbiſhop of Dublin (*p*). In 1514, and 1517, he had a grant to himſelf and his wife, and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten (*q*), of ſeveral manors and eſtates [*D*]. The ſame year, namely, 1517, he was appointed Conſtable of Hanley-Caſtle, in Worceſterſhire (*r*); and in 1518, was ordered to provide fifty archers for the King's ſervice in his wars (*s*). In 1519, he obtained licence to make a park at his manor of Compton Vineyatys, or Vineyard, in Warwickſhire; and, for an addition to the ſame, to incloſe two thouſand acres more thereto adjoining (*t*). Upon the attainder of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, he obtained a grant of the manor, caſtle, and park of Max-

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 401. That he was born in 1481, is evident from hence, becauſe he was eleven years old in 1492, *ibid.*

(*b*) Eſch. 9 Hen. VII. in Warr.

(*c*) Pat. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 13.

(*d*) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, in Complete Hiſt. of Engl. edit. 1706, vol. ii. p. 4.

(*e*) Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 2, m. 10.

(*g*) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*h*) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Pat. 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*k*) *Ibid.*

(*l*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 1. in dorſo.

(*m*) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, as above, p. 16.

(*n*) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*o*) *Ibid.* m. 19. Ar. Collins ſays, that office was given him for life. Peerage of Engl. edit. 1735, 8*vo.* vol. ii. P. i. p. 109.—But what follows ſhews the contrary.

(*p*) Pat. 7 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(*q*) Pat. 6 Hen. VIII. p. 2; and 9 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*r*) Pat. 9 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*s*) Cotton. Libr. Otho E. 11.

(*t*) Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of* Edmund *de* Compton.] This noble family derive their deſcent from *Turchill* the ſon of Alwin; who, in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, reſided at Warwick, of which county he was Earl. At the time of the Norman conqueſt, not joining with Harold, he continued in the poſſeſſion of his own lands, among which was the Lordſhip of Compton, and forty-ſeven manors in divers counties. By Leverunia his ſecond wife he had Oſbert, who wrote himſelf *of Compton*, and was anceſtor of the preſent noble family. His ſecond ſon was *Philip*; to whom ſucceeded his ſon and heir *Thomas*, that lived in the reign of Henry the third; and whoſe eldeſt ſon was *Philip*, father of *Robert* de Compton, who was knighted before the 13th of Edward the ſecond; and was ſucceeded by *Robert*, father of *Thomas* de Compton. He was one of the Coroners for Warwickſhire, in the 23d of Edward the third, an office of great account in thoſe days. It was enjoyed after him by his ſon and heir *Edmund*, who died in the reign of Henry IV. He had iſſue ſix ſons, whereof *William* the eldeſt, dying about the year 1431, left iſſue *Robert* his ſon and heir, who died in 1480. His ſon, and ſucceſſor was *Edmund*, who dying in 1492, left iſſue by Joan his wife, daughter and heir of Walter Aylworth, Eſq; *William*, who is the ſubject of this article (1).

(1) See the Antiquities of Warwickſhire illuſtrated by Sir Will. Dugdale, ſecond edit. 1730, vol. i. p. 547, &c. and Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, vol. ii. P. i. edit. 1735, p. 107, &c.

[*B*] *Out of the King's own royal enſigns and devices.*] Namely, 'a Lion paſſant gardant, or.' And for the creſt, 'a demi-dragon erazed, gules, within a coronet of gold, upon a torſe argent and vert:' as by a ſpecial inſtrument under the King's own ſign manual, bearing date November 7, 1512, appeareth (2).

(2) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *Of ſeveral lands and manors.*] Of which theſe are the names. The manor of Wyke in Middleſex, formerly belonging to George Duke of Clarence: Lovel's-Inn in Pater-Noſter-Row, London; with divers tenements pertaining thereto: The manor of Aldwike, or Holand's with Baro-Shanke wood, in Northamptonſhire; twenty-four acres of meadow in Brantſy; twenty-four in Swillingholm; all in Aldwincle, (or Aldwike) in the ſame county: alſo the manor of Deyncourt in Buckinghamſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Francis Lord Lovel; with the manors of Rocholds, Cobham, and Riſhams, part of the lands of Sir Richard Charlton, Knt (3).

(3) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *In* 1514, *and* 1517, *he had a grant—of ſeveral manors and eſtates.*] Namely, in 1514, the manors of Elcombe, and Uſcote, in Wiltſhire; and the manor of Pole-place in Berkſhire, part of the poſſeſſions of Francis Viſcount Lovel. In 1517, the manors of Salthrope, Chilton, and Blagrave, in Wiltſhire; two hundred acres of paſture, called Blagrove, with their appurtenances in Blagrove and Wroughton, in the ſame county. Likewiſe the manor of Wythynden, or Myhunden in the pariſhes of Wroughton, and Lidiard-Tregoze, in the ſame county; the manor of Elcomb, with the park: the manors of Watleſcote, and Weſtcote; one hundred acres of land, and ſixty acres of paſture, in Wigleſte, and Wroughton: the manor of Uffecote, two meſſuages, a thouſand acres of land, a thouſand acres of paſture, three hundred acres of meadow, and three hundred acres of wood in Broad-Hinton, all in the ſame county. And eight pounds yearly rent, iſſuing out of the manor of Denford, in Berkſhire, late Francis Viſcount Lovel's attainted (4).

(4) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 402.

ſtoke,

ſtoke, in Warwickſhire; as alſo of the manors of Scotton and Brereton, in Yorkſhire, in reverſion, after the death or ſurrender of Simon Coniers (*u*). In 1523, he was employed, with the Earl of Surrey, and the Marquis of Dorſet, *&c.* to make incurſions into Scotland. This ungrateful office was put upon him by the contrivance of Cardinal Wolſey; who, obſerving how much Sir William was in the King's favour, and fearing he ſhould diminiſh his authority, procured him to be thus ſent into the wars againſt the Scots. For Sir William could not bear the Cardinal's preſumption, in taking ſo much upon him to the derogation of the King's prerogative; therefore the Cardinal thought, in his abſence, to have worked him out of favour. But he could not; for the King recalled him ſoon after to court (*w*); and, in 1525, conſtituted him Keeper of his money and jewels (*x*), which is the ſame we now call the Privy Purſe (*y*). Sir William built a very noble houſe at his manor of Compton [*E*]; and, in the chapel, erected a beautiful window towards the eaſt, in the painted glaſs of which, moſt curiouſly done, was repreſented the Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt; and in the lower part, Sir William himſelf and his Lady, kneeling, in their ſurcoats of arms (*z*). He died of the ſweating ſickneſs, in the year 1528, May 31, aged forty-ſeven (*a*), being at that time of the Privy Chamber to the King, who was then alſo in great danger (*b*). His body was buried at Compton, as he had deſired in his will, bearing date March 8, 1522; in which he alſo deſired, that his Lady ſhould be interred in the ſame place; and, that a tomb of alabaſter ſhould be made, by the direction of his executors, for his father, and ſet over his grave, with his arms cut thereon. Likewiſe, that his mother's body ſhould be taken up from the place where ſhe lay buried, and depoſited by his father. Moreover, he appointed that his executors ſhould found in his name two chantries at Compton, and that every Prieſt therein ſhould have a yearly ſalary of ten marks (*c*) [*F*]. He married Werburge, daughter and heir of Sir John Brereton, Knt. and widow of Sir Francis Cheney, Knt. by whom he had iſſue,

PETER, who being under age at the time of his father's deceaſe, was put under the wardſhip of Cardinal Wolſey (*d*). He married Anne, daughter of George, Earl of Shrewſbury; but dying before he came of age, on the 30th of January, 1543, he left only one ſon, forty-nine weeks and five days old (*e*), named

HENRY, who was knighted February 10, 1566, by the Earl of Leiceſter; and, on the 8th of May, 1572, *ſummoned by writ to the Houſe of Lords*, by the title of Baron Compton, of Compton. In 1586, he was one of the Peers for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots (*f*). He is ſuppoſed to have died in the year 1589 (*g*). By his firſt Lady, Frances, daughter to Francis Haſtings, Earl of Huntingdon, he had, among other children [*G*],

WILLIAM, his eldeſt ſon and heir, who was ſummoned to Parliament in the thirty-fifth of Queen Elizabeth, and was one of the Privy-Council to that Queen. On the 5th of January, 1604, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles, Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Charles I. (*h*); and was conſtituted, ſome years after, Preſident of the Council for the Marches of Wales (*i*), and Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Worceſter, Hereford, Salop, and Warwick (*k*). On the 2d of Auguſt, 1618, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Northampton (*l*); and on the 21ſt of April, 1629, inſtalled a Knight of the Garter. He died June 24, 1630, leaving iſſue, by Elizabeth his Lady, ſole daughter and heir of Sir John Spencer, Alderman of London; Spencer, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article.

(*u*) Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3. b.

(*w*) Polydore Vergil. in Hen. VIII. Hollinſhed's Chr. edit. 1587, vol. iii. p. 878.

(*x*) Pat. 17 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 2.

(*y*) In Latin *Burcifer Regis*.

(*z*) Leland. Itin. vol. iv. fol. 166, MS. Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 402.

(*a*) Peerage of England, *&c.* by Ar. Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 109. Hollinſhed, as above, p. 906.

(*b*) Hollinſhed, *ibid.* and Lord Herbert, p. 99.

(*c*) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) Pat. 20 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(*e*) Eſch. 37 Hen. VIII.

(*f*) See Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1586; and the Life of Mary Queen of Scots, edit. 1725, 8*vo*. p. 295.

(*g*) See Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 403.

(*h*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) Pat. 15 Jac. p. 3.

(*k*) Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 110.

(*l*) Pat. 16 Jac. p. 11.

[*E*] *Sir* William *built a very noble houſe at his manor of Compton.*] The greateſt part of the brick uſed in the building of it, was brought from Fulbrook, in the ſame county (of Warwick), where there ſtood a ruinous caſtle, of which the King had granted him the cuſtody. This caſtle he pulled down, making uſe of the materials for that building (5).

(5) Leland and Dugdale, *ubi ſup.*

[*F*] *And that every prieſt therein ſhould have a yearly ſalary of ten marks.*] For the proving of this Will, Cardinal Wolſey (who, under colour of his Legantine authority, had wreſted the probate of wills from the Prerogative court of Canterbury,) exacted no leſs than a thouſand marks; as was publicly declared by Sir Henry Guilford, one of the executors. And this extortion was the cauſe of making the ſtatute 21 Henry VIII. ch. v. wherein the fees to be taken for the Probate of teſtaments, were ſettled and limited (6).

(6) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 138.

[*G*] *Among other children.*] His children by the Lady *Frances Haſtings*, beſides William here mentioned, were, *Margaret*, married to Henry Lord Mordaunt; and *Thomas*, who, on the 4th of March, 1606-7, was knighted; he married Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, ſecond ſon of William Beaumont of Cole-Overton in Leiceſterſhire; which Mary was by King James I. created Counteſs of Buckingham, July 1, 1618, being the mother of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of King James, and King Charles I.——The ſecond wife of Henry Lord Compton, was *Anne* daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, in Northamptonſhire, Knt. by whom he had, Sir *Henry* Compton of Bramble-Teigh, in Suſſex, Knight of the Bath; Cecily; Mary; and Margaret (7). M.

(7) The Britiſh Compendium, edit. 1731, vol. i. P. i. p. 312.

COMPTON (SPENCER), only ſon of the former [*A*], and ſecond Earl of Northampton, deſerves to be particularly remembered. He was made Knight of the Bath, on the 3d of November, 1616, at the time when Charles, Duke of York, (afterwards King Charles I.) was created Prince of Wales, with whom he became a great favourite. In 1622, he accompanied him into Spain, waiting on him in quality of Maſter of his Robes and Wardrobe, and had the honour to deliver all his preſents, amounting, as was com-

[*A*] SPENCER *only ſon of the former.*] Beſides him, William Lord Compton had two daughters: *Elizabeth*, married to Robert Maxwell Earl of Nithiſdale in Scotland; and *Anne* to Ulick Bourk, Lord Dunkellin, ſon and heir to Richard Earl of Clanrickard in Ireland, and Earl of St. Albans in England (1).

(1) *Ibid.* p. 313.

puted, to ſixty-four thouſand pounds. At the Coronation of that Prince, he attended as Maſter of the Robes; and, in 1639, waited on his Majeſty in his expedition againſt the Scots. He was likewiſe among thoſe Noblemen, who, on the 4th of May 1641, took the Proteſtation to defend the true Proteſtant Religion expreſſed in the doctrine of the Church of England, and his Majeſty's Royal perſon, honour, and eſtate; as alſo the power and privilege of Parliaments, and the lawful rights and liberties of the ſubject (*a*). In 1642, he waited upon his Majeſty at York; and was one of the Lords who ſubſcribed, the 15th of June the ſame year, a Declaration at that place, wherein they profeſſed before God, and teſtified to all the world, that they were fully perſuaded, that his Majeſty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament: but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the true Proteſtant Religion; the juſt privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the ſubject, and the law, peace, and proſperity of the kingdom (*b*). Having, after that, often endeavoured to compoſe the unhappy jealouſies in the nation; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, and that the Parliament were raiſing forces to diſtreſs ſuch as came not into its meaſures, he thought it more for his Majeſty's ſervice to retire to his native country: where he ſoon got together ſuch a number of Gentlemen and Soldiers, as awed the country into the King's allegiance, drove the Lord Brook out of Warwickſhire, who endeavoured to ſecure that county for the Parliament; and in twelve ſkirmiſhes put a ſtop to the Earl of Eſſex's rendezvous at Northampton (*c*). After King Charles I. had ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, he raiſed, one of the firſt, at his own charge, a troop of horſe, and a regiment of foot (*d*): and, at the battle between Keinton and Edge-hill, brought two thouſand of the beſt diſciplined men in the whole army. When that battle (which happened on the 23d of October 1642) was over, the King's army having taken Banbury, a garriſon was placed therein under the command of the Earl of Northampton (*e*): who, by his vigilance and conduct, performed many ſucceſsful ſervices, and was the life of his Majeſty's cauſe in thoſe parts. He ſecured moſt of the arms, ammunition, and garriſons in Warwickſhire, Staffordſhire, and Northamptonſhire, and ſettling an aſſociation, made the country, from garriſon to garriſon, one line of communication (*f*). Afterwards, with a ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons, from his garriſon at Banbury, he relieved the town of Stafford, that was beſieged by Sir John Gell; and putting himſelf into that town, beat up a quarter of the enemies, in which he took and killed above an hundred of their horſe. But Sir John Gell having joined Sir William Brereton, and they being nearly three thouſand foot and horſe, with a good train of artillery, moved back towards Stafford, imagining the Earl of Northampton would meet them without the walls. And it happened according to their expectation: for, on Sunday the 19th of March, 1642-3, as ſoon as he heard they were advancing towards the town, he marched out with his party, conſiſting in all of nearly one thouſand horſe, dragoons, and foot, to encounter them. He found the enemy in very good order, expecting him on a plain called Cranock-green, Salt-heath, or Hopton-heath (*g*), about two or three miles from Stafford. Though their number was more than double that of his Lordſhip's [*B*], yet the heath ſeeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than muſquet-ſhot from the encloſure on each ſide, and the number of his horſe at leaſt equal to theirs, he reſolved to charge them; and accordingly did, with ſo good ſucceſs, that he totally routed one part of their horſe. Rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horſe, which ſtood more in ſhelter of their foot, and ſo totally diſperſed them, that the enemy had ſcarcely a horſe left upon the field. He took likewiſe from them eight pieces of cannon [*C*]. In this ſecond charge, his Lordſhip being engaged in the execution, very near, or among, their foot, had his horſe killed under him [*D*]: ſo that his own body of horſe, purſuing the

(*a*) Britiſh Compendium, by Fr. Nicholls, *ubi ſupra*.

(*b*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731, 8*vo*. vol. i. Part ii. p. 656.

(*c*) Britiſh Compendium, as above.

(*d*) Lord Clarendon, as above, vol. ii. Part i. p. 152.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 48.

(*f*) Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 314.

(*g*) It is called by all thoſe names in our Hiſtorians. See Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, vol. v. p. 152. Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150; and J. Vicars's Parliamentary Chron. edit. 1644, 4*to*. p. 287.

(2) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150. The Hiſt. of the Commons War of England. Lond. 1662, 8*vo*. p. 29.

(3) Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle, as above, p. 287; and The Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, by Tho. May. Lond. 1647, fol. B. iii. p. 86. He copies Vicars in this and many other facts.

(4) Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, &c. edit. 1732, p. 69.

(*) Memorable Occurrences in 1642, at the end of *Mercurius Ruſtic.* edit. 1646, 8*vo*.

[*B*] *Though their number was more than double that of his Lordſhip's.*] We are aſſured, that the number of their men, was 'near three thouſand foot and horſe, 'with a good train of artillery (2).' Some of the Parliament-Hiſtorians (3) affirm indeed, that Sir John Gell's army conſiſted but of about fifteen hundred, horſe and foot: and the Earl's of about twelve hundred: though they mention afterwards the coming of Sir William Brereton to Gell's aſſiſtance, before the fight was ended. But they do not expreſs the *number* of the forces he brought; in which point, their ſilence ſeems to be culpable, as being deſigned to miſlead the reader. Such inſtances are very frequent in Vicars's Chronicle; which indeed is only a heap of falſehood and miſrepreſentations, as well as of moſt ſhocking hypocriſy, and canting nonſenſe. Honeſt Mr. Whitelock tells us plainly, and without diſguiſe (4), that Sir John Gell and Sir William Brereton came with three thouſand horſe and foot.

[*C*] *And ſo totally diſperſed them, that the enemy had ſcarcely a horſe left upon the field, &c.*] This is the Lord Clarendon's account. And Dr. Ryves more particularly informs us (*) that in this fight above three hundred of the rebels were taken and killed; at the leaſt, two hundred more wounded; above three hundred of their horſe taken, with four pieces of cannon, and a caſe of Drakes. And on the King's ſide, ſome few ſlain. On the other hand Vicars affirms (5), that the Parliament-forces repulſed the Earl's horſe,——and at leaſt an hundred and forty Cavaliers were ſlain with him; with the loſs of eight or ten only of the Parliamentarians. And 'by the 'timely coming in of Sir William Brereton, before 'the fight was ended, Sir John Gell obtained a glo-'rious victory, and drove his enemies quite out of 'the field.' Such are the frequent contradictions between Hiſtorians of different parties. But, on which ſide the victory inclined, we may judge by the conſequence. And that it was in the King, is evident by the Earl of Northampton's forces recovering Litchfield ſoon after; which the others would never have permitted them to do, had they been victorious.

(5) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 287, 288.

[*D*] *Had his horſe killed under him.*] One Hiſtorian tells us that, 'being unhappily fallen from his 'horſe among coney-burrows, he was barbarouſly 'murdered (6).'

(6) A ſhort View of the Troubles in England, &c. by Sir Will. Dugdale. Oxf. 1681, fol. p. 178.

chaſe

chaſe with too much fury, he was left encompaſſed by the enemy. After he was on his feet, he killed, with his own hand, the Colonel of foot, who firſt came near him; and, after his head-piece was ſtruck off with the but-end of a muſquet, they offered him quarter; which he refuſed, anſwering, 'That he ſcorned to take quarter from ſuch baſe rogues 'and rebels, as they were.' Upon this, he was ſlain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the ſame time, another deep wound in his face (*b*). He was then in the forty-ſecond year of his age (*i*). The enemy refuſed to deliver the body to the young Earl of Northampton, and would not even permit his Chirurgeons to come and embalm it, unleſs he would deliver, in exchange for it, all the ammunition, priſoners, and cannon he had taken in the late battle (*k*). However, it was delivered up at laſt, and buried in Allhallows Church in Derby, in the ſame vault with his relation the old Counteſs of Shrewſbury (*l*). As to this noble Lord's character, we are informed, that he was a perſon of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having, in the eaſe, plenty, and luxury, antecedent to our unhappy diſſenſions, indulged himſelf in that licence which was then thought neceſſary to great fortunes. But, from the beginning of the civil wars, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. From the time he ſubmitted himſelf to the profeſſion of a ſoldier, no man was more punctual upon command, no man more active and vigilant in duty. All diſtreſſes he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardſhips, as if he had never known plenty or eaſe; moſt prodigal of his perſon to danger; and would often ſay, That if he outlived theſe wars, he was certain never to have ſo noble a death (*m*). His Lordſhip married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, Knt. by whom he had two daughters, and ſix ſons. The daughters were, *Anne*, married to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, of Whitby, in Yorkſhire, Bart. and *Penelope*, to Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, eldeſt ſon of Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the Secretaries of State to King Charles I. and King Charles II. (*n*). Of the ſons, who were all highly eſteemed for their eminent abilities, and all inherited their father's courage, loyalty, and virtue, five of them received the honour of Knighthood; namely, *James*, the eldeſt ſon, and heir; Sir *Charles*; Sir *William* [*E*]; Sir *Spencer*; and Sir *Francis*; and *Henry*, the ſixth, and youngeſt, Biſhop of London, was no leſs conſpicuous. At the battle of Hopton-heath, the three eldeſt, who were officers under their father, charged that day in the field, when Sir James, the eldeſt, received a ſhot in one of his legs (*o*). At the battle of Edge hill he was abſent; but Sir Charles and Sir William, though neither of them were twenty, charged in the troop with their father; and Sir Spencer, though not able to graſp a piſtol, yet in indignation wept, That he was not expoſed to the ſame hazard as his brothers (*p*).

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150, 151.

(*i*) Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 315.

(*k*) Lord Clarendon, *ibid.* Vicars's Chron. as above.

(*l*) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 403.

(*m*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151, 152.

(*n*) Dugdale; and Britiſh Compendium, as above.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(*p*) Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 315.

[*E*] *Sir William.*] This brave gentleman had the command of a regiment, wherewith he performed conſiderable ſervice at the taking of Banbury, leading his men on to three attacks, and had two horſes ſhot under him. Upon the ſurrender of the town and caſtle, he was made Lieutenant-Governor under his father; and on the 19th of July, 1644, when the Parliament's forces came before the town he returned anſwer to their ſummons; 'That he kept the caſtle 'for his Majeſty, and as long as one man was left 'alive in it, willed them not to expect to have it deli-'vered:' alſo on the 16th of September, they ſending him another ſummons, he made anſwer, 'That 'he had formerly anſwered them, and wondered they 'ſhould ſend again.' He was ſo vigilant in his ſtation, that he countermined the enemy eleven times, and during the ſiege, which held thirteen weeks, never went into bed, but by his example ſo animated the garriſon, that though they had but two horſes left uneaten, they would never ſuffer a ſummons to be ſent to them, after the anſwer before-mentioned was delivered. At length, his brother the Earl of Northampton raiſed the ſiege on the 26th of October, the very day of the month, on which both town and caſtle had been ſurrendered to the King two years before. Sir William continued Governor of Banbury, and performed many ſignal ſervices for the King, till his Majeſty left Oxford, and the whole kingdom was ſubmitting to the Parliament; and then on the 8th of May, 1646, ſurrendered upon honourable terms. In 1648, he was Major-General of the King's forces at Colcheſter, where he was ſo much taken notice of for his admirable behaviour, that Oliver Cromwell called him the ſober young man, and the godly Cavalier. At the reſtoration of King Charles II. he was made one of the Privy-Council, and Maſter-General of the Ordnance; and died October 19, 1663, in the 39th year of his age, having married Elizabeth, widow of Lord Allington of Horſheath in Cambridgeſhire, with whom he lived twelve years, but left no iſſue (7). There is an epitaph erected to his memory in the church of Compton-Winyate (8). M.

(7) Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 316; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 1135; and Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. P. ii. p. 542. 545.

(8) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſh. as above, p. 551.

COMPTON (JAMES), the eldeſt of the ſix ſons laſt mentioned, and third Earl of Northampton, taking arms with his father for King Charles I. was diſtinguiſhed for his bravery and conduct, and performed many gallant acts in thoſe times of confuſion. He was at the battle of Edge-hill, the taking of Banbury, *&c.* (*a*); and waiting upon the King at Oxford, had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him by that Univerſity, November 1, 1642 (*b*). The 19th of March following, he was in the engagement at Hopton-heath, where receiving a ſhot in one of his legs, he was obliged to quit the field (*c*). However, he was in a ſhort time ſo well recovered of that wound, that on the 8th of April, 1643, he was with Prince Rupert at the taking of Litchfield, and the ſurrender of the Cloſe there, the 21ſt of the ſame month. Alſo May 6, the ſame year, he routed a party of the enemies of horſe and foot (*d*), at Middleton-cheney, in Northamptonſhire, which thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attempt the taking of Banbury; and he defeated their horſe, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more priſoners.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 319.

(*b*) Wood, Faſt. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 22.

(*c*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(*d*) Conſiſting of about 7000 foot, and five troops of horſe. Memorable Occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Ruſticus*.

(e) *Ibid.* Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. P. i. p. 245.

ers (*e*). He afterwards commanded the horſe at the firſt battle of Newbury, September 20, 1643, and charged and put to flight the enemy's horſe under Sir William Waller. On the 29th of June, 1644, he was one of the commanders at Cropredry-bridge fight, wherein Sir William Waller was routed again (*f*). Soon after he marched with the King into Cornwall; and at his return raiſed the ſiege of Banbury, October 26, 1644, routing the Parliament forces, though their horſe were much ſuperior in number (*g*). Then joining the King, he relieved Donnington-Caſtle; whereupon battle was offered to the enemy, who declined it, though they had juſt before obtained advantages in the ſecond fight at Newbury, the Earl being abſent in raiſing the ſiege of Banbury (*h*). On the 18th of March, 1644-5, he and his three brothers routed a great body of the Parliamentarians horſe, of Northampton, near Althorp, killed about thirty, and hurt many more, taking twenty-ſix priſoners (*i*). But in April, 1645, he was defeated by Lieutenant-General Cromwell, near Oxford, and ſeveral of his men were taken priſoners (*k*). After this, finding that his Majeſty was overpowered by the Parliament, he reſolved to go beyond ſea, and obtained a paſs from the Houſe of Commons for that purpoſe (*l*). But, however, he ſeems to have compounded for his eſtates, and to have ſtaid in the kingdom (*m*). Afterwards, the powers in being growing jealous of him, he was impriſoned; but diſcharged again, the 2d of November 1659, upon ſecurity given to live peaceably (*n*). On the 29th of May 1660, at the Reſtoration of King Charles II. he led a troop of two hundred Gentlemen, clothed in grey and blue: and, in the reign of that King, was of the Privy-Council, Conſtable of the Tower of London, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Warwick, and city of Coventry, Recorder of the ſame, and alſo of the towns of Northampton and Tamworth. He died at his ſeat of Caſtle-Aſhby in Northamptonſhire, December 15, 1681, and was interred among his anceſtors at Compton in the county of Warwick; which church being demoliſhed in the civil wars, was rebuilt at his Lordſhip's ſole expence, in 1665. He was married twice [*A*]. By his ſecond Lady he had three ſons, GEORGE, who ſucceeded him in his honours [*B*]; *James*, that died young; and *Spencer*,

(*f*) Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. P. ii. p. 497, &c. The Commons War of England, &c. as above, p. 47.

(*g*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 544. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 108.

(*h*) Lord Clarendon, *ibid.* p. 551. See alſo Britiſh Compendium, as above, p. 319.

(*i*) Memorable Occurrences at the end of *Mecurius Ruſticus*.

(*k*) Whitelock, as above, p. 144.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 197, 200, 201, 202.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 202, 246.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 686.

[*A*] *He was married twice.*] His firſt Lady was, *Iſabella*, one of the two daughters and coheirs to Richard Earl of Dorſet; by whom he had iſſue two ſons, William, and James, who both died in their childhood; and three daughters, Anne, and Iſabella, which alſo died young, and Alathea married to Edward Hungerford, Eſq; This firſt Lady died October 14, 1661. His ſecond Lady, was, *Mary*, eldeſt daughter of Baptiſt Noel Viſcount Campden, by whom he had three ſons as mentioned above; and two daughters, Juliana who died young; and Mary married to Charles Sackville Earl of Dorſet, mother of Lionel Duke of Dorſet (1).

(1) Dugdale, as above, p. 403; and Britiſh Compend. p. 319, 320.

[*B*] GEORGE, *who ſucceeded him in his honours.*] His Lordſhip was of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, where he was created Maſter of Arts, February 18, 1681-2 (2). Though he was under age at the time of his father's death, he was notwithſtanding, made Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of Warwickſhire. On Queen Anne's acceſſion, he was ſworn of her Privy-Council; and in 1712, appointed Conſtable of the Tower of London. His Lordſhip died April 15, 1727, and was buried at Compton with his anceſtors. By his firſt Lady, *Jane*, youngeſt daughter of Sir Stephen Fox, Knt. whom he married in 1686 (3), he had iſſue four ſons; JAMES, Earl of Northampton; George, Member in Parliament for Northampton, and one of the Lords of the Treaſury: Stephen, who died young; and Charles, who on the 10th of May, 1727, was appointed Conſul at Liſbon, and Conſul-General in the dominions of Portugal. He had alſo by her ſix daughters; Elizabeth, Mary, Jane, Anne, Penelope, and Margaret; of whom the ſecond was married in April, 1709, to William Gore of Tring in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; and the fourth, on the 16th of October, 1729, to Sir John Ruſhout of Northwick, in Worceſterſhire, Bart. His ſecond Lady, was, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Ruſhout of Northwick, Bart. relict of Sir George Thorold, Bart. who in 1719, was Lord Mayor of London; but by her he had no iſſue (4). M.

(2) Wood, Faſti, vol. ii. col. 218.

(3) She died July 10, 1721.

(4) Dugdale, as above. Britiſh Compend. p. 320, 321; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 116, 217.

*** [For a farther account of this noble family in general, we refer to the peerages; but as Spencer Compton, the youngeſt ſon of James the third Earl of Northampton, raiſed himſelf, by his abilities, to eminent ſtations, and to high rank, we ſhall add a few particulars concerning him. This gentleman was introduced into Parliament in 1689, and continued in the Houſe of Commons, without interruption, till the year 1727. In 1714, he was choſen Speaker of that Houſe, and ſuſtained this important and honourable ſituation during three ſucceſſive Parliaments. King George the firſt, towards the latter end of his reign, conferred upon him the dignity of Knight of the Bath. Beſides being created Baron, and afterwards Earl of Wilmington, he was a Privy-Counſellor, Knight of the Garter, and ſome time preſident of the council. When Sir Robert Walpole was diſplaced in 1742, the Earl of Wilmington ſucceeded him as Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. This office he held till his death, which happened on the ſecond of July, in 1743 (5). Dying unmarried, he bequeathed his eſtate to the Earl of Northampton (6). The Earl of Wilmington appears to have been a friend to the Church, and an encourager of genius and learning. For a proof of the former, we may mention, that he gave, in 1716, two hundred pounds, for the augmentation of the Vicarage of Wilmington, in Suſſex (7). It is no ſmall teſtimony of the latter, that he was one of the earlieſt patrons of Thomſon the Poet, who inſcribed to him his "Winter," which was the firſt of his publications. From this circumſtance his Lordſhip has obtained an eulogium that reflects a greater luſtre upon him than all his titles, and which will tranſmit his name with honour to poſterity, when his external diſtinctions are no longer regarded. The following lines, from the beginning of the later editions of the "Winter," will be an ample demonſtration of the truth of our aſſertion.

(5) Gent. Mag. vol. xiii. p. 389.

(6) Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 199. Fifth edition.

(7) *Ibid.*

"To thee, the patron of *her firſt* eſſay,
The muſe, O WILMINGTON! renews her ſong.
Since has ſhe rounded the revolving year:
Skim'd the gay ſpring; on eagle-pinions borne,
Attempted thro' the ſummer-blaze to riſe;
Then ſwept o'er autumn with the ſhadowy gale;
And now among the wintry clouds again,
Roll'd in the doubling ſtorm ſhe tries to ſoar;
To ſwell her note with all the ruſhing winds;
To ſuit her ſounding cadence to the floods;
As is her theme, her numbers wildly great:
Thrice happy! could ſhe fill thy judging ear
With bold deſcription, and with manly thought.
Nor art thou ſkilled in awful ſchemes alone,
And how to make a mighty people thrive:
But equal goodneſs, ſound integrity,
A firm unſhaken uncorrupted ſoul
Amid a ſliding age, and burning ſtrong,
Not vainly blazing for the country's weal,
A ſteady ſpirit regularly free;
Theſe, each exalting each, the Stateſman light
Into the Patriot; theſe, the public hope
And eye to thee converting, bid the muſe
Record what envy dares not flattery call (8)."] K.

(8) Thomſon's Seaſons, p. 204. Murray's edition of 1778.

created

created January 11, 1727-8, Baron of Wilmington in Suſſex, and May 12, 1730, Viſcount Pevenſey, in the ſame county, and Earl of Wilmington (*o*).

(*o*) British Compendium, as above, p. 319, 320. 356.

COMPTON (HENRY), Biſhop of London in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, and one of the moſt eminent Prelates that ever ſat in that See, was the ſixth [*A*] and youngeſt ſon of Spencer, the ſecond Earl of Northampton, mentioned in the foregoing article. He was born at Compton (*a*) in the year 1632 (*b*). His father being unhappily ſlain in 1642-3, when this his youngeſt ſon was but ten years old, he was thereby deprived of that paternal care which is ſo neceſſary in that tender age. However, (notwithſtanding that misfortune) he received an education ſuitable to his quality. When he had gone through the Grammar-ſchools, he was entered a Nobleman of Queen's-College, in Oxford, in the year 1649; and having continued there till about 1652, went and lived with his mother at Gryndon, in Northamptonſhire. Afterwards he travelled beyond ſea (*c*), where he remained a conſiderable time, and examined the civil and eccleſiaſtical polities abroad; but the more he obſerved them, the more he liked the Engliſh conſtitution. He ſaw their manners, and was too wiſe to imitate them. However, what he thought valuable amongſt them he brought home, and in particular retained their languages perfectly (*d*) [*B*]. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II. he returned to England; and a regiment of horſe being raiſed about that time for the King's guard, of which the command was given to Aubrey Earl of Oxford, Mr. Compton accepted of a Cornet's commiſſion therein, either by his own choice, or the perſuaſion of friends. But, ſoon after, diſcovering a greater inclination to his ſtudies than to a military life, he quitted that poſt, and dedicated himſelf to the ſervice of the Church (*e*). Accordingly he went to Cambridge, where he was created Maſter of Arts (*f*). Afterwards entering into Orders [*C*], and obtaining a grant of the next vacant Canonry of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, he was admitted Canon-Commoner of that college, in the beginning of the year 1666, by the advice of Dr. John Fell, then Dean of the ſame (*g*). The 7th of April next enſuing, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood at Cambridge (*h*): about which time, he was poſſeſſed of the Rectory of Cottenham in Cambridgeſhire, worth above five hundred pounds a year. Before that, he had a ſmaller benefice. In both he ſhowed his great concern for the ſouls of men. He was conſtituted in 1667, Maſter of St. Croſſe's Hoſpital near Wincheſter, upon the death of Dr. William Lewis [*D*]. On the 24th of May 1669, he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt-Church [*E*], in the room of Dr. Richard Heylin deceaſed (*i*). Two days after (*k*), he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*l*); and that of Doctor, the 28th of June following (*m*). Advancing daily in the King's favour and eſteem, and in the opinion of all good men, he was, upon the tranſlation of Dr. Nathaniel Crew from the Biſhopric of Oxford to that of Durham, nominated to ſucceeed him in the See of Oxford; to which he was elected November 10, confirmed December 2, and conſecrated at Lambeth December 6, 1674 (*n*). About July, 1675, he was made Dean of the Royal Chapel, on the death of Dr. Blandford, Biſhop of Worceſter; and being the ſame year tranſlated to the See of London [*F*], in the

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 968.

(*b*) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below.

(*c*) Wood, *ibid.* and Sermon preached at the cathedral of St. Paul's, July 26, 1713, by Tho. Gooch, D.D. late Biſhop of Ely.

(*d*) Dr. Gooch, *ibid.*

(*e*) *Ibid.* and Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) *Idem*, Faſti, vol. ii. col. 166.

(*i*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716, p. 237.

(*k*) Or the next day. For in the Catalogue of Graduates it is placed on May 25.

(*l*) Wood, Faſti, vol. ii. col. 175.

(*m*) *Ibid.* col. 176

(*n*) Survey of the Cathedral of Oxford, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; edit. 1730, p. 434.

[*A*] *Was the ſixth.*] See above, in the article SPENCER COMPTON. Mr. Boyer ſays by miſtake, that he was *the fourth* ſon (1). We are told that he was 'in the field at Edgehill *in his cradle*; by which 'is underſtood, that he was carried to the camp for 'ſecurity when very young (2).' But certainly he could not be there in his cradle: for he was then ten years old.

(1) Annual Liſt of the Death of Eminent Perſons, p. 61, at the end of the Hiſt. of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, fol.

[*B*] *And in particular retained their languages perfectly.*] Dr. Gooch informs us (3), that, 'The better 'to prepare him for that figure he was afterwards to 'make, he ſpent ſome years in travelling; not to 'ſuck in the maxims of foreign ſtates, or to try the 'vices of foreign Courts; not before he knew our 'conſtitution in Church and State, and was able to 'defend it, and ſure to ſtick to it. He obſerved and 'examined the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Polities abroad; 'he made them his ſtudy, but not his rule. The 'more he ſtaid in France and Italy, &c. the more 'Engliſhman he was; he came home the better 'Stateſman and the better Churchman; he was proof 'againſt all their arts, to debauch either his princi'ples or his practices.' Whilſt he was abroad, he is ſaid to have trailed a pike in Flanders, under the Duke of York (4).

(2) Life of Dr. Henry Compton, Biſhop of London, in the Lives of the Engliſh Biſhops, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, by N. Salmon, LL.B. edit. 1731, 8vo. p. 300.

(3) Sermon, as above.

(4) Salmon, *ib.*

[*C*] *Afterwards entering into Orders.*] When he did ſo, he was not a novice in age, or knowledge; being above a Biſhop's neceſſary years (i. e. thirty years of age), when he was ordained a Deacon: but he did not aſpire to, or deſire the Epiſcopal Office, before he was qualified for the good work.—And though he might have made high demands upon the Court, and raiſed himſelf at once to the greateſt dignities, yet he choſe to make gradual and regular advances (5).

(5) Gooch, *ibid.*

[*D*] *He was conſtituted in* 1667, *Maſter of St. Croſſe's Hoſpital, &c.*] A fit preferment, as Dr. Gooch rightly obſerves (6), for him, whoſe houſe was always a conſtant hoſpital! By this his income was conſiderably increaſed, (it being above 500 a year) and he had greater opportunities of doing good; the only motive to him to wiſh for its increaſe; this was his greateſt pleaſure; and *here* he lived, and enjoyed it: *here* he would gladly have reſted; but Providence had deſigned him for greater things.

(6) *Ibid.*

[*E*] *On the* 24*th of May* 1669, *he was inſtalled Canon of* Chriſt-Church.] And when he was Sub-Dean in that church, he moderated in the Divinity-Diſputations, with ſuch gravity and wiſdom, as made thoſe exerciſes both reputable and inſtructive (7).

(7) Dr. Gooch, *ib.*

[*F*] *Being the ſame year, tranſlated to the See of London.*] Anth. Woods tells us (8), that, 'This 'tranſlation was much promoted by ſome of the po'litic Clergy, becauſe they knew him to be a bold 'man, an enemy to the Paptiſts, and one that would 'act, and ſpeak what they would put him upon, 'which they themſelves would not be ſeen in, as many 'prime Papiſts uſed to ſay.' We are alſo informed (9), that this tranſlation was effected through the Earl of Danby's intereſt; to whom the Biſhop was a property, and was turned by him as he pleaſed. The Duke of York hated him; but Lord Danby perſuaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any perſon, ſo the giving way to it helped

(8) Athen. *ubi ſupra.*

(9) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. vol. i. p. 492.

the room of Dr. Henchman, deceaſed, was confirmed therein the 18th of December (o). On the 22d of January, 1675-6, King Charles, who entertained a juſt opinion of his capacity and fidelity, cauſed him to be ſworn one of his Privy-Council; which ſtation his Majeſty thought fit to continue him in, upon his conſtituting a new Privy-Council in April 1679 (p). The educating and well-grounding of the King's two nieces, the Princeſſes Mary and Anne (q), in the doctrine and communion of the Church of England, were committed to his care; and that important truſt he diſcharged, to the nation's univerſal ſatisfaction [G]. On the 4th of November, 1677, he had the honour of performing the ceremony of the marriage of the eldeſt, Mary, with William Prince of Orange; and on the 28th of July, 1683, that of Anne, the youngeſt, with George Prince of Denmark (r). The firmneſs of theſe two Princeſſes in the Proteſtant religion, was owing, in a great meaſure, to their learned tutor Biſhop Compton; which afterwards, when Popery came to prevail at the Court of England, was imputed to him as an unpardonable crime. During the mutual heats and animoſities in the latter part of King Charles the Second's reign, ſome of the moſt learned and exemplary Clergy endeavoured, both in private and public, to bring the Diſſenters to a ſenſe of the neceſſity of union among Proteſtants. To promote that good deſign, our worthy Biſhop held, in 1679, three conferences with his Clergy upon the two Sacraments, and upon catechiſing youth in the true principles of religion. In 1680, he purſued the ſame deſign in three other conferences; namely, on the half communion; prayers in an unknown tongue; and prayers to Saints: the ſubſtance of which he publiſhed in a letter to the Clergy of his dioceſe, dated July 6, 1680. He farther hoped, that it might tend to pacify and reconcile the Diſſenters, by bringing in the judgment of foreign Divines againſt their needleſs ſeparation. For that purpoſe, he wrote to Monſieur Le Moyne, Profeſſor in Divinity at Leyden, to Mr. de l'Angle, one of the Preachers at the Proteſtant Church at Charenton, near Paris; and to Mr. Claude, another eminent French Divine; who, in their ſeveral anſwers [H], agreed in vindicating the Church of England from any errors in its doctrine, or any unlawful impoſitions in its ſervice and diſcipline; and, therefore, did condemn a ſeparation from it, as needleſs and uncharitable (s). But Popery was what the Biſhop moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed: for, when it was gaining ground in theſe kingdoms, under the favour and influence of the heir-apparent to the Crown, James Duke of York, our worthy Prelate, at the head of his Clergy, made a noble ſtand; and, by his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more ſtrenuouſly defended the reformed religion, than it had ever been, to the ſhame and ſilence of their Romiſh adverſaries [I]. The great diſſervice thereby done to theſe, and their cauſe, was remembered, and reſented, when King James II. aſcended the throne.

(o) Willis, *ibid.* and Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(p) Boyer, as above.

(q) The late glorious Queens, Mary and Anne.

(r) The Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings and Queens of England, &c. by Fr. Sandford and Fr. Stebbing, fol. edit. 1707, p. 679. 758.

(s) Compl. Hiſt. of England, &c. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, 382.

helped to lay the jealouſies of the Church-Party. About a year after that, Sheldon dying, Biſhop Compton was perſuaded that Lord Danby had tried with all his ſtrength to promote him to Canterbury; though that was never once intended. He was a great patron of the converts from Popery, and of thoſe Proteſtants whom the bad uſage they were beginning to meet with in France drove over to us: And by theſe means he came to have a great reputation. He uſed to make many complaints to the King, and often in Council, of the inſolence of the Papiſts, and of Coleman's in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to diſmiſs Coleman out of his ſervice: yet he continued ſtill in his confidence.

[G] *And that important truſt he diſcharged to the nation's univerſal ſatisfaction.*] How well he executed it, as Dr. Gooch obſerves (10), let thoſe confeſs, who value the memory of the late moſt renowned Queen (Mary), or have not laid aſide all duty to our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign (11). They never forgot their obligations to him; but he was always in the eſteem of the former, and received marks of favour from the latter. He had the particular honour which no one Biſhop ever had, of marrying two Regent Queens to Proteſtant Princes. They were both confirmed by him January 23, 1675-6 (12).

(10) Sermon, as above.

(11) *i. e.* Queen Anne, in whoſe reign this was publiſhed.

(12) See Continuation of Rog. Coke's Detection, vol. iii. 1718, p. 117.

[H] *Who in their ſeveral Anſwers.*] Their Anſwers are publiſhed at the end of Biſhop Stillingfleet's *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, 1681, 4*to*. That of Mr. Le Moyne, bears date, September 3, 1680. That of Mr. De L'Angle is dated from Paris, October 31; and that of Mr. Claude from the ſame place, Nov. 29, 1680.

[I] *By his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more ſtrenuouſly defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been.*] This we learn from a Gentleman, who had been his Lordſhip's Chaplain (13). 'From 'whatever quarter, ſays he, or at what time ſoever 'any aſſault was made upon our Doctrine or Diſci-'pline, his vigilance and Chriſtian courage were 'upon the guard to defend them; of which I ſhall 'give only ſome few inſtances within the narrow 'compaſs of my own knowledge. 1. From hence 'proceeded that volume of uſeful *Tracts againſt the 'Diſſenters*, to convince them by Reaſon, Scripture, 'and Antiquity, of the unreaſonableneſs of their ſe-'paration, and ill-grounded ſcruples: never yet re-'plied to, or to be anſwered. 2. From hence like-'wiſe (before, and even under his ſuſpenſion) came 'forth the diſtinct *Reply to all the pretences of the 'Church of Rome*, in their day of exaltation and trial; 'moſt of them written by the beſt-learned Divines of 'this City. Join both theſe together, and you will 'find enough ſaid to confirm you in the faith and 'worſhip of this Church, againſt the adverſaries on 'either hand; not to ſeparate from our holy Apoſto-'lical Communion, out of needleſs ſcruple, and the 'ſo often-baffled pretences of ſeeking after greater 'purity, and better edification; nor yet to be per-'verted to Idolatry, in order to find out the true 'Church. 3. The danger of *Socinianiſm*, and other 'Hereſies, did not eſcape his care or remedy, as 'far as his power and perſuaſion could reach: to 'this end, many learned and rational treatiſes have 'been publiſhed by his Clergy on this ſubject. And 'when the diſpute about the holy undivided Trinity 'was managed by ſome, in new and unuſual terms, a 'Royal Letter was procured to forbid the bringing in 'ſuch terms into that controverſy, as were unknown 'to Antiquity or to Scripture.——By theſe-like 'means, our pious Biſhop, as the good ſhepherd of 'ſouls, uſed his ſtrenuous endeavour to hold up the 'weak, heal the ſick, bind up the broken, ſeek the 'loſt, and bring back the out-caſts, not by ſeverity 'even againſt the irreclaimable, or proſecutions 'againſt the deceived, but firſt and chiefly by argu-'ment and conviction: yet not ſo merciful, as to be 'remiſs againſt impious Heretics, and notorious 'immorality.'

(13) See a Sermon on the Death of the late Lord Biſhop of London, preached Auguſt 11, 1713, at St. Martin's, Ludgate, by Will. Whitfeld, Lond. 1713, 8*vo*. p. 14, &c.

To our Biſhop's immortal honour, this was his unpardonable crime; and, accordingly, he was marked out, as the firſt ſacrifice to Popiſh fury (*t*). The firſt inſtance of it was, his being diſmiſſed from the Council-table ſoon after King James's acceſſion; and, on the 16th of December, 1685, he was put out from being Dean of the Royal Chapel (*u*). Farther occaſions were ſought, and ſoon found, of moleſting, or entirely ruining him, if poſſible: for Dr. John Sharp, Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, London, having, in ſome of his ſermons, vindicated the doctrine of the Church of England in oppoſition to Popery [*K*], the King ſent a letter, dated June 14, 1686, to Biſhop Compton, wherein his Majeſty 'required and commanded him, immediately upon receipt thereof, forthwith 'to ſuſpend Dr. Sharp from farther preaching in any pariſh church or chapel in his dio-'ceſe, until he had given the King ſatisfaction.' Upon the receipt of it, the Biſhop ſent an anſwer, June the 18th, to the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, wherein he ſaid, That 'he ſhould always count it his duty to obey the King in whatever commands 'he laid upon him, that he could perform with a ſafe conſcience; but in this, he con-'ceived, he was obliged to proceed according to law; and therefore it was impoſſible for 'him to comply, becauſe, though his Majeſty commanded him only to execute his plea-'ſure, yet in the capacity he was to do it, he muſt act as a Judge, and no Judge con-'demns any man before he has knowledge of the cauſe, and has cited the party.' But the Court being reſolved to be revenged on the Biſhop, for his exemplary zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt; and intending thereby to terrify all perſons (the Clergy in particular) from oppoſing their arbitrary deſigns, they cauſed his Lordſhip to be cited, on the 3d of Auguſt, to appear the 9th of the ſame month before the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. At his appearance, he was charged with 'not having obſerved his Majeſty's commands 'in the caſe of Dr. Sharp, whom he was ordered to ſuſpend.' The Biſhop ſeemed to be ſurprized at this; and humbly begged a copy of the commiſſion, and a copy of his charge: but was anſwered by Chancellor Jefferys, 'That he ſhould neither have a copy of, nor ſee, the commiſſion; neither would they give him a copy of the charge.' Thereupon his Lordſhip deſired time to adviſe with counſel; and there was given him till the 16th, and afterwards till the 31ſt of Auguſt above-mentioned. In the mean time, he ſent his Proctor for a copy of what orders and minutes they had ſet down concerning his buſineſs; but it was refuſed, though never denied in any Court. On the 31ſt of Auguſt, when his Lordſhip appeared for the ſecond time, he declared, That the whole world could bear him witneſs, he had been that whole ſummer endeavouring with all the power and ſkill he had, to enforce the King's letter to the ſtrict obſervation of his Clergy. Then he offered his plea to their juriſdiction [*L*]: which being over-ruled, he proteſted to his right, in that or any other plea, that might be for his advantage. And obſerved, that, as a Biſhop, he had a right by the moſt authentic and univerſal Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to be tried firſt before his Metropolitan, precedent to any other Court whatſoever. But the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners would not, upon any account, ſuffer their juriſdiction to be called in queſtion; and therefore did not pay the leaſt regard to whatever his Lordſhip could alledge, even though he farther inſiſted, that in the capacity he was, they were warranted by their commiſſion to try him only for offences *after the date* of the commiſſion. But this plea likewiſe was over-ruled by the Chancellor, who affirmed, 'There were general words which 'gave authority ſufficient to look back.' Whereupon the Biſhop gave in his anſwer in writing [*M*]; and, after it was read, he obſerved, that the word *ſuſpend* was liable to two conſtructions.

(*t*) Dr. Gooch, as above. He alſo argued againſt giving up the Teſt, which incenſed the Court againſt him. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 665.

(*u*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*.

[*K*] *Dr.* John Sharp——*having, in ſome of his ſermons vindicated the Doctrine of the Church of* England *in oppoſition to Popery.*] He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper ſent him, as he believed, by a Prieſt, containing a ſort of challenge upon ſome points of controverſy, touched by him in ſome of his Sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he ſhould ſend an anſwer, preached a Sermon in anſwer to it: and, after he had confuted it, he concluded, ſhewing how unreaſonable it was for Proteſtants to change their religion on ſuch grounds. This was carried to Court, and repreſented there, as a reflection on the King for changing on thoſe grounds (14). But in order to underſtand how this could be imputed as a crime to Dr. Sharp, it is to be obſerved, that King James had cauſed the *Directions concerning Preachers*, publiſhed in 1662, to be now reprinted, and reinforced them by a letter directed to the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, given at Whitehall, 5 March, 1685-6, *to prohibit the preaching upon controverſial points* (15); which was, upon the matter, forbidding them to defend their religion in the pulpit; when it was at the ſame time attacked by the Popiſh Prieſts with all the vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and books. This order was taken from a precedent in Queen Mary the Iſt's time; who ſoon after her acceſſion to the throne, iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding the preaching upon controverted points of religion; for fear, it was ſaid, of raiſing animoſities among the people (16).

(14) Burnet, as above, p. 674.

(15) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 452; and Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. fol. Lond. 1728, p. 794, 795.

(16) Memoirs, &c. by J. Welwood, M.D. edit. 1718, p. 173, 174.

[*L*] *Then he offered his plea to their juriſdiction.*] This plea was chiefly a recital of the ſtatute made in the 16th of King Charles I. entitled. 'A Repeal of 'the branch of a ſtatute *primo Elizabethæ*, concerning 'Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſtical:' in which ſtatute of Charles I. it was, among other things, enacted,——'That no new Court ſhould be erected, 'ordained, or appointed, within this realm of England, or dominion of Wales, which ſhould, or might 'have the like power, juriſdiction, or authority as 'the ſaid High-Commiſſion Court then had, or pretended to have; but that all and every ſuch Letters-'Patents, Commiſſions and Grants, made or to be 'made by his Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, and all 'powers and authorities granted thereby; and all 'Acts, Sentences, and Decrees, to be made by virtue 'or colour thereof, ſhould be utterly void and of 'none effect (17).'

(17) See Proceedings againſt Henry Lord Biſhop of London, as above, p. 16, &c. and Compl. Hiſt. p. 481.

[*M*] *Whereupon the Biſhop gave in his anſwer in writing.*] The Commiſſioners queſtion to him was, Why 'did you not obey the King's command, in his 'letter concerning the ſuſpending Doctor Sharp?' In anſwer to which, his Lordſhip, after reciting the King's letter of June 14, above-mentioned, ſays, 'I took

conſtructions. In the firſt, which is the legal and ſtrict ſenſe of the word, he underſtood the King's letter; and was adviſed by his counſel, that it was a judicial act, and by conſequence could not be complied with, unleſs he had firſt cited the party, and heard the cauſe. In the other ſenſe of the word *ſuſpend*, that is, at large for *ſilencing*, he apprehended, he had in effect obeyed the King's letter. For he ſent for Dr. Sharp, ſhewed him that letter, adviſed him not to preach till he had endeavoured to know his Majeſty's farther pleaſure; and he had not preached to that day, ſo that his Majeſty's command was fulfilled. But, notwithſtanding all that his Lordſhip or his counſel could alledge, he was ſuſpended, on the 6th of September following [*N*], for his diſobedience, from the function and execution of his epiſcopal office, and from all epiſcopal and other eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, during his Majeſty's pleaſure (*w*). Immediately after, the Biſhops of Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, were appointed commiſſioners to exerciſe all manner of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the dioceſe of London, during the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop (*x*). He acquieſced in this hard ſentence [*O*]; but being ſuſpended only as a Biſhop, and remaining ſtill whole in his other capacities, he made a noble ſtand as one of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe [*P*]. However, as according to the form of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, a perſon under ſuſpenſion muſt make a ſubmiſſion within ſix months, otherwiſe he may be proceeded againſt as obſtinate: ſo, ſix months after ſentence, the Biſhop ſent a petition to the King, deſiring to be reſtored to the exerciſe of his epiſcopal function; but he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it ſtopt all farther proceedings; only the ſuſpenſion lay ſtill on him (*y*). Whilſt he was thus ſequeſtered from his epiſcopal function, he applied himſelf to the improvement of his garden at Fulham; and, having a great genius for Botany, enriched it with a new variety of domeſtic and exotic plants (*z*). His ſuſpenſion was ſo flagrant a piece of injuſtice, that the Prince of Orange, in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it [*Q*]; and, upon the dread of his Highneſs's coming over, the Court was willing to make the Biſhop reparation, by reſtoring him, on the 23d of September, 1688 (*a*), to his epiſcopal function. But he made no haſte to reſume his charge, and to thank the King for his reſtoration; which made ſome people believe, he had no mind to be reſtored after ſuch a manner, or that he knew well enough what paſſed in Holland (*b*). And, indeed, he was one of the noble perſons who often met at the Earl of Shrewſbury's, and concerted meaſures for the Prince of Orange's coming over, whoſe intereſt he heartily endeavoured to promote (*c*). On the 3d of October, 1688, he waited upon King James, with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſeven other Biſhops, when they ſuggeſted to his Majeſty ſuch advices as they thought proper at that ſeaſon, and conducing to his ſervice (*d*). Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, the firſt ſhare our Biſhop had in the enſuing Revolution, was, together with the Earl of Dorſet, the conveying ſafe from London to Nottingham the Princeſs Anne of Denmark [*R*], leſt ſhe, in the preſent confuſion of affairs,

(*w*) Account of the Proceedings againſt Henry, Lord Biſhop of London, 4*to*. Lond. 1688; and Complete Hiſt. as above, p. 480, *&c.*

(*x*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 483.

(*y*) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, fol. edit. 1724, p. 677, 678. Biſhop Sprat informs us, that he had once obtained to have his ſuſpenſion taken off, if he would but have made an ordinary ſubmiſſion. Firſt Letter to the Earl of Dorſet, edit. 1711, p. 6.

(*z*) Boyer, as above.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. *ut ſupra.*

(*b*) Boyer, *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Burnet, as above, p. 712. 764.

(*d*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 520, *&c.*

'took the beſt advice I could get, concerning Doctor 'Sharp, and was informed, that the letter being di'rected to me, as Biſhop of London, to ſuſpend a 'perſon under my juriſdiction, I was therein to act 'as a Judge, it being a judicial act; and that no 'perſon could by Law be puniſhed by ſuſpenſion, be'fore he was called, or without being admitted to 'make his defence.' And then goes on to ſay, That he repreſented ſo much to the Earl of Sunderland, in the letter mentioned above. Nevertheleſs, that he might obey his Majeſty's commands as far as by Law he could, he had ſhewed the King's letter to Doctor Sharp, who had not preached ſince that time within the Dioceſe of London (18).

(18) *Ibid.* p. 21; and 482.

[*N*] *He was ſuſpended, on the 6th of September following.*] The Court did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the Lawyers had ſettled that point, that Benefices were of the nature of Freeholds. So, if the ſentence had gone to the Temporalities, the Biſhop would have had the matter tried over again in the King's Bench, where he was likely to find good juſtice, Herbert not being ſatisfied with the legality and juſtice of the ſentence. While this matter was in dependance, the Princeſs of Orange thought it became her to interpoſe a little in the Biſhop's favour. So ſhe wrote to the King, earneſtly begging him to be gentle to the Biſhop, who ſhe could not think would offend willingly. She alſo wrote to the Biſhop, expreſſing the great ſhare ſhe took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the ſame purpoſe. The King wrote an anſwer to the Princeſs, reflecting ſeverely on the Biſhop, not without ſome ſharpneſs on her for meddling in ſuch matters (19).

(19) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 677.

[*O*] *He acquieſced in this hard ſentence.*] The Court ſeemed uneaſy, when they ſaw they had gained ſo poor a victory: for now the Biſhop was more conſidered than ever. His Clergy, for all the ſuſpenſion, were really more governed by the ſecret intimations of his pleaſure, than they had been by his authority before. So they reſolved to come off as well as they could (20).

(20) Burnet, as above, p. 677.

[*P*] *He made a noble ſtand as one of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe.*] For, King James having, on the 17th of December 1686, ſent a letter to the Governors of the Charter-Houſe, requiring them to admit one Andrew Popham into the firſt Penſioner's place in that Hoſpital, which ſhould become void, and be in his Majeſty's diſpoſal; without tendering any oaths to him, or requiring of him any ſubſcriptions, or other acts in conformity to the Doctrine aud Diſcipline of the Church of England: the Biſhop of London, jointly with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, all Governors of that Hoſpital, and Dr. Thomas Burnet, Maſter of the ſame, agreed, not to comply with the King's illegal and unreaſonable command (21).

(21) See Hiſt. of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, edit. 1711, 8*vo.* p. 22, *&c.*

[*Q*] *That the Prince of* Orange, *in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it.*] In the following words: 'The ſaid Commiſſioners have ſuſpended the 'Biſhop of London, only becauſe he refuſed to obey 'an order that was ſent him to ſuſpend a worthy Di'vine, without ſo much as citing him before him to 'make his own defence, or obſerving the common 'forms of proceſs.'

[*R*] *The conveying ſafe from* London *to* Nottingham, *the Princeſs* Anne *of* Denmark.] We have a particular account of this tranſaction in the following words. 'When the news came to London, of Prince 'George of Denmark's having joined the Prince of 'Orange,

fairs, might have been ſent away into France, or put under reſtraint, becauſe the Prince, her conſort, had left King James, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange. Biſhop Compton, at his return to London, ſet his hand to the Aſſociation begun at Exeter (*e*). Nor was he only one of the moſt inſtrumental in the Revolution, but alſo the moſt zealous in promoting the ſettlement of it: for, upon the 21ſt of December, he waited on the Prince of Orange, at the head of his Clergy, and even attended with ſome of the Diſſenting Miniſters; and in his own and their name, thanked his Highneſs 'for his very 'great and moſt hazardous undertaking for their deliverance, and the preſervation of the 'Proteſtant Religion, with the ancient laws and liberties of this nation (*f*).' On the 30th of December, he adminiſtered the holy Communion to his Highneſs, in the Royal Chapel at St. James's, according to the rites of the Church of England (*g*). The 29th of January, 1688-9, when the Houſe of Lords, in a grand Committee, debated the important queſtion, Whether, the throne being vacant, ought to be filled up by a Regent, or a King? Dr. Compton was one of the two Biſhops (Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Biſhop of Briſtol, being the other) who made the majority for filling up the throne by a King: for there were, upon that occaſion, only fifty-one votes to forty-nine (*h*). On the 14th of February he was appointed one of the Privy-Council (*i*), and made Dean of the Royal Chapel (*k*); and afterwards pitched upon by King William to perform the ceremony of his and Queen Mary's coronation, April 11, 1689 (*l*). The ſame year, he was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners for reviewing the Liturgy, in the execution of which commiſſion he laboured with great zeal and earneſtneſs to reconcile the Diſſenters to the Church; and alſo in the Convocation that met November 21, 1689, of which he was Preſident. But the intended Comprehenſion met with inſuperable difficulties [*S*], the majority of the Lower Houſe being reſolved not to enter into any terms of accommodation with the Diſſenters (*m*). King William having, ſoon after, named Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, his Lordſhip was made one of them; and the Biſhop of London, for the time being, is always to be one, by reaſon of his ſuperintendency of all the Churches in the Plantations [*T*]. In the beginning of the year 1690-1, at his own charge, he attended King

(*e*) Boyer, as above.

(*f*) Compl. Hiſt. &c. p. 557.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 540.

(*h*) Boyer, as above.

(*i*) The Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, edit. 1735, vol. ii. P. i. p. 114.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Compl. Hiſt. &c. as above, p. 560. He baptized William Duke of Glouceſter, July 24, 1689. Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 115.

(*m*) *Ibid.* and Boyer, *ubi ſupra.*

'Orange, the Princeſs Anne was ſo ſtruck with the 'apprehenſions of the King's diſpleaſure, and of the 'ill effects it might have, that ſhe ſaid to the Lady 'Churchill, that ſhe could not bear the thoughts of 'it; and would leap out at window rather than ven-'ture on it. The Biſhop of London was then lodg-'ed very ſecretly in Suffolk-ſtreet. So the Lady 'Churchill, who knew where he was, went to him, 'and concerted with him the method of the Prin-'ceſs's withdrawing from the Court. The Princeſs 'went ſooner to bed than ordinary. And about 'midnight, ſhe went down a back ſtairs from her 'cloſet, attended only by the Lady Churchill, in 'ſuch haſte, that they carried nothing with them. 'They were waited for by the Biſhop of London, who 'carried them to the Earl of Dorſet's, whoſe Lady 'furniſhed them with every thing. And ſo they went 'northward, as far as Northampton; where that Earl 'attended on them with all reſpect, and quickly 'brought a body of Horſe to ſerve for a guard to the 'Princeſs. And in a little while a ſmall army was 'formed about her, who choſe to be commanded by 'the Biſhop of London; of which he too eaſily ac-'cepted (22).' So that, as Dr. Gooch obſerves (23), the Biſhop thought it then a proper time to reſume his care and charge, and to guard the Princeſs againſt any attempts on her Religion or her Liberty. This is that ſo much talked of part he acted at the Revolution. He reſcued the Princeſs Anne; he hid her (as it were) till Popiſh Tyranny was overpaſt. During that nice and difficult juncture, he was called peculiarly *the Proteſtant Biſhop*; and, indeed, he was the ornament and ſecurity of the Proteſtant cauſe.

(22) Burnet, as above, p. 792.

(23) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*S*] *But the intended Comprehenſion met with inſuperable difficulties.*] For, though many arguments were uſed to bring the more ſtiff of the inferior Clergy to a charitable condeſcenſion, and the much deſired union; yet there prevailed amongſt them a jealouſy and a diſtruſt not to be conquered. This appeared in the choice of a Prolocutor for the Lower-Houſe. Dr. Tillotſon was the perſon propoſed, and deſired by our Biſhop, and moſt of his Brethren; and yet Dr. Jane had the majority of votes. And when he was preſented to the Biſhop of London, as Preſident, for his approbation, he made a cuſtomary ſpeech in Latin, wherein he extolled the excellency of the Church of England as eſtabliſhed by Law, above all communities; implied that it wanted no amendments; and then ended with the application of this ſentence, by way of triumph, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* But the Biſhop of London, to whom Dr. Jane had been chaplain, made a ſpeech in the ſame language, wherein he told the Clergy; 'That they ought to endea-'vour a temper in thoſe things, that are not eſſential 'in religion, thereby to open the door of Salvation 'to a multitude of ſtraying Chriſtians: that it muſt 'needs be their duty, to ſhew the ſame indulgence 'and charity to the Diſſenters under King William, 'which ſome of the Biſhops and Clergy had promiſed 'to them in their addreſſes to King James;' and concluded with a pathetical exhortation to unanimity and concord (24). But though he made ſuch great advances towards a Comprehenſion, yet when he obſerved the perverſe and obſtinate diſpoſition of the Diſſenters; when he found, that not a ſenſe of true and undiſſembled religion, but intereſt and humour were at the bottom; and that there was no Comprehenſion to be propoſed, or ſatisfaction given, but by the expenſive ſacrifice of truth and order, then he thought it neceſſary to ſtop. He wiſhed as well as any body to the Proteſtant intereſt, and would gladly have ſeen it more united: but he was not well-bred enough to betray the rights of the Church in favour of a ſchiſm. He had ſeen ſo much the effects of popular frowardneſs and contention, men's aukward diſlike to what is ſettled, and deſire to change, that he dreaded the thoughts of innovations (25). His not complying ſo far as the Diſſenters liked, is undoubtedly what made an author who is very favourable to them (26) ſay, 'that Biſhop Compton was a weak man, wilful, 'and ſtrangely wedded to a party:' that is, he was not of the ſame party in that reſpect as Biſhop Burnet.

(24) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 591.

(25) Dr. Gooch, *ubi ſupra.*

(26) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 392.

[*T*] *By reaſon of his ſuperintendency of all the churches in the Plantations.*] Biſhop Compton often declared his reſolution of going over himſelf, to ſettle the Chriſtian Church in thoſe American Plantations; but by his perſecution in King James's reign, and the miſchiefs of a long war ever ſince, he could never bring it to effect. Greater then was his care in ſending over good paſtors; more conſtant his attention to their lives, manners, and doctrine; by every conveyance, letters ſent of inſtruction, commendation, or reproof; a perpetual correſpondence, in anſwer to volumes of complaints, wants, and requeſts. And all this carried on by himſelf, againſt the perverſeneſs of the inhabitants, the wiles of the Church of Rome, and

King William to the famous Congreſs at the Hague, where the grand alliance againſt France was concluded. But, notwithſtanding the great part he acted in the Revolution, and his ſubſequent ſervices, no ſooner was the ſtorm over, but jealouſies were infuſed, and calumnies diſperſed, to ſupplant and undermine him; inſomuch, that though the Metropolitan See of Canterbury was twice vacant in that reign, yet he ſtill continued Biſhop of London [*U*]. However, he went on conſiſtently, and like himſelf, deſpiſing all other rewards but the quiet and the applauſe of his own conſcience, and the high eſteem and intimacy of Queen Mary, which he preſerved to her dying day (*n*). At the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne, he ſeemed to ſtand faireſt for the royal favour; and though many things were ſaid to diſparage him at Court [*W*], yet nothing could diſcourage him from paying his duty and attendance there. About the beginning of May, 1702, he was ſworn of her Majeſty's Privy-Council. The ſame year, he was put in the commiſſion for the Union of England and Scotland, but was left out in the new commiſſion iſſued out in April 1706. Two years before, he very much promoted the 'Act for making effectual her Majeſty's intention for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor 'Clergy, by enabling her Majeſty to grant the revenues of the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths.' He maintained all along a brotherly correſpondence with the foreign Proteſtant Churches, and endeavoured to promote in them a good opinion concerning the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, and her moderate ſentiments of them, as appears both by his application to Meſſieurs Le Moyne, Claude, and de l'Angle before-mentioned (*o*), and the letters that paſſed between his Lordſhip and the Univerſity of Geneva in 1706 [*X*]. Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign, his acceſs became eaſier at Court, and he had greater power and intereſt there. But, whether the times were good or bad, he looked upon all that power and intereſt only as accidental circumſtances that attended the office of a Biſhop, and not as an eſſential part of it (*p*). In 1709-10, he was one of the Lords who oppoſed the proſecution then carried on againſt Dr. Sacheverel, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewiſe proteſted againſt ſeveral ſteps taken in that affair (*q*). His Lordſhip having, for ſome time, been afflicted with the Gout and Stone [*Y*], it turned at laſt to a complication of diſtempers, which put an end to his moſt valuable life, at Fulham,

(*n*) Gooch, and Boyer, as above.

(*o*) Boyer, as above.

(*p*) Dr. Gooch, *ubi ſupra*.

(*q*) Hiſtory of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. 1735, p. 428, 429. 444, 445.

the ſubtilties of their ſocieties *de Propaganda Fide*, till the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge was erected. It was no ſmall trouble or expence, to find out fit Paſtors for that refractory and unbelieving part of mankind: men of integrity; for they could not be under his inſpection as to their manners and doctrine, in thoſe remote territories; and men of prudence and conſtancy, to reclaim the inhabitants from their old imbittered leaven of Independency, Antinomianiſm, and Quakeriſm; and to reduce the natives from being worſhippers of evil dæmons (25).

(25) Whitfeld, as above, p. 17. See alſo Dr. Gooch, *ubi ſupra*.

[*U*] *Though the metropolitan See of* Canterbury *was twice vacant in that reign, yet he ſtill continued Biſhop of* London.] The firſt time indeed, it is no great wonder he ſhould miſs of it, ſince he had for competitor Dr. Tillotſon, the glory of the Engliſh nation. But why he ſhould not be promoted to it at the ſecond vacancy is entirely unaccountable, all circumſtances conſidered. And no truer reaſon of it can be aſſigned than this, that it was thought, Dr. Teniſon would be more ſubſervient to all the Court Deſigns, than Biſhop Compton could be expected to be.

[*W*] *And though many things were ſaid to diſparage him at Court.*] For then, as Dr. Gooch obſerves (26), was the time for the moſt artful management. Honeſty and integrity will always ſtand in ſome men's way. The Biſhop of London could neither be corrupted nor removed. But whatever attempts were made againſt him, they moved him not; neither counted he his life dear, while he was doing God and his Church good ſervice.

(26) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*X*] *The letters that paſſed between his Lordſhip, and the univerſity of* Geneva *in* 1706.] What the ſubſtance of them was, we learn from the following paſſage in a letter from that Univerſity, to the Univerſity of Oxford, dated Feb. 5, 1706-7. *Summo gaudio nos perfudit quod de veſtra in nos charitate ſcribere dignatus eſt illuſtriſſimus Præſul Henricus Londinenſis Epiſcopus. Cum enim accepiſſemus, nos male audire, & Genevæ famam apud vos deteri; nomine veſtro nos docuit, præjudicatas eſſe & veteres opiniones nondum penitus depoſitas; & quæ in medium à quibuſdam allata erant nos non ſpectare, verum nonnullos qui eccleſiæ Anglicanæ diſciplinam & liturgiam detrectantes, nomen noſtrum præ ſe ferebant: illud vero à ſententia noſtra omnino diſſitum eſſe noverat vir illuſtriſſimus,* &c. i. e. 'The aſſurances we have received from the moſt illuſtrious 'Biſhop of London of your affection towards us, hath 'filled us with the utmoſt joy. For hearing that 'we were ill ſpoken of, and that *Geneva* was odious 'amongſt you, he hath aſſured us in your name, that 'thoſe were old prejudices, and wrong notions not 'yet laid aſide; and that what had been ſaid by 'ſome, did not concern us, but certain perſons, who 'diſſenting from, and railing at, the diſcipline and 'liturgy of the Church of England, made uſe of our 'name: but he knew us to be quite of another 'mind.'—The compliment paid to his Lordſhip by the Univerſity of Oxford, in their anſwer to this letter, is both very juſt and handſome. —*Quo nemo aut Eccleſiam Anglicanam paterno magis affectu fovet ac tuetur, aut exteras omnes, utcunque locorum intervallis diſſitas, arctiſſimo tamen purioris Fidei vinculo conjunctas charitate magis fraterna proſequitur.* i. e. 'Than 'whom, none hath a more paternal affection for the 'Church of England, nor a greater brotherly love 'for the foreign Churches, united by one cloſe bond 'of the true Faith, though never ſo far diſtant from 'each other (27).'

(27) Theſe Letters were printed at Oxford, 1707, fol.

[*Y*] *His Lordſhip having for ſome time, been afflicted with the Gout and Stone.*] 'The Gout and Stone 'will make the ſtouteſt heart to ſhrink; yet (ſays Dr. 'Gooch) in the midſt of theſe tormenting pains, we 'never heard the voice of murmur; thoſe ſhocks that 'would make a beholder tremble, did not make him 'repine. He never complained againſt God, nor 'grew touchy and peeviſh to his domeſtics; (almoſt 'every body's caſe in pain and ſickneſs.) He was 'firm and conſtant, quiet and good-natured to the 'end. When his laſt illneſs came upon him, he 'foreſaw and foretold what would be the event on 'it, with the ſame compoſedneſs as if he had been 'ſure of his recovery. He knew his ſummons could 'never be ſudden, becauſe he was never unprepared 'to receive it. He had long ago ſettled his worldly 'affairs: indeed he had little worldly affairs to 'ſettle; for he had remitted his treaſure to the other 'world, and ſecured an eternal reverſion there. He 'talked of dying with the ſame unconcernedneſs, (or 'with the ſame pleaſure) as if he was only taking a 'journey; and wiſhed for nothing but an eaſy paſſage:——which he obtained; being taken out of 'this world in the ſame eaſy and quiet manner as he 'had endeavoured to live, and wiſhed to die (28).'

(28) Gooch, *ubi ſupra.*

ham, on the 7th of July, 1713, in the eighty-firſt year of his age. His body was interred the 15th of the ſame month, in the church-yard of Fulham [*Z*], according to his particular direction (*r*). What few things he publiſhed, are mentioned in the note [*AA*]. As to his *perſonal* qualifications, he was, in all reſpects, one of the beſt-bred men in his time; courteous and affable; not full of words, but very converſable; and, as in his miniſterial offices, ſo in converſation too, willing and apt to teach. He was always eaſy of acceſs, and ready to do good offices. In his friendſhips he was conſtant, or rather inflexible. He was a man of the largeſt and moſt public ſpirit, and liked nothing that looked narrow or ſtingy. He had no little, artful, ſelfiſh deſigns. He was never ſeen to be afraid or concerned at danger. In the midſt of ſtorms he himſelf was calm. With regard to his *moral* character, he was a perſon of ſingular modeſty and humility; of great temperance and abſtinence; of exemplary piety [*BB*], and every virtue. Never did ſuch tender and ſuch manly paſſions meet before in the ſame breaſt! Never ſuch firmneſs and fortitude, mixed with ſo much meekneſs and condeſcenſion! But he was moſt particularly eminent for his unbounded charity and beneficence, being generous and charitable beyond example. He diſpoſed of money to every one who could make out (and it was very eaſy to make that out to him) that he was a proper object of charity. He anſwered literally the Apoſtle's character, poor enough himſelf, yet making many rich (*s*). He had divers ancient people, men and women, whom he ſupported by conſtant annual penſions; and ſeveral children at ſchool, at his own coſt and charge, beſides thoſe educated from children, and brought up to the Univerſities, to the ſea, or to trades, &c. (*t*). The poor of his pariſh were always attending his gate for their dole, and for the remains of his conſtant hoſpitable table, which was always furniſhed, and free to thoſe whom reſpect or buſineſs drew to him. His hall was frequented in the morning with petitioners of all ſorts (*u*). More particularly, he ſpared no coſt nor pains to ſerve the Church and Clergy. He bought many Advowſons out of Lay-hands [*CC*]. He gave great ſums for the rebuilding of Churches (*w*), and greater ſtill for the buying in Impropriations, and ſettling them on the poor Vicars [*DD*]. There was no poor honeſt Clergyman, or his widow, in want, but had his benevolence when applied for. Not any in the Reformed Churches abroad, to whom he was not a liberal patron, ſteward, and perpetual ſolicitor for. The French Refugees drank deep of his bounty for many years; ſo did the Iriſh in their day of affliction; and likewiſe the Scotch Epiſcopal party [*EE*] in their grievous perſecution (*x*). He was indeed upon ſome occaſions impoſed upon, and beſtowed his charity ſometimes upon forward and impudent perſons, who did not want or deſerve it; but that is frequently the caſe of generous well-meaning perſons, and muſt be owned to be a weakneſs

(*r*) Boyer's Annual Liſt, as above.

(*s*) 2 Cor. vi. 10.

(*t*) Dr. Gooch, *ubi ſupra*.

(*u*) Whitfeld, *ubi ſupra*, p. 19.

(*w*) As, St. Mary's, Colcheſter, Pleſhey, and others in his dioceſe.

(*x*) Whitfeld, *ubi ſupra*.

[*Z*] *His body was interred——in the church-yard of* Fulham.] According to his particular direction: for he uſed to ſay, 'that the church is for the living, 'and the church-yard for the dead.' So that his humility of life, and greatneſs of mind, above worldly pomp, followed him to his grave (29). Over it there is erected a handſome tomb, (ſurrounded with iron rails,) having only this ſhort inſcription. H. London. EI MH EN TΩ ΣTAYPΩ. M.DCC.XIII. The Greek words (Engl. *Save in the croſs*) are part of Galatians vi. 14. God forbid that I ſhould glory, *ſave in the croſs* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

(29) Boyer and Whitfeld, as above.

[*AA*] *What few things he publiſhed, are mentioned in the note.*] They are as follows. I. A Tranſlation from Italian, of 'The Life of Donna Olympia Maldachini, who governed the Church during the time of 'Innocent X. which was from the year 1644 to 1655.' Lond. 1667, written originally by Abbot Gualdi, and printed privately at Paris. II. A Tranſlation from French into Engliſh, of, 'The Jeſuits intrigues; 'with the private inſtructions of that Society to their 'Emiſſaries.' Lond. 1669. Nine ſheets in 4*to*. This was found in manuſcript in a Jeſuit's cloſet after his death: and both were ſent in a letter from a gentleman at Paris, to his friend in London. III. 'A Treatiſe of the Holy Communion.' Lond. 1677, 8*vo*. His name is not ſet to it. IV. 'A Letter to the 'Clergy of the Dioceſe of London, concerning Baptiſm, the Lord's Supper, Catechiſing. Dated 'April 25, 1679,' and printed on one ſide of a ſheet. V. Second Letter, concerning 1. The half Communion. 2. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 3. Prayers to Saints. Dated from Fulham, July 6, 1680, and printed alſo on one ſide of a ſheet of paper. VI. A third Letter, on Confirmation, and Viſitation of the Sick. From Fulham 1682. VII. A fourth Letter; upon Canon 54. Dated from Fulham, April 6, 1683. VIII. A fifth Letter, upon Canon 118. From Fulham, March 19, 1684. IX. A ſixth Letter, upon Canon 13. Fulham, April 18, 1685. They were all reprinted together in 1686, 12*mo*. under this title, *Epiſcopolia:* or, Letters of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Biſhop of London, to the Clergy of his Dioceſe (30). We are informed, that they were part of them printed without his knowledge; but not without a deſign of bringing more trouble upon his head from King James II. for his oppoſing Popery, as he doth in ſome of them (31). X. There is alſo, 'A Letter of his to a Clergyman in his Dio-'ceſe, concerning Non-Reſiſtance:' written ſoon after the Revolution, and inſerted in the Memoirs of the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell (32).

(30) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*, col. 969.

(31) Whitfeld, *ubi ſupra*, p. 11.

(32) Edit. Lond. 1718, 8*vo*. p. 208, &c.

[*BB*] *Of exemplary piety.*] No one was ſo ſtrict and regular in his private devotions; no one ſo conſtant and frequent in the ſervice of the Church. For, beſide the public offices morning and evening, his whole family began the day with the Litany, and ended it with ſelect prayers from the Liturgy: and at all theſe times he himſelf, when he was able, was a conſtant attendant (33).

(33) Dr. Gooch, *ubi ſupra*.

[*CC*] *He bought many Advowſons out of Lay-hands.*] As the Rectories of St. James, and All-Saints; and the Vicarage of St. Peter's, all in Colcheſter: the Rectories of Abberton Tendring in Eſſex, &c.

[*DD*] *For the buying in Impropiations, and ſettling them upon the poor Vicars.*] Particularly the Impropriation of Marks-Tay in Eſſex, for which he is ſaid to have given no leſs than ſeven hundred pounds; whereby he raiſed a very mean Curacy to a competent ſubſiſtence.

[*EE*] *And likewiſe the Scotch Epiſcopal party.*] He provided in particular, for numbers of the Scotch Epiſcopal Clergy, who fled into England at the Revolution. To Mr. Robert Falconer, for inſtance, he gave the Living of Dunmow; to Mr. Thomas Dunbar, that of Keldon, both in Eſſex; and the like in many other inſtances.

rather

rather than a fault [*FF*]. If we conſider him *as a Biſhop*, he was not only blameleſs, but a pattern of good behaviour in every reſpect. He applied himſelf more to his function than Biſhops had commonly done. He went much about his dioceſe, and preached [*GG*] and confirmed in many places (*y*). In order not to burden his Clergy with frequent viſitations, he was wont to hire houſes, and ſpend every ſummer in ſome new part of his dioceſe, where he rode out, and viſited in perſon the ſeveral churches, and parſonage, and vicarage-houſes. His method alſo was, in ſtated meetings with his Clergy, to propoſe ſome topic in divinity, on which they diſcourſed together in a ſerious, familiar, and judicious manner; which afterwards was ſummed up, and formed into a regular treatiſe. Many of theſe diſcourſes are publiſhed, under the title of *The Biſhop of* London's *Conferences*. At thoſe times, and indeed upon all other occaſions, he was extremely civil, affable, and courteous, full of candour and patience [*HH*]. In a word, by his death the Church

(y) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 392.

[*FF*] *And muſt be owned to be a weakneſs rather than a fault.*] We ſhall conclude this article of his charities, with theſe words of Dr. Whitfeld (34): 'To his Honour be it ſpoken! he died poor; having 'made the needy and miſerable his heirs all his life 'long. His contempt of gathering or leaving riches 'out of the patrimony of the Church, was worthy of 'his great mind and ſtation. And he died with that 'honour, with which he had always lived.'—We muſt not forget to obſerve, that he left the third part of his large and well-choſen library to the Corporation of Colcheſter. But, that noble gift was ſlighted, ſo that his Lordſhip's heir was forced to diſpoſe of it otherwiſe. The two other parts of his library he left to St. Paul's Cathedral, and to Sion-college.

(34) Sermon, as above, p. 23.

[*GG*] *And preached.*] One author tells us (35), that 'his preaching was without much life or learning: for he had not gone through his ſtudies with 'the exactneſs that was fitting.' But another who knew him better, gives the following account. 'He 'ſpake with the affection and authority of a ſpiritual father; always above the affectation of popular 'eloquence, but in the power of the Spirit, and primitive ſimplicity, with the majeſty of plainneſs, in 'the utmoſt ſedateneſs and good judgment. His 'weighty reaſon needed not to be ſet off with trappings. The love with which his people met his 'doctrine, made it ſuperfluous to ſpeak to their paſſions ſo eaſily raiſed and ſo ſoon ſinking: he ſpake 'to convince their underſtanding. His deliberate 'way of utterance, gave them leiſure to receive and 'fix his notions, and brought forth nothing but with 'maturity of thought, and exactneſs of judgment.—'His knowledge and learning had been well cultivated in his privater ſtations in the Church, and 'particularly aſſiſted by his friendſhip with Dr. 'Rich. Alleſtry, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford. His books had always attended him in his 'moſt youthful years; nor were they neglected to the 'laſt in his fulneſs of buſineſs. His library was an 'evidence of his knowledge in divine things eſpecially, and alſo in human learning, and in the modern 'languages (36).'

(35) Burnet, as above, p. 392.

(36) Whitfeld, as above, p. 11, 12.

[*HH*] *Full of candour and patience.*] 'None of 'his Clergy ever felt his diſpleaſure, but for faults 'which carried their own mark and evidence. Not 'any difference of opinion in State-matters, did ever 'eſtrange him from a deſerving man: that which 'was good and virtuous in the ſon, he laid hold on, 'and cheriſhed with a fatherly tenderneſs, and paſſed 'by his miſtaken judgment in that which was amiſs. 'But in thoſe that were bad, no intereſt, no being 'attached to the ſame cauſe with himſelf, could ever 'make him overlook their faults. This was true 'moderation! candour and charity to good men of all 'opinions, and firmneſs to his own juſt principles (37).'

(37) *Ibid.* p. 20.

M.

*** [Though Dr. Henry Compton was undoubtedly a moſt excellent prelate, who deſerved to be ſpoken of in great terms of applauſe, it may, nevertheleſs, be queſtioned, whether his praiſes are always delivered in terms ſufficiently reſtricted and qualified. With the beſt intentions, the mind of the Biſhop does not appear to have been in all reſpects duely enlarged. As a teſtimony of this, we may mention his procuring a Royal Letter, to forbid the introduction of new and unuſual terms into the controverſy concerning the Trinity (38). When the good prelate was obliged ſo conſcientiouſly and nobly to oppoſe James the ſecond, he then found, by experience, how dangerouſly the King's authority might be exerted, when applied to matters of religion.

(38) See note [*I*].

In Mr. Macpherſon's collection of original papers, are two letters of Dr. Compton's, written in 1688. The firſt was to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſiring to know why the Biſhops were ſummoned to attend his Majeſty. It doth not appear to whom the ſecond letter was addreſſed; but it deſerves to be inſerted, as it contains a diſavowal, on the part of our prelate and his brethren, of their having invited over the Prince of Orange.

"My Lord, November, 1688.

"Having ſome neceſſary buſineſs in Eſſex which calls me away to-morrow for two or three days, I thought it my duty to give you this account.

"When I waited upon the King, by his command, on Wedneſday morning, the firſt of November, he told me that he had ſent for me, when he had nothing but the declaration of the States of Holland. But that the declaration of the Prince of Orange was now come to his hands, out of which he read to me that ſhort paragraph, of the Lords Temporal and Spiritual, inviting his Highneſs over; upon which I told him, I was confident the reſt of the Biſhops would as readily anſwer in the negative as myſelf; and his Majeſty was pleaſed then to ſay, he did believe us all innocent. Next he told me, he thought it requiſite we ſhould make ſome public declaration of our innocence in this matter, and likewiſe an abhorrence. I then deſired to ſee the declaration. But he refuſed. I told him this matter ought to be conſidered. "Every one," ſays he, "is to anſwer for himſelf. But I will ſend for my Lord of Canterbury, who ſhall call you together."

"On Friday, the ſecond of November, I waited upon the King with my Lord of Canterbury and others; when his Majeſty told him of the Prince's declaration, and made the Lord Preſton read it. Then he put the queſtion round, which was anſwered in the negative. The King deſired ſome ſuch denial ſhould be publiſhed, ſaying it would be for his ſervice. But he would not allow time to ſend for the Biſhops at a diſtance. So his Grace told him, he would ſend for thoſe in and about town to conſult about it. Upon which, the King repeated twice, that we ſhould add our diſlike; which would be very much for his ſervice (39)."

(39) Macpherſon's original Papers, vol. i. p. 277.

Notwithſtanding James the Second's importunity, the Biſhops could not be prevailed upon to vindicate themſelves in a public manner; and the following reaſons, which they alledged for their refuſal, reflect great credit on their wiſdom and diſcretion;

"Firſt, We humbly beſeech your Majeſty to receive what we offer in a favourable ſenſe, ſince we have done nothing that can juſtly deſerve miſconſtruction.

"Secondly, We humbly conceive, that a general clauſe in a declaration not avowed nor publiſhed, is not a ſufficient ground for a man or number of men to vindicate themſelves, as if they were concerned in it. And further, if this declaration ſhould be owned and publiſhed by the Prince of Orange, we beg leave to offer it, as our opinion to your Majeſty, that it would be a new thing and no good precedent, to put it in the power of a foreign and general accuſation to bring your Majeſty's ſubjects in particular, to a vindication of themſelves, as if they were regularly accuſed and legally tried, for a criminal correſpondence.

"Thirdly,

Church loſt a moſt excellent Biſhop; the kingdom a brave and able Stateſman; the Proteſtant religion, at home and abroad, its ornament and refuge; and the whole Chriſtian world, an eminent example of virtue and piety (z). His Lordſhip was never married.

(z) Dr. Gooch.

" Thirdly, if your Majeſty ſhould think fit to make it puniſhable to read or communicate the declaration; then, by making ſuch an addreſs as is required, we ſhould do an act grounded upon a thing which muſt not be produced; and conſequently we ſhall not be at liberty to alledge the reaſon of our doing it, which muſt unavoidably expoſe us, not only to cenſure, but ſuſpicion.

" Fourthly, As we have in all times adhered to our duty and allegiance, we are the leſs willing to do any thing now, which may diſtinguiſh us as men marked with a particular character of ſuſpicion, ſince we think our loyalty leſs blemiſhed by not being called in queſtion, than it would be by the cleareſt vindication that can be made of it upon this occaſion.

" Fifthly, We beg leave to obſerve to your Majeſty, that by an addreſs from a few of us, who are now in town, without the concurrence of the greater number who are abſent, it would look to the world, as if the Biſhops (who we hope are very well united) were of different opinions; or that we, who are now here, had more particular reaſons of a vindication than the reſt; which makes it reaſonable for us to be unwilling to come within the danger of ſuch an interpretation.

" Sixthly, We conſider that the clauſe in the declaration joineth the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, ſo that, if it has any meaning, it muſt intend, that there is a concurrence of many of both orders to invite them to this attempt, which would make it more imperfect for us, even though all the Biſhops were here to make a ſeparate vindication, where the accuſation is joined and comprehends the Temporal Lords in it. So that, if any notice is to be taken of it, it can be done no where ſo naturally or with ſo great effect as in Parliament; which, whenever your Majeſty ſhall think fit to call, we reſolve to do our duty, and to employ our utmoſt endeavours for the good of the Church and State, and for preventing the miſeries which now ſeem to threaten theſe diſtracted kingdoms, and to acquit ourſelves in all things which ſhall be there tranſacted, as becomes, &c (40)."

(40) *Ibid.*

The preceding Letter, ſo far as it relates to the Biſhop of London, doth not at all coincide with the accounts which are uſually given of his conduct, previouſly to the Revolution. He is generally repreſented by our hiſtorians as one of thoſe noble perſons who concerted meaſures for the Prince of Orange's coming over to England. Burnet, who was likely to be well acquainted with the matter, poſitively aſſerts the fact, and farther informs us, that it was the Earl of Danby who prevailed upon the Biſhop to engage in the ſcheme (41). Sir John Dalrymple's papers confirm the ſame account. We there find a copy of the aſſociation, by which the Prince of Orange was invited to undertake an expedition into this kingdom, for the purpoſe of delivering it from the evils with which it was threatened. The aſſociation was ſigned by ſeven perſons, one of whom is expreſsly ſaid to have been the Biſhop of London. Indeed, the cyphers only of the aſſociators are annexed to the paper; but Mr. Sidney, who was one of them, and who wrote the original with his own hand, could not poſſibly be miſtaken in his explanation of the names to whom the ſignatures belonged (42). There is a letter of our Prelate's, written to the Prince of Orange about a month after the date of the aſſociation (43), in which there is a paſſage that may be conſtrued as referring to that tranſaction. The letter is as follows:

(41) Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. i. p. 495. Third edition.

(42) Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland, vol. ii. Appendix. Part 1ſt, p. 228—231.

(43) It is dated June 30, 1688.

" SIR, July 28, 1688.

The honour your Highneſs did me in laying the charge upon me, to communicate to my Lords the Biſhops how much you were concerned in their behalf, had its juſt effect upon them: for they are highly ſenſible of the great advantage both they and the Church have, by the firmneſs of ſo powerful a friend; and as I dare undertake they ſhall never make an ill uſe of it, ſo as I am very ſure they will entirely rely upon it on all juſt occaſions. I dare likewiſe take upon me to aſſure you, that both they that ſuffered, and the reſt who concurred with them, are ſo well ſatisfied of the juſtneſs of their cauſe, that they will lay down their lives, before they will in the leaſt depart from it.

I ſhould ſay ſomething of myſelf, *but I had ſo lately an opportunity of making my mind known to you*, that it can be to no purpoſe to ſay more now to you, than that I am under all the obligations in the world of approving myſelf, Sir,

Your Highneſs's moſt devoted and faithful,

H. LONDON (44)."

(44) Dalrymple's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 238.

What can we ſay to evidence ſo apparently contradictory? Shall we call in queſtion the authenticity of any of the papers from which it is derived; or ſhall we ſuppoſe that Biſhop Compton, being in the preſence of the King, and ſurrounded by his brethren, was oppreſſed by his timidity? If the latter ſuppoſition ſhould be made, every wiſe and good man will allow for the peculiarity and difficulty of his ſituation. The letter we have given from Mr. Macpherſon's publication, is taken from Tanner's collection, preſerved at Oxford. In Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, there are four letters from our Prelate to the Prince of Orange (45), beſides that which we have inſerted; but as they contain only general teſtimonies of his attachment to the Prince, they do not require to be particularly noticed. The Ducheſs Dowager of Marlborough, in the account of her conduct, has related the circumſtances of the Princeſs Anne of Denmark's quitting the Court, under the guidance of Biſhop Compton, in a manner which entirely correſponds with Burnet's narration of the ſame event, in note [*R*] (46).

(45) Dalrymple, *ubi ſupra*, p. 199. 209, 210, 211. 334.

(46) Ducheſs of Marlborough's Account of her Conduct, p. 16—18.

Our predeceſſor, Mr. Morant, ſeems angry that, after the death of Tillotſon, Dr. Teniſon was raiſed to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury, in preference to Compton. But it ſhould be conſidered that Teniſon, who was a very learned man, and of a moſt reſpectable character, was in himſelf highly worthy of the promotion; beſides which, his being a more determined whig rendered him at that period fitter for the ſtation. It is certain that the Biſhop of London, notwithſtanding the zeal he had ſhewn for the Prince of Orange, was greatly attached to Tory and High-Church principles. " His oppoſition to the Court, " ſays Dr. Birch, after the Revolution, in concur- " rence with the Tory party, began after he had been " ſet aſide in the diſpoſal of the Archbiſhopric to Dr. " Tillotſon, and it was ſtill heightened upon the " promotion of Dr. Teniſon to that See; and in the " reign of Queen Anne, he always ſupported thoſe " meaſures which were moſt agreeable to her Ma- " jeſty's own inclination and principles (47)."

(47) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 186.

Though Biſhop Compton was not deſtitute of learning, his literature was not of the firſt rate; and the few works he publiſhed cannot rank him, in this reſpect, with the great Divines of the age in which he lived. The argument alledged, at the end of note [*GG*], in ſupport of the extent of his knowledge, from the books contained in his library, is but of little force. A man's erudition is not always proportioned to the excellence of his library. We do not mean, however, by this remark, to controvert the Biſhop's having had a conſiderable acquaintance both with divine and human learning; and we ſincerely join, at the ſame time, with our Biographical Predeceſſor, in giving our ſuffrage to his eminent worth. Mr. Granger concludes his account of our Prelate with obſerving, that he was a true ſon and brave champion of the Church, and a moſt munificent benefactor to it; and that whatever imperfections there might be in his character, he was allowed to be much a Gentleman, and no leſs a Chriſtian. The ſame agreeable Biographer has related an anecdote concerning him, which we have not met with in any other author. King James, diſcourſing with Dr. Compton on ſome tender point, was ſo little pleaſed with his anſwers, that he told him, " he talked more " like a Colonel than a Biſhop." To this he replied, " that his Majeſty did him honour in taking notice of his having formerly drawn his ſword in defence of the Conſtitution; and that he ſhould do the ſame again, if he lived to ſee it neceſſary (48).] K.

(48) Granger's Biographical Hiſt. of England, vol. iv. p. 284. Second edition.

CONANT (JOHN), a very learned, pious, and eminent Engliſh Divine, in the XVIIth century. He was deſcended from a very good family, that had flouriſhed for many years in the county of Devon, but which was originally French (*a*). His father was Robert Conant, and his mother's name was Elizabeth, perſons of great integrity, having a competent, though not a large fortune, ſo that he had no reaſon to be aſhamed of his family, nor had a certain writer any need to have troubled himſelf with an apology about it (*b*); and one, who was much better informed, and more nearly concerned, hath, with great modeſty, ſet this point in the true light in which it ought to be known to poſterity (*c*) [*A*]. He was born October 18, 1608, at Yeatenton, a ſmall village in Bicton pariſh, in the ſouth-eaſt part of the county before-mentioned (*d*); and giving very early and lively tokens of his inclination to learning, his uncle, the Rev. Mr. John Conant, Rector of Lymington, near Ilcheſter, in Somerſetſhire, charged himſelf in a particular manner with the care of his education; and having kept him for ſome time at the free-ſchool at Ilcheſter, put him afterwards under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Branker, a very laborious and learned ſchool-maſter in the neighbourhood; and, while he was at both places, gave him occaſionally whatever helps he wanted in his ſtudies, with great readineſs and pleaſure (*e*). His youth promiſed all that his riper years produced: his diſpoſition was always mild, moderate, and modeſt, ſo that he contented himſelf rather with the ſatisfaction ariſing from the poſſeſſion of knowledge, than affected to diſplay it. In Lent Term, 1626, his uncle carried him to Oxford, and entered him of Exeter-College, of which he had been himſelf nine years a Fellow, placing him under a very ſtrict, pious, and learned tutor, Mr. Lawrence Bodley, B. D. (*f*). He ſtudied there with great vigour and application, and, in a ſhort time, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as one of the ſhrewdeſt diſputants in this College, then one of the moſt flouriſhing in that Univerſity. He was alſo very remarkable for the purity and perſpicuity of his Latin ſtyle; and of the Greek he was ſo perfect a maſter, as often to diſpute publicly in that language in the ſchools; which extraordinary accompliſhments recommended him highly to Dr. John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-College, and the King's Profeſſor of Divinity (*g*) [*B*]. It is very certain, that he took his degrees regularly, though the times, for what reaſon it is not eaſy to ſay, are omitted by the Oxford Hiſtorian (*h*); and ſo pious and prudent was the whole courſe of his life, that, without any other intereſt than his merit, he was choſen Probationer June 30, 1632, and became actual Fellow of Exeter-College, July 3, 1633 (*i*). He was alſo a very eminent tutor, and, in that capacity, had for his pupils ſeveral young gentlemen of the beſt families in his county, whom he educated with equal care, in ſound learning, and true piety (*k*). Upon the breaking out of the civil war, moſt of the ſtudents under his care leaving the Univerſity, he judged it moſt convenient for him to retire alſo; which he accordingly did in 1642, but certainly without any deſign of forſaking his College, as appeared by his leaving in his chamber a large and well-choſen collection of books, of which, in his abſence, he was plundered (*l*). Some ſhort time before he quitted the Univerſity, he had taken Deacon's orders, and had applied himſelf with very great diligence to the ſtudy of the Oriental languages, and whatever elſe might properly qualify him for the diſcharge of the miniſterial function, for which he had always a high reverence, and which he afterwards diſcharged, for many years, with great piety and zeal, and no leſs wiſdom and learning (*m*) [*C*]. He retired firſt to Lymington, his uncle's living

(*a*) Life of John Conant, D. D. by his ſon John Conant, LL. D. MSS. p. 5.

(*b*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.

(*c*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 5.

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 912.

(*e*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 6.

(*f*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 912. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 7.

(*g*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(*h*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 912.

(*i*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 8.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(*l*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 9.

(*m*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 912.

[*A*] *In which it ought to be known to poſterity.*] We are told by the Reverend Mr. Prince what follows, with reſpect to the deſcent of this worthy Perſon (1). 'He was not, ſays he, deſcended indeed from great, 'but from good parentage, more eminent for their 'piety than gentility, which in the eſtimation of 'God and good men, is the trueſt nobility. How-'ever, we are not to eſteem him as ſprung *ex fæce 'virûm*, from the dregs of the Plebeians: no; his name 'hath long flouriſhed, and his relations lived in good 'eſtate and reputation in thoſe parts.' Dr. John Conant, the ſon of our Divine, gives us the plain Engliſh of all this in the following words (2): 'He 'was the eldeſt ſon of Robert Conant, and Elizabeth 'his wife, who were perſons of great integrity. 'Robert was one of the ſons of Richard Conant, and 'Agnes his wife, who lived at Budley, near Yeaten-'ton, and were much eſteemed for their exemplary 'piety. Richard was the ſon of John Conant, de-'ſcended from ingenious parents of Gittiſham, near 'Honiton, in this county; whoſe anceſtors, for 'many generations, had been fixed there, but were 'originally of French extraction.'

(1) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.

(2) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 5.

[*B*] *Recommended him highly to Dr. John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college, and the King's Profeſſor of Divinity.*] We have an account of this fact from both the writers before-mentioned; but the latter gives it in the cleareſt and moſt intelligent manner (3). 'Theſe his excellent endowments, ſays he, ſet off by 'a life every way regular and unblameable, could 'not eſcape ſo vigilant a governor, and ſo known an 'encourager of learning and virtue, as the reverend 'and learned Dr. John Prideaux, then Rector of 'Exeter-college; who, by an alluſion to his name '*Conanti, nihil eſt difficile*; (this, according to the 'humour of thoſe times, is a playing upon words; 'for, in one ſenſe, it implies, to him who endeavours, 'every thing is eaſy; and in another, there is nothing 'difficult to Conant;) ſignified his opinion of him: 'and he once ſaid of him, Jack Conant *will have my 'place*. Dr. Prideaux was then Regius Profeſſor of 'Divinity in the Univerſity, as well as Rector of the 'College; both which eminent places were, in pro-'ceſs of time, conferred on Dr. Conant.'

(3) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 7.

[*C*] *And no leſs wiſdom and learning.*] We have mentioned in the text the excellence he acquired in the Latin and Greek languages, to which he ſoon after added as perfect an acquaintance with the Hebrew and Syriac Tongues; and he was alſo a good proficient in Chaldee and Arabic (4); all which he thought neceſſary to the thorough underſtanding of the holy ſcriptures; in reading which in their originals, and in comparing them with each other, and with the beſt commentators, he ſpent ſeveral years, by which

(4) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

ing in Somerſetſhire, not in Hampſhire, as Mr. Prince would have it; but finding his worthy relation forced from thence, he officiated for him as long as he could continue there with ſafety; but, after being rifled of all he had, and kept for ſome time a priſoner, he found it high time for him alſo to repair to London, where, having found his uncle ſettled in the church of St. Botolph, Alderſgate, he for ſome time aſſiſted him in his paſtoral duties (*n*). While he was at Lymington, he was conſtituted by the Parliament one of the Aſſembly of Divines (*o*); but I believe he ſat amongſt them, if ever, very ſeldom, ſince it is certain that he never took the Covenant. In order to avoid this, and other things not agreeable to his conſcience, he willingly accepted the offer made to him, of being domeſtic Chaplain to the Lord Chandos; in whoſe family he lived at Harefield, or, as it is commonly called, Harvill, near Uxbridge, in Middleſex, where his piety, learning, and exemplary life, gained him many friends, who would have procured him a much better ſettlement, his income there being but fourſcore pounds a year, the beſt part of which he beſtowed in charitable uſes (*p*); but the privacy in which he paſſed his days, and his great apprehenſion of charging his conſcience with the tranſactions of thoſe times, induced him to refuſe the favours offered him, and in particular a good living in his own country, from Mr. Duke, of Otterton (*q*). He carried this juſt and religious principle ſtill farther; for perceiving the effects of the Parliament viſitation of the Univerſity of Oxford, where the Solemn League and Covenant was preſſed upon all the members of the Univerſity, rather than break in upon his own innocence, by ſubmitting to a power, and taking an oath, both which wanted a legal authority, and rather than abjure the good order that was eſtabliſhed in this Church ſince the perfecting of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, or combine to promote a civil war, all which were thought to be virtually contained in that oath, he determined to quit his relation to Exeter-College (*r*), which he did, by reſigning his fellowſhip, September 27, 1647 (*s*). This proceeding of his, as it was equally candid and conſcientious, ſo the bare relation of it muſt ſufficiently refute a very groundleſs calumny inſerted in the work (*t*) of the Oxford Hiſtorian, concerning which the reader will be better informed in the notes [*D*]. While he lived as Chaplain to Lord Chandos, he preached a voluntary lecture, upon a week-day, at Uxbridge, where he had always a very numerous audience; and though this was purely from a principle of doing good, and not with any view of being talked of and known in the world, which no man of his abilities ever ſought leſs, yet it ſerved to keep alive that great reputation which he had acquired at the Univerſity; and of which the members of Exeter-College were ſo mindful, that upon the death of the learned Dr. George Hakewill, their Rector, in the month of April, 1649, there was a remarkable conteſt about chuſing either his uncle or him for his ſucceſſor (*u*): but Mr. John Conant, ſenior, who was then ſettled in the pariſh of St. Thomas, in Colcheſter, abſolutely declining that preferment, the Fellows thereupon unanimouſly choſe Mr. John Conant, on the 7th of June following; and on the 29th of the ſame month, he was admitted to that honourable office (*w*), which he executed with great prudence and fidelity, and with equal reputation to himſelf, and advantage to that

(*n*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 10.

(*o*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 198.

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(*q*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 11.

(*r*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912.

(*s*) As appears from that date in the College Regiſter.

(*t*) Hiſt. & Antiquat. Oxon. lib. i. p. 397.

(*u*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 14.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912.

which he became ſo thoroughly maſter of that ſort of learning, as to appear with equal luſtre in the pulpit and in the chair (5): nor was there any man of his time who was then deemed to be more remarkable for being a ſolid and ſound expoſitor, or for clearing the true ſenſe of ſuch texts as were miſinterpreted by the Socinians and other reputed heretics (6).

(5) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76.

(6) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 27.

[*D*] *Will be better informed in the notes.*] The famous Mr. Anthony Wood informs us (7), that the Rev. Mr. Henry Tozer, Fellow and Sub-rector of Exeter-college, was ſummoned before the Parliament viſitors on the 21ſt of March, 1647, and by them queſtioned on eleven heads of offences by him committed in the management of the College; for which he was by theſe viſitors afterwards expelled, and flying into Holland, was there taken into the ſervice of the Engliſh merchants as their Chaplain, and in that poſt died at Rotterdam, Sept. 11, 1650. He farther adds, that theſe heads of accuſation were tranſmitted to the viſitors by Mr. John Conant, Mr. Anthony Clifford, Mr. John Martin, and Mr. Robert Hancock. This is a very heavy and a very extraordinary charge, which, at firſt ſight, ſeems to agree but very indifferently with Mr. Conant's known character, who, of all things, hated to concern himſelf in quarrels or diſputes. But the following refutation of this charge is ſo clear, ſo full, and ſo unanſwerable, that it muſt certainly ſatisfy every man that reads it (8). 'His 'reſignation in the College regiſter bears date the '27th of Sept. 1647. That he had never ſeen 'Oxford from the end of the year 1642, till June, '1649, I find expreſsly under his own hand-writing, 'in a book of accounts relating to his pupils and to 'his Oxford affairs, which I here particularly men'tion, in order to rectify a miſtake in a late author, 'who, in his book, intitled Hiſtoria & Antiquitates 'Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, reckons Mr. Conant 'among the Fellows of Exeter-college who accuſed 'Mr. H. Tozer, their Sub-rector, to the parliamen'tary viſitors; whereas Mr. Tozer was not called be'fore the viſitors till the 21ſt of March, 1647, as 'may be ſeen in the regiſter of the proceedings at 'that viſitation, now in the public library at Ox'ford, which was near half a year after Mr. Conant 'had ſent his reſignation to the College. Beſides the 'matters laid to Mr. Tozer's charge, as this very au'thor has repreſented them, were ſuch as could not 'poſſibly fall under the notice of any one who had 'not lived in the College very lately, which Mr. 'Conant had not done for more than five years paſt. 'But, had he been ſtill Fellow there, and reſident, 'yet it is very unlikely that he ſhould join in an ac'cuſation againſt Mr. Tozer, whoſe name he would 'never mention without reſpect: neither can it be 'thought, that he would accuſe any one, though 'never ſo faulty and unſtatutable to thoſe viſitors, 'whoſe power he would not acknowledge, and to 'whom he himſelf was obnoxious, for not having 'taken the Covenant.' It hence appears, with how great caution the facts advanced in that book of Mr. Wood's particularly, ought to be received, and in how great need they ſtand of ſome authority to ſupport them before they meet with allowance and credit.

(7) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon, lib. i. p. 397.

(8) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 12, 13.

ſociety

ſociety which had given him ſo ſignal a proof of their affection and eſteem (x) [E]. In a very ſhort time, however, after his being thus ſettled, he was in danger of being driven out of all public employment again, and this by the Parliament's enjoining what was called the *Engagement*, which he did not take within the time preſcribed, but had a fortnight given him to conſider farther of it. After having maturely deliberated upon the ſubject a month longer (y), he ſubmitted, but under a declaration, ſubſcribed at the ſame time with the *Engagement*, which, as it in fact enervated that inſtrument entirely (z), is at once a demonſtrative proof of his great integrity, and of the general reputation he muſt have had to procure his ſubſcription to be received upon thoſe terms [F]. This difficulty being got over, he continued to diſcharge his office of Rector of Exeter-college with univerſal approbation; and though his labours therein were both conſtant and great, yet, being in virtue of that office Vicar of Kidlington, a large pariſh four miles from Oxford, he, for ſome time, officiated there in perſon, going thither on a Saturday, and preaching twice on Sunday, and catechizing the youth, leaving the care of the pariſh, during the week, to Mr. Rumbald, a very worthy and learned man (a), who kept a ſchool there. But finding his abſence from College detrimental to its diſcipline, he afterwards took care to have a ſufficient Curate at his living, to whom he allowed three-fourths of its revenue (b). After he was thus fixed at Oxford, he preached a voluntary lecture at Allhallow's-church every Friday morning at ſeven o'clock; almoſt every Sunday he preached at St. Michael's, and every other Sunday, during the ſummer half-year, in the afternoon, at St. Mary Magdalen's, in the ſuburbs; and this not only without deſiring, but even without accepting

(x) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(y) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 16, 17.

(z) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

(a) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 16.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 24, 25.

[E] *So ſignal a proof of their affection and eſteem.*] At the time Mr. Conant was admitted to the Rectory of Exeter-college, the ſtate of its revenue was very indifferent. The Collegians had contracted conſiderable debts by aſſiſting the King, while he remained at Oxford; and other misfortunes had contributed to heighten both the confuſion and diſtreſs of their affairs (9). Mr. Conant ſet about the removing of theſe inconveniencies with equal ſagacity and diligence: he put the method of receiving the College revenues upon the beſt footing poſſible, and, having adjuſted, in an equitable manner, the order in which their incumbrances were to be paid off, the very firſt notice of his ſcheme revived the credit of the College. In point of diſcipline, during the adminiſtration of Dr. Holland and Dr. Prideaux, it fell ſhort of none in the Univerſity; but that being afterwards broken in upon, the ſociety gradually declined, and was in a very low ſtate when he became Rector. He ſet about the correction of thoſe diſorders with the greateſt vigour and vigilance; and he perſiſted in that courſe with the utmoſt ſteadineſs and courage; did much by exhortation and encouragement; more by reproof and an unrelaxed ſtrictneſs in puniſhments; moſt of all by the brightneſs of his own example. He was conſtant in his attendance at public prayers; he expounded the holy ſcriptures learnedly, critically, and practically; he took care that the meaneſt ſervants in the College ſhould be inſtructed, and, for that purpoſe, catechized them often in his own apartment. He had a watchful eye over the ſcholars, more eſpecially ſuch as were intended for the Miniſtry; he enquired carefully into the progreſs of their ſtudies, and was ſtill ſtricter with regard to their morals; his way of puniſhing was by exerciſes, and not pecuniary mulcts; for he underſtood not making parent's pockets pay for their children's offences (10). He took no leſs pains with the tutors, to whom he frequently remonſtrated the great truſt that was repoſed in them, the obligations they were under to diſcharge it, and the folly of expecting any proficiency in their pupils, if they were at all wanting in their duty. But above all, he was remarkably juſt and candid in the affair of elections, where his intereſt, as Rector, could be procured no otherwiſe than by merit; and, where that appeared, his influence was ſure to be exerted as far as legally it might. What the effects were of this ſo painful and diligent diſcharge of his duty, may be learned from the following paragraph in his ſon's memoirs, out of which the foregoing particulars were extracted (11).

(9) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 15.

(10) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(11) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 23.

'Exeter-college flouriſhed ſo much under the government of Mr. Conant, that the ſtudents were many more than could be lodged within the walls. They crowded in here from all parts of the nation, and ſome from beyond ſea, where the fame of its diſcipline had reached. It would be tedious to enumerate thoſe eminent perſons, both in Church and State, thoſe learned and good men who were bred up under his care. In his time it afforded a Vice-chancellor, a Proctor, a Doctor of the chair in Divinity, a Moral Philoſophy and Rhetoric Reader to the Univerſity, a Preſident to St. John's, a Principal to Jeſus, and a Divinity Profeſſor to Magdalen-college; not to mention ſuch as were tranſplanted thence to ſcholarſhips and fellowſhips in other Colleges, many of whom were men of eminency afterwards.'

[F] *To procure his ſubſcription to be received upon thoſe terms.*] If, as the moſt judicious critics agree, the capital uſe of Biography, not compoſed by barely tacking together the circumſtances of a life, ſo as to render it a mere ſkeleton of facts and dates, is to inform and inſtruct by example; then, without doubt, there is nothing ſo much worthy of obſervation, in what is preſerved to us, of the conduct of this worthy perſon, as the ſteadineſs and integrity he ſhewed in thoſe times of confuſion, when, notwithſtanding the hypocritical ſhew of religion, there was as great a defection from virtue as in any of which we have authentic records (12). His ſon gives us thoſe particulars relative to this matter, which we have inſerted in the text; but, as to the reſtrictions, with which, after delaying ſo long, he at laſt ſigned the Engagement, we owe it entirely to Mr. Prince, that they have not been buried in oblivion. The terms of the Engagement were (13),

(12) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 17.

(13) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

'You ſhall promiſe to be true and faithful to the Common-Wealth of England, as it is now eſtabliſhed, without King or Houſe or Lords.'

Dr. Conant's declaration before the Commiſſioners when he took the Engagement (14).

(14) Taken from an attested copy of the original by Mr. D. G.

Being required to ſubſcribe, I humbly premiſe,

I. 'That I be not hereby underſtood to approve of what hath been done in order unto, or under this preſent government, or the government itſelf; nor will I be thought to condemn it: they being things above my reach, and I not knowing the grounds of the proceedings.

II. 'That I do not bind myſelf to do any thing contrary to the word of God.

III. 'That I do not ſo hereby bind myſelf; but, that if God ſhall remarkably call me to ſubmit to any other power, I may be at liberty to obey that call, notwithſtanding the preſent engagement.

IV. 'In this ſenſe, and in this ſenſe only, I do promiſe to be true and faithful to the preſent government, as it is now eſtabliſhed, without King or Houſe of Lords (15).

(15) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 35, 36, 37.

JOHN CONANT.'

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any recompence when offered (*c*). October 28, 1652, he received Prieſt's orders, at Saliſbury; and (*d*) May the 29th, 1654, he was admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*e*). In the month of December, the ſame year, upon the deceaſe of Dr. Joſhua Hoyle, he became Divinity Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Oxford, where his lectures were received with univerſal applauſe, by a very numerous and learned audience, by whom, though often and warmly importuned, his modeſty was ſo great, that he could never be prevailed with to publiſh them (*f*). In 1657 he accepted the impropriate Rectory of Abergely, near St. Aſaph, in Denbighſhire, as ſome ſatisfaction for the benefices formerly annexed to the Divinity Chair, which he never enjoyed. This acceptance of his was very beneficial to the Curate, whoſe ſalary he augmented twenty pounds a year, gave him other encouragements beſides, and contributed largely to the relief of the poor, though the whole income of the living was but one hundred and twenty pounds a year (*g*). Upon the reſtoration of Epiſcopacy, knowing that this rectory had been anciently annexed to the Biſhopric of St. Aſaph, he not only immediately quitted it to Dr. Griffith, upon his coming to that See, but allowed him alſo to receive the laſt year's profits (*h*). On the 9th of October, 1657, he was admitted Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, to the great joy, and no leſs benefit, of that learned body (*i*). This high dignity he kept till the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1660, during which ſpace he corrected many abuſes, regulated the public exerciſes in a manner highly ſerviceable to the promoting ſolid learning, was very inſtrumental in procuring Mr. Selden's large and valuable collection of books for the public library, and had a great hand in defeating a deſign, to which the Protector, Oliver, gave his conſent, for erecting a kind of Univerſity at Durham (*k*). The moſt extraordinary thing of all that occurred during his adminiſtration, was preventing ſome eager perſons in the Univerſity from ſacrificing their own rights and privileges, by a petition to the Protector Richard's Parliament; which was the more honourable to Dr. Conant, as it was his own act entirely; and as his firmneſs in the oppoſition procured its ſucceſs, ſo far as to defeat this pernicious project, which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities (*l*) [*G*]. Upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. Dr. Conant, as Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, came up to London, attended by the Proctors, and a great number of the principal members of that illuſtrious and learned body; and, June 15, 1660 (*m*), had the honour to be introduced to his Majeſty, to whom he would have made his ſpeech kneeling; but the King roſe himſelf from his ſeat, and commanded him to riſe; after which he made a ſuccinct and elegant oration in Latin, which is unfortunately loſt, and preſented his Majeſty with a book of verſes, written by the members of the Univerſity, and amongſt them ſome of his own, which have been deſervedly commended, as having in them a true ſpirit of poetry, a juſt ſtrain of panegyric, and a noble concern for religion (*n*) [*H*]. On the 25th of March, 1661, the King iſſued a commiſſion for

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 24, 25.

(*d*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 25, 26.

(*e*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Wood's Faſti Oxon, vol. ii. col. 106.

(*f*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 27. Ayloffe's Ancient and Preſent State of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 308.

(*g*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 29.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 30.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Ayloffe's Ancient and Preſent State of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 287.

(*k*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 32, 33.

(*l*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 33, 34, 35.

(*m*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 180.

(*n*) The title of this book ran thus: *Britannia Rediviva, ſive Oxonienſium carmina in reditum Caroli II. in Angliam. Oxonii*, 1660, 4to.

[*G*] *Which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities.*] The point aimed at was to obtain from the Parliament, local viſitors of ſuch Colleges, as, by their ſtatutes, were to be viſited by Archbiſhops and Biſhops. But Dr. Conant had ſo true an idea of parliamentary viſitations, that he had not the leaſt deſire of ſeeing any more of them in his time, and therefore would not, by any means, countenance a petition for that purpoſe. He was told, that a Convocation were the proper judges of the matter: but this he denied: he ſaid that local viſitors was not the affair of the Univerſity, but of particular Colleges, many of which conſiſted moſtly of Scholars and Undergraduates, and conſequently had no votes in Convocations; and it would be very hard to repreſent any thing as their ſenſe of the matter, who had no opportunity of expreſſing their ſentiments upon it. It was then ſuggeſted to him, that it was a thing to which the Univerſity in general inclined, and that he might make himſelf extremely popular by promoting it. His anſwer was, that he had found, by long experience, it was impoſſible to pleaſe the generality, without proſtituting a man's conſcience; that if he could ſtretch his to the meaſures of other men's judgments, he knew he ſhould not fail of the loud acclamations of the Univerſity; but he hoped never to purchaſe their applauſe at ſo dear a rate. It was then inſinuated, that by his ſtiffneſs he would raiſe himſelf many enemies, and that poſſibly he might bring the Parliament upon his head, who would take it amiſs that he checked any thing that tended to put greater power into their hands. This induced him to ſpeak his mind more plainly. I am ſenſible, ſaid he, how ill a negative vote may be reſented at this juncture, and how much it concerns every man that loves his own quiet and ſecurity, to keep himſelf out of their hands, who can do what they pleaſe: but, ſince I have no honeſt way of preventing what is feared, I ſubmit to God's providence. As to my being worſted in this buſineſs I value it not, for I aim not at victory, but to keep my conſcience clear; and as to this, it is not in any man's power to deprive me of my end. At laſt, they propoſed, as an accommodation, that he ſhould go out of town, and ſubſtitute a Pro-Vice-chancellor, who might do what he could not prevail upon himſelf to do; but he would hear of no ſuch expedient: he ſaid, it would be a betraying of his truſt, by a weak and mean compliance in a thing which, in his own judgment, he utterly diſallowed. The iſſue of this was, that after all the ſtir made about them, theſe petitions were quaſhed, and came to nothing.

[*H*] *And a noble concern for religion.*] The reader will beſt judge of the truth of the commendations by his peruſing of the verſes, which were theſe (16).

(16) Britannia Rediviva, p. 5.

Ad ſereniſſimum Regem.

Accipe pacato, princeps celſiſſime, vultu,
  Quæ tibi dat tremulâ muſa togata manu.
Prima offenſantis capias tentamina linguæ,
  Quæ non auſa diu, marti ſtrepente, loqui.
Jam ſolitos reſciſſe modos patiare camænas;
  Agnoſcunt artes, te redeunte, ſuas.
Quæ tua ſunt cœlum tibi reddidit; ipſe viciſſim
  Jam cœlo reddas, Carole magne, ſua:
Sceptra Deo tradas; illum regnare jubeto,
  Inclyte Rex, quo, tu ſceptra jubente, tenes.
O ter fælices, te ſic regnante Britannos!
  Chriſtus ut emineat, teque regente, regat.
Ipſa ſibi triſtes gratabitur Anglia clades,
  Penſari tanto quæ potuere bono.

for the review of the Book of Common Prayer, in which Dr. Conant was one of the commiſſioners, and aſſiſted at the Savoy conferences, which were the fruits of the commiſſion, in which he behaved with his uſual modeſty and moderation, expreſſing a deſire that ſome regard might be had to thoſe who had been otherwiſe educated, and ſuch condeſcenſion ſhewed, as might preſerve the peace of the Church (*o*). After this, upon the paſſing of the Act of Uniformity, which gave but a ſhort day for the conſideration of matters of very great importance, in the ſentiments of ſuch as were of truly tender conſciences, he did not ſee ſufficient cauſe to conform; and, as he had already given up his living in Denbighſhire to the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, loſt his Profeſſorſhip of Divinity by the return of Dr. Robert Saunderſon, to whom, of right, it belonged; ſo, rather than offer any violence to his principles, he ſuffered himſelf to be deprived of the Rectory of Exeter-College, which was pronounced vacant September 1, 1662 (*p*), and in which he was ſucceeded by Mr. Joſeph Maynard. And thus, as a judicious Prelate obſerves, Dr. Conant was diſabled from the public exerciſe of his miniſtry, to the great loſs of the Church of England in general, and more eſpecially of the Univerſity of Oxford, and of Exeter-College in particular (*q*). In this ſituation, however, he ſhewed that he had as great tenderneſs for the public peace, as for the quiet of his own conſcience; and, therefore, he was ſo far from ſetting himſelf at the head, as he might eaſily have done, of a ſeparation, that, on the contrary, he refuſed to join with, or countenance it, but went publicly to Church, and behaved there with exemplary piety and devotion (*r*). An eccleſiaſtical dignity was offered him about that time, which he refuſed (*s*), becauſe he was reſolved to conſider coolly and carefully the terms preſcribed by authority; that, after weighing every thing ſeriouſly, he might, if he ſaw evidence, conform, or, if not, remain firm in his preſent conduct [*I*]. At length, after eight years ſerious deliberation, his mind was ſatisfied, and he reſolved to comply in all points, and in particular with that which had probably ſtuck moſt with him, which was the being re-ordained, and accordingly was ſo, September 28, 1670 (*t*), by the Right Rev. Dr. Reynolds, Lord Biſhop of Norwich, whoſe daughter he had married. This behaviour of his ſurprized thoſe who beſt knew him leaſt; and Dr. Owen, his contemporary at Oxford, could not help ſaying, when he heard it, that he did not in the leaſt wonder at it, ſince he knew Dr. Conant's ſentiments were for Epiſcopacy all along (*u*). He had no ſooner qualified himſelf for the acceptance of eccleſiaſtical preferments, than many were offered him; and, on the 18th of December, the ſame year, he was actually elected Miniſter of the Church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, in the city of London (*w*); but having ſpent ſome years in the town of Northampton, where he was much beloved, and highly eſteemed, he choſe rather to accept of the invitation of his neighbours to remain amongſt them; and Dr. Simon Ford, who was then Miniſter of All-Saints, being elected in the room of Dr. Conant, by the veſtry of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, December 29, 1670 (*x*), he was nominated by the corporation to the Vicarage of All-Saints, and had inſtitution given him February 15, 1670; which, though of the value only of a ſingle hundred pounds *per annum*, he would never part with, though very conſiderable offers were made him, and in particular one by his gracious maſter King Charles II. which was ſignified to him by a letter from the then Secretary of State (*y*).

(*o*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 39.

(*p*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76. Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 844. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 40.

(*q*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 748.

(*r*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 42. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76.

(*s*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 41.

(*t*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 45.

(*u*) Kennet's Hiſt. Regiſter, p. 748. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 44.

(*w*) Kennet's Hiſt. Regiſter, p. 843.

(*x*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 843.

(*y*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 47.

In Engliſh thus.

To his SACRED MAJESTY.

Kindly accept, that tribute, beſt of Kings,
The college muſe, with trembling rev'rence brings,
The firſt eſſays of her unpractis'd ſong,
Whom war's harſh clamour doom'd to ſilence long.
But, now reviv'd, the lamps of learning burn,
And, arts returning, wait on thy return.
Heav'n has thy rights reſtor'd; do thou reſtore
The rights of heav'n! religion's ſacred power!
Return the ſceptre GOD beſtows again,
And a CHARLES reigning, let his Maker reign.
Thrice happy BRITONS, whom you thus ſhall ſway,
And only rule that they may CHRIST obey.
Our ſlaughter's paſt, no longer we deplore,
Nor ills regret that ſuch a PRINCE reſtore.

[*I*] *Or, if not, remain firm in his preſent conduct.*] We have a very curious, as well as circumſtantial account of his behaviour upon this occaſion, and of the methods he took to reſolve his own caſe of conſcience, whether he ought to conform or not, in his ſon's memoirs (17).

(17) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 44, 45.

'He applied himſelf very cloſely, for ſome time, 'to the ſtudy of the controverſies relating to Conformity. He had deliberately weighed and conſidered 'the whole compaſs of theſe diſputes, and made himſelf maſter of every turn in them. He had not only 'examined what had been objected to the ſeveral offices of the liturgy, its doxologies and reſponſals, 'its rubrics and kalendar, and thoroughly conſidered 'all the phraſes and modes of expreſſion in each ſervice, but likewiſe compared it with ancient liturgies, as well as with the holy ſcriptures, doctrines 'of the apoſtles, and later rituals and offices. This 'appears from his papers in my hands, running over 'many of the paſſages in the book of Common Prayer 'that have been objected to, and giving ſuch orthodox ſenſes of them, as he concludes were agreeable 'to the judgment of the firſt Right Reverend and 'pious compilers of them. And, I perſuade myſelf, 'were they perfect, they might reconcile the moſt 'ſcrupulous to join in thoſe excellent forms of prayer.' He adds afterwards, 'Dr. Conant's conformity could 'not be ſurprizing to any one who conſiders, that his 'prejudices were never many, and thoſe not ſtrong 'or violent, though his determinations were ſlow 'and adviſed. One would rather wonder, that he 'did not conform much ſooner than he did, ſince it 'is certain, that his temper was never ſoured by the 'loſs of his college; that he had an awful regard for 'the commands of authority in things indifferent; 'that he conſtantly blamed thoſe who held their 'aſſemblies at hours that interfered with the public 'worſhip of God, in affront to the civil ſanctions of 'the laws, to good order and parochial communion; 'that he was ſo far from being ambitious of a ſeparate congregation, or covetous of their contributions, that he had induſtriouſly kept out of the way 'of both.'

On

On the 20th of September, 1675, he had the mortification to ſee the greateſt part of his pariſh, together with his church, burnt to the ground, though providentially his own houſe eſcaped (z). His preſence was of great uſe to the town in that critical juncture, when he employed both his perſon and his purſe for the ſervice of the diſtreſſed, and would not, though new and great offers were made him, conſent to leave them under this calamity (a). So true a ſenſe had the inhabitants of Northampton of his wiſe conduct upon this occaſion, that they gave him the uſe of St. Peter's Church till his own could be repaired; and the gentlemen in the neighbourhood made up his year's ſalary, which, the next year, was paid him by his generous benefactor Mr. Montagu, of Horton, brother to his old patroneſs the Lady Chandos (b). He diſcharged his paſtoral duty there with the ſame zeal and application which he had ſhewn in other places, and was particularly inſtrumental in bringing over Diſſenters of all denominations to the Church [K]. In the beginning of the year 1676, the Archdeaconry of Norwich becoming vacant by the death of Mr. John Reynolds, his brother-in-law, the Biſhop offered him that preferment, with this ſingular compliment (c): *I do not expect thanks from you, but I will be very thankful to you if you will accept of it*; of which he deſired time to conſider, and reflecting on the miſconſtructions that might be made of his declining it, he embraced the propoſal, was inſtituted on the 7th, and inſtalled on the 8th of June following, in that Archdeaconry (d); and, ſo long as his health would permit, conſtantly diſcharged his duty by perſonal viſitations. Upon the death of Mr. Tomkins, one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Worceſter, Dr. Conant's old friend and contemporary at Exeter-College, the worthy Earl of Radnor (e), aſked it for him from King Charles II. in theſe terms: *Sir, I come to beg a preferment of you for a very deſerving perſon, who never ſought any thing for himſelf*; and, upon naming him, the King very kindly conſented; ſo that December 3, 1681, he was inſtalled (f). He governed himſelf ſtrictly, with reſpect to this preferment, by the local ſtatutes, as to reſidence, preaching, and other circumſtances, ſo long as he was able to travel; and when his age and infirmities intitled him, in the judgment of the chapter, to ſtatuteable exemption, he directed a great part of the revenue of his prebend to be diſtributed among poor houſekeepers (g), and others, at Worceſter. In 1686, after his eyes had been for ſome time weak, he loſt his ſight entirely; which great misfortune, together with the common infirmities of old age, for ſharp and painful diſeaſes he had none, he bore not only with patience and reſignation, but with chearfulneſs and eaſe (h). As his public courſe of life was uſeful and honourable, ſo he was alſo very happy in his family. He married in Auguſt, 1651, Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards the right reverend and learned Biſhop of Norwich, by whom he had ſix ſons, and as many daughters (i). In his private life, there was a happy mixture of mildneſs of temper, with ſeverity of morals. He had always as great a contempt of pomp and magnificence, as he had an unfeigned affection for a private and retired life (k). Temperate he was to a degree of abſtemiouſneſs, frugal in his expences, and more of his time, and yet no man freer of both where charity required. So little deſirous of the wealth of this world, that, when he had nothing but his Fellowſhip to ſupport him, he generouſly made over the eſtate that deſcended to him from his father, to his younger brother, Robert, who had married young, and had many children (l). He was not only a man of very ſolid, but of very extenſive learning, and yet ſo very modeſt, that though he underſtood moſt of the

(z) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.

(a) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 48, 49.

(b) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 48, 49.

(c) Wood's Faſti Oxon, vol. ii. col. 106. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 53, 54.

(d) Appendix to Sir T. Brown's Poſthumous Works, p. 59.

(e) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 66.

(f) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 680.

(g) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 67.

(h) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227.

(i) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 67.

(k) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76.

(l) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 80.

[K] *In bringing over Diſſenters of all denominations to the Church.*] He was not only conſtantly reſident in his pariſh, excepting when his other offices abſolutely required his attendance, but alſo conſtantly officiated in perſon, preaching twice every Sunday, and taking care to inculcate practical religion in the plaineſt and moſt pathetic language (18). In the evenings he catechized the children, and, amongſt them, his own were always preſent. He ſeldom, if ever, viſited his pariſhioners, more eſpecially thoſe of the better ſort, in a ceremonious way; but his clerk had ſtrict orders to inform him when any were ſick, and then, without ſtaying to be ſent for, he readily waited upon the meaneſt of his flock. He was not afraid to ſpeak freely where it was neceſſary, out of any reſpect to perſons; and, where he ſaw the appearance of diſtreſs, he relieved with a bounty ſuitable rather to his inclinations than his circumſtances. He was one of the moſt remarkable Caſuiſts in his time, and was not only reſorted to by ſome who lived at a great diſtance, but his advice was likewiſe aſked, by letters, even from foreigners. As his duties took up a great part of his time, ſo the ſhort ſpaces that he allowed to thoſe relaxations which are abſolutely neceſſary for the relief of human nature, were dedicated to things that would have hardly paſſed with many for recreation. Reading a few pages in the claſſics, hearing ſome remarkable piece of hiſtory, and diſcourſing upon it to his children, or explaining to them ſome point in Natural Philoſophy, that they might have juſt notions of the wiſdom of Providence, and an early impreſſion of the reverence due to its divine Author, were his only diverſions. Yet, with all this ſtrictneſs of manners, he had nothing either of moroſeneſs or pride, great evenneſs of temper, which never roſe higher than being chearful; and, on the other hand, was never depreſſed by temporal loſſes, or corporal pain; his humility ſo true, that it diſcovered itſelf upon all occaſions; he knew little of form and ceremonies, and, from the little he did know, deſpiſed them; yet, from natural ſweetneſs of temper, he was obliging to all, and courteous even to the meaneſt in his pariſh. His charity, as has been before hinted, had leſs relation to his circumſtances than any other point of his conduct. At Northampton, for twenty years together, he paid for the ſchooling of poor children, never fewer than twenty-four, and ſometimes nearer forty; and theſe he placed out with ſeveral needy widows, that what he gave might contribute to their aſſiſtance. He was, upon all occaſions, ready to promote the relief ſought by ſtrangers, of which various inſtances are given in his ſon's memoirs; but we have already exceeded the uſual limits of ſuch an article, for which, the worth of it muſt be our apology; for it would be hard, as well as unjuſt, to ſay but little of ſo great and good a man (19).

(18) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76.

(19) Dr. Conant's Life, through the laſt twenty pages.

Oriental

Oriental languages, and was particularly as well verſed in Syriac as any man of his time, yet his proficiency in theſe ſtudies was known to very few. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed upon (for that is really the fact, though directly contrary to what ſeveral authors have aſſerted) (*m*) to ſuffer a volume of his ſermons to be publiſhed in his life-time; and as for the reſt, which eſcaped that ſevere cenſure he paſſed upon what would have been thought of the higheſt value by the reſt of the world, they were ſent abroad, by the pious care of ſeveral wiſe and worthy perſons, from a charitable deſire, that the Church might not be deprived of the labours of ſo painful and ſo practical a Preacher; which writings of his have met with that reſpect and eſteem they ſo highly deſerved (*n*) [*L*]. This learned perſon, after an exemplary life, deceaſed, in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, March 12, 1693, and was buried in his own pariſh church of All-Saints, in Northampton, with a ſuitable inſcription to his memory, upon a plain and decent monument, erected by his widow (*o*). His ſon, John Conant, Doctor of Laws, a man very eminent in his profeſſion, wrote his life with great care and judgment, from which many particulars have been taken, and the whole of which deſerves well to be publiſhed.

(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 82, 83.

(*n*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227. Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 680.

[*L*] *With that reſpect and eſteem which they ſo highly deſerved.*] In this note it is propoſed to give an account of ſuch of Dr. Conant's works as have been preſerved and made public, in order to rectify the miſtakes that have been made about them. There have been, in all, ſix volumes of his ſermons ſent abroad, at ſeveral times, by ſeveral hands.

Vol. I. Publiſhed in 1693, 8vo. by the care of Dr. John Williams, miniſter of St. Mildred's, in the Poultry, in the author's life-time, as appears by the preface, and Dr. Conant's dedication to the inhabitants of Northampton. There are in this volume eleven ſermons.

II. Publiſhed in 1697, 8vo. by Dr. John Williams, then become Biſhop of Chicheſter, with a preface before it, in which notice is taken of the former volume, publiſhed in the Doctor's life-time. This volume contains fifteen ſermons.

III. Publiſhed in 1698, 8vo. by the ſame editor, who ſays in the preface, that Dr. Conant committed to the flames many learned diſcourſes, and particularly thoſe which he had preached in a Lecture in the Univerſity on nice and difficult ſubjects, preſerving ſuch only as related to practice. He likewiſe mentions a life of the author, which was expected, but not come to hand. This volume contains fourteen ſermons.

IV. Publiſhed in 1703, 8vo. by the ſame editor. In the preface his Lordſhip takes notice, that there had been an intention of writing the author's life, as a thing that could not fail of being acceptable to thoſe who knew him, and very uſeful to thoſe who did not; but, for the preſent, this deſign being laid aſide, it was hoped the loſs of it would be compenſated by the publication of this fourth volume of ſermons from his own manuſcripts. This volume contains thirteen ſermons.

V. Publiſhed in 1708, 8vo. by the ſame editor, who, in his preface, ſays very confidently, that, with the next volume, an account of the author's life would appear, written by an able hand. This volume contains fourteen ſermons.

VI. Publiſhed in 1722, 8vo. by Digby Coates, M. A. Principal of Magdalen-hall, in Oxford, at the requeſt of the author's ſon, John Conant, LL.D. but without any life or preface before it. There are in this volume thirteen ſermons, making up the whole number fourſcore. C.

[Dr. Conant had a near relation, whoſe name was Samuel Conant, M. A. who was inſtituted to the Rectory of Lytchet Matravers, in the county of Dorſet, in the year 1662, and died in 1719, Rector of that pariſh. He was buried on the North-ſide of the pariſh-church; and this inſcription, written by the grandfather of our ingenious friend, the Rev. Mr. Hall, of Child-Okeford, is upon his tomb.

H. S. E.
SAMUEL CONANT, A.M.
Collegii Exonienſis olim Socius,
Academiæ Oxon. digniſſimus Procurator:
Omnibus Diſciplinæ academicæ Inimicis,
Novarum Rerum vehementer ſtudioſis,
ſe totum oppoſuit.
Reverendo admodum Doctori Reynolds
Epiſcopo Norvicenſi,
Poſt Carolum reſtauratum à Sacris domeſticis:
Hujus deinde Eccleſiæ,
Per Annos quinquaginta ſeptem, Rector.
In Officio paſtorali obeundo,
per tam longam Annorum Seriem,
Indies alacris, indies ſuavis.
Ob Literaturam divinam, & humanam,
Ob Pietatem conſpicuam,
Ob Modeſtiam ſingularem,
Ob Beneficientiam egregiam,
Vir ſemper memorabilis.
Ob Mores integerrimos,
Ob eximium Animi Candorem,
Ob Indolem ſuaviſſam,
Vir omnibus merito percarus.
Animam Deo reddidit,
quinto Die Decembris
Anno Salutis Chriſtianæ 1719, Ætatis 92.

The learned Dr. William Grigg, formerly Maſter of Clare-Hall, Cambridge, in a letter to Mr. Hall's grandfather, dated at Cambridge, July 4, 1719, ſays, "you have acted the part of a friend, and done juſ-"tice to the character of Mr. Conant, in your Epi-"taph of him (20)."] K.

(20) Communicated by Mr. Hall.

CONGREVE (WILLIAM), a celebrated Engliſh Poet in the laſt and preſent century. There is no ſort of queſtion about the deſcent of this gentleman, which was from the antient houſe of Congreve, in Staffordſhire, flouriſhing there with honour and reputation (*a*); neither is there any doubt as to his immediate family, for he was the only ſurviving ſon of William Congreve, Eſq; who was the ſecond ſon of Richard Congreve, Eſq; of Congreve and Stratton, in the county of Stafford (*b*). As to the place, and indeed as to the kingdom, in which he was born, authors differ; and not only ſo, but are poſitive on both ſides. Some are clear that he was a native of Ireland (*c*); but it ſeems more probable, or, to ſpeak more plainly, it is morally certain, that he was a native of England, and drew his firſt breath at the village of Bardſa, near Leeds, in Yorkſhire (*d*), which was the eſtate of a near relation of his by the mother's ſide. The reaſon of our giving the preference to this ſentiment, rather than that which entitles another iſland to the

(*a*) See the Arms of the ancient families in Staffordſhire, in the margin of Dr. Plot's map, prefixed to his Natural Hiſtory of that county.

(*b*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 41.

(*c*) See the article of Congreve (W.) in the General Dictionary.

(*d*) See the funeral inſcription on his monument, in note [*P*].

honour of his birth, will be found at the bottom of the page [*A*]. The time when it happened can only be collected by circumſtances, which place it in 1671 or 1672 (*e*). His father carried him, when a very child, into Ireland, where, at that time, he had a command in the army, but afterwards was entruſted with the management of a conſiderable part of the large eſtate of the noble family of Burlington, which fixed the reſidence of himſelf and family in that kingdom (*f*). Our author received the firſt tincture of letters in the great ſchool of Kilkenny, and gave very early proofs of his pregnant genius; and it is ſaid, that one of the firſt eſſays of his poetical talent was a copy of verſes upon the death of his maſter's magpye (*g*). He went from the ſchool of Kilkenny to the Univerſity of Dublin, then flouriſhing under the direction of Dr. St. George Aſh, where, in a very ſhort time, Mr. Congreve became perfectly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and acquired not only a general acquaintance with, but a correct and critical taſte in, the Claſſics (*h*). His father, however, was deſirous that his parts ſhould be applied to more profitable ſtudies, and therefore ſent him over to England a little after the Revolution, and placed him as a ſtudent in the Middle-Temple (*i*). But the ſevere ſtudy of the law had ſo little relation to the active diſpoſition and ſprightly humour of the young gentleman, that though he continued for three or four years to live in chambers, and paſs for a Templar, yet it does not appear that he ever applied himſelf with diligence to conquer his diſlike to a courſe of life which had been choſen for him, with ſo little reſpect either to the turn of his natural parts, or the preceding courſe of his education (*k*). But how little ſoever he anſwered the expectation of his friends in the proſecution of that profeſſion to which they had deſtined him, certain it is, that he was not either indolent or inactive in the cultivation of thoſe ſtudies, that were both his early and his lateſt care. His firſt performance, when almoſt a boy, was extraordinary in its kind; and though no more than a novel, which, under the aſſumed name of *CLEOPHIL*, he dedicated to Mrs. Catherine Leveſon, yet it was a proof, not only of the vivacity of his wit, and the fluency of his ſtyle, but alſo of the ſtrength of his judgment [*B*]. As he did not then think proper to own

(*e*) See the funeral inſcription on his monument, in note [*P*].

(*f*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; by Charles Wilſon, p. 1. From the relation of Captain Southerne.

(*g*) Memoirs of Mr. Congreve, p. 1.

(*h*) From Captain Southerne's relation.

(*i*) Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 41.

(*k*) From the accounts given by ſeveral of his friends and acquaintance.

(*l*) See his Dedication of his *Incognita*: or, Love and Duty reconciled.

[*A*] *Will be found at the bottom of the page.*] In the new Engliſh tranſlation, with great additions, of the learned Antiquary of Ireland's works, we find Mr. Congreve's life inſerted, as a native of that country; but it is not ſaid when or where he was born (1). In a very large collection of the ſame kind with this, we find the ſame fact aſſerted, from the information of the late ingenious Thomas Southerne, Eſq; who was Mr. Congreve's intimate friend, and out-lived him many years (2). He was himſelf of that country, and might very probably be firmly perſuaded, from his knowing him a youth there, that he was his countryman. The author, upon whoſe credit we rely, in giving a different account of this matter, is the late Mr. Giles Jacob; and (3) though at firſt ſight it muſt appear very ſingular, to prefer the authority of Mr. Jacob to that of Mr. Southerne; yet there is a reaſon for it, ſo ſtrong, that when it is once mentioned, it may perhaps clear this diſpute, in the reader's opinion as well as mine. In the preface, Mr. Jacob, ſpeaking of the communications which he had received from living authors, has this paſſage, 'I am in particular obliged 'to Mr. Congreve for his free and early communica- 'tion of what relates to himſelf, as well as his kind 'directions for the compoſing of this work.' This correſpondence was in the year 1719, though the book was not publiſhed till three years afterwards: but, however, as it was both written and publiſhed in Mr. Congreve's life-time, we muſt conclude from thence, that we have his own authority for the matter of fact, which is ſuperior even to the recollection of his old friend and acquaintance Mr. Southerne, who, as a man might miſtake, though he was certainly a man of too much honour, willingly, to miſinform any body.

(1) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 294.

(2) General Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 427.

(3) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, vol. i. p. 41.

[*B*] *But alſo of the ſtrength of his judgment.*] The title of this firſt work of our ingenious author's was, INCOGNITA: or, *Love and Duty Reconciled*. It has been always conſidered as a piece very well written, more eſpecially as it was the firſt production of a youth of ſeventeen. It has alſo been aſſerted, that at the bottom it is a true hiſtory, and though the ſcene is by Mr. Congreve laid in Italy, yet the adventures happened here in England. It is not our buſineſs to enter into the ſecret hiſtory of this entertaining piece, or to attempt giving the reader a key to what the writer took ſo much pains to conceal; but what we intend in this note, is to juſtify the obſervation in the text, and to prove, that though this was the firſt eſſay, and the firſt eſſay of a very young man, yet there is in it ſomething very extraordinary; more eſpecially when we add to what has been ſaid before, that it was a very haſty eſſay likewiſe. There is nothing more common, and indeed there is nothing more natural, than for young men to pique themſelves upon the brightneſs of their parts, the quickneſs of their wit, and, in pieces of this nature, on the elegancy and flowerineſs of their language. But this was not Mr. Congreve's point: he aimed at perfection from the very beginning, and his deſign in writing this novel, was to ſhew how novels ought to be written. Let us hear what he ſays himſelf, and thence we ſhall entertain a higher opinion of his abilities, than could poſſibly be raiſed by the warmeſt commendations. After obſerving, very judiciouſly, that there is the ſame relation between Romances and Novels, as between Tragedy and Comedy, he proceeds thus: 'Since all tradi- 'tions muſt indiſputably give place to the Drama; 'and ſince there is no poſſibility of giving that life 'to the writing or repetition of a ſtory, which it has 'in the action, I reſolved in another beauty to imitate 'dramatic writing, namely, in the deſign, contexture, 'and reſult of the plot. I have not obſerved it be- 'fore in a novel. Some I have ſeen begin with an 'unexpected accident, which has been the only ſur- 'priſing part of the ſtory, cauſe enough to make the 'ſequel look flat, tedious, and inſipid; for it is but 'reaſonable the reader ſhould expect, if not to riſe, at 'leaſt to keep upon a level in the entertainment; for 'ſo he may be kept on in hopes, that, at ſome time 'or other, it may mend; but the other is ſuch a balk 'to a man, it is carrying him up ſtairs to ſhew him 'the dining-room, and after forcing him to make a 'meal in the kitchen. This I have not only endea- 'voured to avoid, but alſo have uſed a method for 'the contrary purpoſe. The deſign of this novel is 'obvious, after the firſt meeting of Aurelian and 'Hippolito with Incognita and Leonora; the difficulty 'is in bringing it to paſs, maugre all apparent obſ- 'tacles, within the compaſs of two days. How 'many probable caſualties intervene in oppoſition to 'the main deſign, viz. of marrying two couple ſo 'oddly engaged in an intricate amour, I leave the 'reader at his leiſure to conſider: as alſo, whether 'every obſtacle does not, in the progreſs of the ſtory, 'act as ſubſervient to that purpoſe, which, at firſt, it 'ſeems to oppoſe. In a comedy this would be called 'the unity of action; here it may pretend to no more 'than

own this piece to the world, ſo the reputation reſulting from it was confined within the narrow compaſs of his acquaintance. But as true genius cannot remain long hid, and as untoward accidents rather provoke than tame high ſpirits; ſo, upon a fit of ſickneſs (*m*), which ſeized him about three years after his return to England, he amuſed himſelf, during a ſlow recovery, in writing a Comedy, which he very ſoon finiſhed; and though he was very modeſt and diffident of his own abilities, yet he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the perſuaſion of his relations and friends, and conſented to bring it upon the ſtage. In order to this, he was recommended to Captain Southerne, who, in conjunction with the great Mr. Dryden, and that excellent Critic Arthur Manwairing, Eſq; reviſed the *Old Batchelor*, of which Mr. Dryden ſaid, he never ſaw ſuch a firſt play in his life (*n*); and that the author not being acquainted with the ſtage or the town, it would be pity to have it miſcarry for want of a little aſſiſtance. The ſtuff was rich indeed, only the faſhionable cut was wanting, which was ſoon given it. Mr. Thomas Davenant, who had then the direction of the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane, was ſo much ſtruck with the merit of the piece, and the author's converſation, that he granted him what is called the privilege of the houſe, half a year before his play came upon the ſtage; which, according to the maxims of theatrical government, was not barely an unuſual, but an unprecedented favour (*o*). In 1693, the *Old Batchelor* was acted before a numerous and noble audience. The prologue, intended to be ſpoken, was written by Lord Falkland. The play was admirably performed, and received with ſuch general applauſe, that Mr. Congreve was thenceforward conſidered as the prop of the declining ſtage, and as the riſing genius in Dramatic Poeſy (*p*) [*C*]. It was this play, and the very ſingular ſucceſs that attended it upon the ſtage, and after it came from the preſs, that brought our author to the notice of that great patron of the Engliſh Muſes, Charles Montague, Lord Halifax, who being deſirous to place ſo eminent a wit in a ſtate of eaſe and tranquillity, made him immediately one of the Commiſſioners for licenſing Hackney-coaches; beſtowed upon him, ſoon after, a place in the Pipe-office; and gave him, likewiſe, a poſt in the Cuſtom-houſe, of the value of ſix hundred pounds a year (*q*). As theſe were favours of a very extraordinary nature, ſo they raiſed in the breaſt of Mr. Congreve a noble ſpirit of gratitude and affection, which ſhewed itſelf in an unalterable attachment to that nobleman during his life, and the moſt profound re-

(*m*) Amendments of Mr. Collier's Faults and imperfect Citations, p. 40.

(*n*) From the relation of Capt. Southerne.

(*o*) From the ſame authority.

(*p*) Memoirs of Mr. Congreve, p. 3.

(*q*) GeneralDict. vol. iv. p. 428.

‘ than an unity of contrivance. The ſcene is continued in Florence from the commencement of the ‘ amour, and the time, from firſt to laſt, is but three ‘ days. If there be any thing more in particular reſembling the copy, which I imitate, as the curious reader will ſoon perceive, I leave it to ſhew itſelf, being very well ſatisfied how much more proper it had been for him to have found out this himſelf, than for me to prepoſſeſs him with an opinion of ſomething extraordinary in an eſſay, begun and finiſhed in the idler hours of a fortnight's time; for I can only eſteem that a laborious idleneſs, which is parent to ſo inconſiderable a birth.’

[*C*] *And as the riſing genius in Dramatic Poeſy.*] This play is dedicated to the Lord *Clifford*, of *Laneſborough*, the eldeſt ſon and heir apparent of the Earl of Burlington; but himſelf a Peer alſo, being, as we have told the reader elſewhere, called up to the Houſe of Lords, in the life-time of his father, by writ. In the text we have joined the two accounts of Mr. Congreve's father going over to Ireland and remaining there, becauſe, as it appears from what Mr. Congreve himſelf communicated to Mr. Jacob (4), that he went thither originally in a military capacity; ſo from this dedication we may be convinced of the truth of the other circumſtances as to his being intruſted with the concerns of the Burlington family. Mr. Congreve begins his dedication thus (5). ‘ My Lord, it is ‘ with a great deal of pleaſure that I lay hold on this ‘ firſt occaſion, which the accidents of my life have ‘ given me, of writing to your Lordſhip: for ſince, ‘ at the ſame time I write to all the world, it will be ‘ a means of publiſhing what I would have every body ‘ know, the reſpect and duty which I owe and pay to ‘ you. I have ſo much inclination to be your's, that ‘ I need no other engagement; but the particular ‘ ties by which I am bound to your Lordſhip and family, have put it out of my power to make you any ‘ compliment, ſince all offers of myſelf will amount ‘ to no more than an honeſt acknowledgment, and ‘ only ſhew a willingneſs in me to be grateful. I ‘ am very near wiſhing, that it were not ſo much ‘ my intereſt to be your Lordſhip's ſervant, that it ‘ might be more my merit: not that I would avoid ‘ being obliged to you, but I would have my own ‘ choice to run me into the debt, that I might have ‘ it to boaſt, I had diſtinguiſhed one to whom I would ‘ be glad to be obliged, even without the hopes of ‘ having it in my power ever to make him a return.’ There ſtand before this comedy three copies of verſes, by Mr. Southerne, Mr. Marſh, and Mr. Higgins, in which it is very highly commended. But that we may be convinced this did not at all proceed either from the excuſable fondneſs of friendſhip, or that more excuſable tenderneſs for a riſing genius which glows in the boſom of every true judge of writing, let us look a little into the merits of the cauſe, as they are ſtated by an excellent and impartial judge. The author of the Tatler ſays (6), ‘ In the character ‘ which gives name to the play, there is excellently ‘ repreſented the reluctance of a battered debauchee, ‘ to come into the trammels of order and decency: ‘ he neither languiſhes nor burns, but frets for love. ‘ The gentlemen of more regular behaviour are drawn ‘ with ſo much ſpirit and wit, and the drama introduced by the dialogue of the firſt ſcene, with uncommon, yet natural converſation. The part of ‘ Fondlewife is a lively image of the unſeaſonable ‘ fondneſs of age and impotence.’ We are told in another paper, by the ſame agreeable writer (7), That ‘ in this comedy there is a neceſſary circumſtance obſerved by the author, which moſt other ‘ poets either overlook, or do not underſtand; that is ‘ to ſay, the diſtinction of characters. It is very ordinary with writers to indulge a certain modeſty of ‘ believing all men as witty as themſelves, and making all the perſons of the play ſpeak the ſentiments ‘ of the author, without any manner of reſpect to the ‘ age, fortune, or quality of him that is on the ſtage. ‘ Ladies talk like rakes, and footmen make ſimilies; ‘ but this writer knows men, which makes his plays ‘ reaſonable entertainments, while the ſcenes of moſt ‘ others are like the tunes between the acts; they are ‘ perhaps agreeable ſounds, but they have no ideas ‘ affixed to them.’ But, notwithſtanding this, the remarks of Mr. Collier (8), upon ſome paſſages in this comedy, are not altogether wide of truth, or of ſound criticiſm; but they regard not the ſtructure of the play, and only cenſure a few libertiniſms, into which the author had fallen a little unwarily.

(6) No. 9.

(7) No. 15.

(8) Short View of the Immorality and Prophaneneſs of the Engliſh Stage.

4) GeneralDict. vol iv. p. 427. Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 41.

(5) See his Dedication prefixed to the *Old Batchelor*, in the firſt vol. of Mr. Congreve's Works.

verence

verence for his memory after his deceaſe. We need not be ſurprized, that after ſuch encouragement as the town, and even the Critics, had given him, our author quickly made his appearance again upon the ſtage, as he did the year following, when he brought on the *Double Dealer* (*r*). This play was honoured with the preſence of Queen Mary; and though it was not ſo univerſally applauded as his former performance, yet it had the honour to be very highly commended, as well as generally approved, by the beſt judges (*s*). We need not at all wonder at the fate of this fine performance, for regular Comedy was at that time a new thing. Our author was the very firſt who attempted it; I will not ſay he was the laſt who ſucceeded in it; but I may ſafely aſſert, that he carried it to the higheſt degree of perfection; and that if we were to wiſh any of our Comedies tranſlated into French, for the honour of our nation, it ſhould be his; and amongſt them there is none that does him greater credit than the *Double Dealer*, notwithſtanding ſome objections that have been made to it (*t*) [*D*]. It was towards the cloſe of that year that Queen Mary died, which melancholy accident, as it afforded a pregnant ſubject to Orators and Poets, ſo, amongſt all that attempted it, none ſucceeded better than Mr. Congreve, in the Paſtoral which he wrote upon that occaſion; and which, in point of ſimplicity, elegance, and correctneſs, is at leaſt equal to any thing of the kind that has appeared in our language (*u*). We have taken notice in another place, of the great revolution that happened in the theatrical world in the ſucceeding year, and of the juſtice and generoſity with which Mr. Congreve eſpouſed the cauſe of our Engliſh Roſcius (*w*), when he opened his new Theatre in Portugal-Row, Lincoln's-inn-fields, by giving him his excellent Comedy of *Love for Love*, ſo judiciouſly contrived, and ſo happily executed, as to unite at once the approbation of the few, and the tumultuous applauſe of the many, in its

(*r*) Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 43.

(*s*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 4.

(*t*) See this point fully cleared in note [*D*].

(*u*) The title of this piece is, *The Mourning Muſe of Alexis.*

(*w*) See the article of BETTERTON (THOMAS).

[*D*] *Notwithſtanding ſome objections that have been made to it.*] This play is dedicated to the Right Hon. Charles Montague, one of the Lords of the Treaſury: and though we are apt to overlook dedications, as ſeldom containing any thing except acknowledgments and praiſes, yet there are in this ſome paſſages of ſuch true and ſolid criticiſm, and which give ſo clear and ſo good an account of the play itſelf, that they very well deſerve the reader's notice (9).

(9) See the Dedication to this Play in the firſt volume of Mr. Congreve's Works.

'I have, ſince the acting of this play, hearkened after 'the objections which have been made to it, for I 'was conſcious where a true critic might have put 'me upon my defence. I was prepared for the attack, and am pretty confident, I could have vindicated ſome parts, and excuſed others; and, where 'there were many plain miſcarriages, I would moſt 'ingenuouſly have confeſſed them. But I have not 'heard any thing ſaid ſufficient to provoke an anſwer. 'That which looks moſt like an objection, does not 'relate in particular to this play, but to all, or moſt, 'that ever have been written, and that is ſoliloquy: 'therefore I will anſwer it, not only for my own 'ſake, but to ſave others the trouble to whom it may 'be hereafter objected. I grant, that for a man to 'talk to himſelf appears abſurd and unnatural, and 'indeed it is ſo in moſt caſes; but the circumſtances 'which may attend the occaſion, make great alteration. It oftentimes happens to a man to have deſigns, which confine him to himſelf, and, in their 'nature, cannot admit of a confident. Such, for 'certain, is all villainy; and other leſs miſchievous 'intentions, may be very improper to be communicated to a ſecond perſon. In ſuch a caſe therefore, 'the audience muſt obſerve, whether the perſon upon 'the ſtage takes any notice of them at all or no: for 'if he ſuppoſes any one to be by when he talks to 'himſelf, it is monſtrous and ridiculous to the laſt 'degree: nay, not only in this caſe, but in any part 'of a play, if there is expreſſed any knowledge of an 'audience, it is inſufferable. But otherwiſe, when 'a man in ſoliloquy reaſons with himſelf, and *pro's* 'and *con's*, and weighs all his deſigns, we ought not 'to imagine that this man either talks to us, or to 'himſelf; he is only thinking, and thinking ſuch 'matter as were inexcuſable folly in him to ſpeak. 'But, becauſe we are concealed ſpectators of the plot 'in agitation, and the poet finds it neceſſary to let us 'know the whole myſtery of his contrivance, he is 'willing to inform us of this perſon's thoughts, and 'to that end is forced to make uſe of the expedient 'of ſpeech, no other or better way being yet invented for the communication of thought. Another 'very wrong objection has been made by ſome, who 'have not taken leiſure to diſtinguiſh the characters. 'The hero of the play, as they are pleaſed to call 'him, (meaning Mellefont) is a gull, and made a 'fool, and cheated. Is every man a gull and a fool 'that is deceived? At that rate I am afraid the two 'claſſes of men will be reduced to one, and the 'knaves themſelves be at a loſs to juſtify their title; 'but if an open-hearted, honeſt man, who has an 'entire confidence in one whom he takes to be his 'friend, and one whom he has obliged to be ſo, 'and who, to confirm him in his opinion in all appearance, and upon ſeveral trials has been ſo: if 'this man be deceived by the treachery of the other, 'muſt he of neceſſity commence fool immediately, 'only becauſe the other has proved a villain? Ay, 'but there was caution given to Mellefont, in the 'firſt act, by his friend Careleſs. Of what nature was 'that caution? only to give the audience ſome light 'into the character of Maſkwell, before his appearance, and not to convince Mellefont of his treachery, 'for that was more than Careleſs was then able to 'do: he never knew Maſkwell guilty of any villainy; 'he was only a ſort of man which he did not like. 'As for his ſuſpecting his familiarity with my Lady 'Touchwood, let them examine the anſwer that Mellefont makes him, and compare it with the conduct 'of Maſkwell's character through the play. I would 'beg them again to look into the character of Maſkwell before they accuſe Mellefont of weakneſs, for 'being deceived by him; for, upon ſumming up the 'inquiry into this objection, it may be found, they 'have miſtaken cunning in one character, for folly in 'another.' To this play there is now prefixed a copy of verſes, by Mr. Dryden, that were addreſſed to the author upon its firſt appearing. They contain the higheſt compliments to him, and the ſtrongeſt commendations of the play poſſible, but are too well known to the world, and too commonly met with, to be inſerted here, and the force and meaning of them would be very much weakened and broken by citing parts of them. Mr. Charles Hopkins alſo wrote a copy of verſes upon the ſame occaſion; and the beſt judges in general have admitted, not only that the foregoing defence of Mr. Congreve was very well founded, but that he has fairly unravelled the true ſource of falſe criticiſm, and ſhewn himſelf thereby a deep enquirer, as well as an excellent judge of human nature; which, as we ſhall have frequent occaſions to ſhew hereafter, appears to have been the conſtant ſtudy of his life, as well as the chief fund whence he drew the many fine and beautiful ſtrokes that diſtinguiſh all, but more eſpecially his comic writings.

favour.

favour (*x*) [*E*]. The ſame year he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a new kind of Poetry, by addreſſing to King William an irregular Ode on the taking of Namur, in which the ſublimity of the ſentiments, the harmony of the numbers, the happy imitation of the antients, the graceful turn of his panegyric, are truly admirable; but perhaps there is nothing in it that deſerves higher commendation than the delicate compliment with which it ends, and where, in a ſingle line, he ſays the fineſt things poſſible of his two great patrons Halifax and Dorſet (*y*). As he had now attained the higheſt reputation as a Comic Poet, he was inclined to ſhew that a regular and finiſhed Tragedy might ſucceed upon the Engliſh Theatre. It was an adventurous taſk that he ſet himſelf, and a very high ſtake he made, when he hazarded all the reputation he had already acquired upon this new performance, which, though written according to the rules, was altogether deſtitute of thoſe artificial and irregular helps, frequently relied on by former writers. It ſeems to have coſt him more pains than any of his former pieces; for it was not till 1697, that the *Mourning Bride* (*z*) was acted at the new Theatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields. Very few plays ever excited ſo great expectations as this did, and fewer ſtill have met, after ſuch expectation raiſed, with ſo univerſal an approbation. In ſhort, it was the beſt received of all his pieces; and, without doubt, whatever credit he drew from this exquiſite Tragedy, was in ſome meaſure ſhared by the audience, who fairly entitled themſelves to the character of equal and able judges, by the applauſe they beſtowed upon that excellent performance [*F*]. He was called off from his attention to the Theatre to another kind of writing, that to him, of all men living, was the moſt tedious and tireſome, and that was controverſy. His four plays were attacked with equal fury and celerity by the famous Mr. Jeremy Collier, who, without the leaſt pity to his fine parts, or the ſlighteſt tenderneſs for a reputation raiſed with ſo much pains, fell upon him, not as a dull or taſteleſs, but as a dangerous and deſtructive writer (*a*). An anſwer was neceſſary, and therefore an anſwer was given, under a very plain title (*b*), and written with much modeſty as well as wit. There are abundance of judicious things in this defence, which was drawn up in the form of letters to that candid Critic, and the author's conſtant friend, Walter Moyle, Eſq; which, though the ſubject ſeems to render them now out of date, will make them always well worth a judicious reader's peruſal [*G*]. In all probability, this quarrel created in our author

(*x*) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, vol. i. p. 43.

(*y*) The title of this piece is, *To the King upon the taking of Namur.*

(*z*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 9.

(*a*) View of the Immorality and Prophaneneſs of the Engliſh Stage.

(*b*) Amendments of Mr. Collier's falſe and imperfect Citations, &c. Lond. 1698, 8vo.

[*E*] *In its favour.*] There is prefixed to this play a ſhort dedication to the then Lord Chamberlain, Charles, Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, written, as all his dedications are, with great decency and good ſenſe, and without any of that fulſome flattery, which reflects at once on the patron and the writer, and is, at the ſame time, ſuch a plague and puniſhment to a reader, as he has ſeldom the patience to go through. Some faults have been found with ſeveral characters in this play; but if the reflections, proceeding from the ſevere morals of Mr. Collier, can be averted by any tolerable excuſes, drawn from the very nature of comedy, which requires the repreſenting the manners of the age as they really are, nothing elſe can affect it. The ſenſe of ſucceeding times has fully juſtified the judgment of thoſe in which it was firſt acted, and *Love for Love* continues, and is likely to continue, an admired comedy, as long as true taſte for theatrical entertainments ſhall prevail.

[*F*] *They beſtowed upon that excellent performance.*] This play was dedicated to Queen Anne, then princeſs; and it is not eaſy to imagine any thing, either more great or graceful, than the manner in which the author ſhews the conſiſtency of his addreſs; and as there is ſomething in this very peculiar, the following paragraphs will be peruſed with pleaſure (10). 'It 'is from the example of Princes that virtue becomes 'a faſhion in the people; for even they who are averſe 'to inſtruction, will yet be fond of imitation. But 'there are multitudes who never can have means nor 'opportunities of ſo near an acceſs, as to partake of 'the benefit of ſuch examples: and to theſe Tragedy, 'which diſtinguiſhes itſelf from the vulgar poetry, by 'the dignity of its characters, may be of uſe and in'formation; for they who are at that diſtance from 'original greatneſs, as to be deprived of the happi'neſs of contemplating the perfections and real excel'lencies of your Royal Highneſs's perſon, in your 'Court, may yet behold ſome ſmall ſketches and ima'ges of the virtues of your mind, abſtracted and re'preſented on the theatre. Thus poets are inſtructed 'and inſtruct, not alone by precepts, which perſuade, 'but alſo by examples, which illuſtrate Thus is de'light interwoven with inſtruction: when not only 'virtue is preſcribed, but alſo repreſented. But, if 'we are delighted with the livelineſs of a feigned re'preſentation of great and good perſons, and their 'actions, how muſt we be charmed with beholding 'the perſons themſelves? If one or two excelling qua'lities, barely touched in the ſingle action and ſmall 'compaſs of a play, can warm an audience with a 'concern and regard, even for the ſeeming ſucceſs 'and proſperity of the actor; with what zeal muſt 'the hearts of all be filled, for the continued and 'increaſing happineſs of thoſe who are the true and 'living inſtances of elevated and perfiſting virtue? 'Even the vicious themſelves, muſt have a ſacred ve'neration for thoſe peculiar graces and endowments 'which are daily ſo eminently conſpicuous in your 'Royal Highneſs; and, though repining, feel a plea'ſure, which, in ſpite of envy, they *per* force ap'prove.' This Tragedy has been highly commended by Sir Richard Blackmore (11), and he has ſhewn himſelf a very judicious critic in all that he ſays about it; nor is there any reaſon to diſpute the character which he has given it, of being the moſt perfect tragedy written in that age.

(10) See the Dedication prefixed to this Play, in the ſecond vol. of Mr Congreve's Works.

(11) See his Preface to Prince Arthur. Lond. 1697, fol.

[*G*] *Will make them always well worth a judicious reader's peruſal.*] The title which our author gave this work was, *Amendments of Mr. Collier's falſe and imperfect Citations, &c. from the* Old Batchelor, Double Dealer, Love for Love, Mourning Bride. *By the author of thoſe plays* (12). In this apology for his own conduct, he lays down many things which are extremely well worth the knowing, and without knowing which, it is impoſſible to form a right notion of the innocence, excellency, or uſe of plays. He obſerves, that Ariſtotle defines comedy to be an imitation of the worſe ſort of people. He does not mean the worſe ſort of people in reſpect to their quality, but in reſpect to their manners. This is plain from his telling you immediately after, that he does not mean relating to all kinds of vice: there are crimes too daring and too horrid for comedy. But the vices moſt frequent, and which are the common practice of the looſer ſort of livers, are the ſubject matter of comedy. He tells us farther, that they muſt be expoſed after a ridiculous manner: For men are to be laughed out of their vices in comedy; the buſineſs of comedy is to delight, as well as to inſtruct: And as vicious people

(12) Lond. 1698, 8vo.

author ſome diſtaſte to the ſtage: however, he afterwards brought on another Comedy, the laſt, not the leaſt valuable, of his performances. It was intituled *The Way of the World* (*c*), of which it was ſo juſt a picture, that the world could not bear it, which compleated the diſguſt of our author to the Theatre: upon which Mr. Dennis (though not very famous for either) ſaid a very fine, and a very kind thing, *That Mr. Congreve quitted the ſtage early, and that Comedy left it with him* (*d*). He ſeems to have foreſeen the fate of his play, which is well revenged in his epilogue, as it is juſtly expoſed in the dedication prefixed to it when it was publiſhed; wherein our author ſhewed, that he knew how to reſent the injuries done him by little Critics: but it would have been better if he had ſtopped there, and not puniſhed the reſt of the world for their ſakes, by dropping his pen in the prime of life, and when he was moſt capable of doing honour to himſelf, and to his country. This play has long ago triumphed over its feeble adverſaries, and is now juſtly eſteemed as much as it deſerves [*H*]. He amuſed himſelf, however, after this, and

(*c*) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, vol. i. p. 45. Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 13.

(*d*) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, vol. i. p. 46.

people are made aſhamed of their follies or faults, by ſeeing them expoſed in a ridiculous manner, ſo are good people at once both warned and diverted at their expence. Our author next obſerves, that ſince comic poets are obliged by the laws of comedy, and to the intent that it may anſwer the end and purpoſe abovementioned, to repreſent vicious and fooliſh characters; it ought not therefore to be imputed to the perſuaſion or private ſentiments of the author, if at any time one of theſe vicious characters ſhall behave himſelf fooliſhly or immorally, in word or deed. This, ſays he, would be as hard and as unreaſonable, as to believe that a Painter ſhould reſemble all the ugly faces that he draws. He next remarks, that Mr. Collier's method of citing detached ſentences is unfair, becauſe when thus cited, they may, and indeed muſt, carry quite another ſenſe, than they do in the author's own work, ſo that a man becomes criminal by repreſentation only. 'I cannot think it reaſonable, ſays he, becauſe 'Mr. Collier is pleaſed to write one chapter of immodeſty, and another of profaneneſs, that therefore 'every expreſſion traduced by him under thoſe heads, 'ſhall be condemned as obſcene and profane immediately, and without any farther enquiry. Perhaps 'Mr. Collier is acquainted with the *deceptio viſus*, 'and preſents objects to the view through a ſtained 'glaſs: things may appear ſeemingly profane, 'when in reality they are only ſeen through a profane medium, and the true colour is diſſembled by 'the help of a ſophiſtical varniſh: Therefore I demand the privilege of the Habeas Corpus Act, that 'the priſoners may have liberty to remove, and to 'appear before a juſt judge in an open and uncounterfeit light:' To theſe he adds another remark. 'Becauſe, ſays he, Mr. Collier, in his chapter of the 'profaneneſs of the ſtage, has founded great part of 'his accuſation upon the liberty which poets take of 'uſing ſome words in their plays, which have been 'ſometimes employed by the tranſlators of the holy 'ſcriptures: I deſire that the following diſtinction 'may be admitted, viz. That when words are applied to ſacred things, and with a purpoſe to treat 'of ſacred things, they ought to be underſtood accordingly: But when they are otherwiſe applied, 'the diverſity of the ſubject gives a diverſity of 'ſignification. And in truth, he might as well except 'againſt the common uſe of the alphabet in poetry, 'becauſe the ſame letters are neceſſary to the ſpelling 'of words which are mentioned in ſacred Writ.' He adds farther, 'It may not be impertinent to take 'notice of a very common expedient, which is made 'uſe of to recommend the inſtruction of our plays, 'which is this: after the action of the play is over, 'and the delight of the repreſentation at an end, 'there is generally care taken that the moral of the 'whole ſhall be ſummed up and delivered to the 'audience, in the very laſt and concluding lines of 'the poem. The intention of this is, that the delight of the repreſentation may not ſo ſtrongly poſſeſs the minds of the audience, as to make them 'forget, or over-ſee the inſtruction: it is the laſt 'thing ſaid, that it may make the laſt impreſſion; 'and it is always comprehended in a few lines, and 'put into rhyme, that it may be eaſy and engaging to 'the memory.' Upon theſe foundations, he builds the juſtification of the greateſt part of the paſſages objected to: ſome others he excuſes, and very frankly gives up ſome, with a promiſe of correction. As we have already treated of this matter elſewhere, we ſhall not inſiſt any longer on it here, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that this diſpute had a very good effect upon the ſtage; and that of all the authors criticized by Mr. Collier, Mr. Congreve was thought to eſcape the beſt, and to have defended himſelf with the greateſt appearance of learning, juſtice, and candour.

[*H*] *And is now juſtly eſteemed, as much as it deſerves.*] The reaſons are mentioned in the text, why this comedy did not meet with ſo univerſal an approbation as his former pieces. It is very certain, the fault was not in the play but in the audience, who were not as yet arrived at that correct taſte, which requires that all kind of follies, how general or faſhionable ſoever, ſhould be ſubmitted to the chaſtiſement of the ſtage. In his dedication to Ralph Earl of Montague, a nobleman juſtly celebrated both as a competent and candid judge, the author treats this matter with great penetration and perſpicuity (13). 'But little of it, ſays he, was prepared for that general taſte, which ſeems now to be predominant in 'the palates of our audience. Thoſe characters 'which are meant to be ridiculed in moſt of our 'comedies, are of fools ſo groſs, that, in my humble 'opinion, they ſhould rather diſturb than divert the 'well-natured and reflecting part of an audience: 'they are rather objects of charity than contempt; 'and inſtead of moving our mirth, they ought very 'often to excite our compaſſion. This reflection 'moved me to deſign ſome characters, which ſhould 'appear ridiculous, not ſo much through a natural 'folly (which is incorrigible, and therefore not proper for the ſtage) as through an affected wit; a wit, 'which at the ſame time that it is affected, is alſo 'falſe. As there is ſome difficulty in the formation 'of a character of this nature, ſo there is ſome hazard 'which attends the progreſs of its ſucceſs upon the 'ſtage: for many come to a play ſo over-charged 'with criticiſm, that they very often let fly their cenſure, when, through their raſhneſs, they have miſtaken their aim. This I had occaſion lately to obſerve: for this play had been acted two or three 'days, before ſome of theſe haſty judges could find 'the leiſure to diſtinguiſh betwixt the character of 'a witwoud and a true wit.' In the following apology to his patron, for the liberty taken in the foregoing paragraphs, he ſufficiently ſhews, that he felt the treatment that he had met with from the many, to whoſe deciſion he was reſolved to truſt no more. 'I muſt, ſays he, beg your Lordſhip's pardon for this 'digreſſion, from the true courſe of this epiſtle; but 'that it may not ſeem altogether impertinent, I beg 'that I may plead the occaſion of it, in part of that 'excuſe, of which I ſtand in need, for recommending 'this comedy to your protection. It is only by the 'countenance of your lordſhip, and the few ſo qualified, that ſuch who write with care and pains, can 'hope to be diſtinguiſhed: for the proſtituted name 'of poet, promiſcuouſly levels all that bear it.' There ſtand prefixed to this comedy, a copy of verſes by Sir Richard Steele, in which he touches on the ſame ſubject, and condemns that coarſe taſte which induces the multitude to ſlight true Comedy for Farce. He inſinuates, that our author had conquered this folly, and that the crowd were diſpoſed to admire implicitly whatever had the ſtamp of his name. Mr. Congreve, it ſeems, would not truſt to theſe implicit admirers: he was reſolved not to write down to their underſtandings, or to put it in their power any more to queſtion his.

(13) See this Dedication, in the third volume of Mr. Congreve's Work.

obliged the world by a great variety of poems and tranſlations (*e*). He had a fine taſte for Muſic as well as Poetry, which ſufficiently appears in his Hymn to Harmony, in honour of St. Cecilia's Day, 1701, ſet by Mr. John Eccles, his great friend, and one of the moſt elegant Compoſers our nation has produced. To him alſo our author was obliged for ſetting ſeveral of his ſongs, which are very beautiful in their kind, and have all that vivacity of wit which can give life and luſtre to ſuch performances. His early acquaintance with the great, had promiſed him not an eaſy only, but a happy ſtation in life, to which it is very rare that either true genius, or any kind of literary merit, recommends any man. This freed him from all obligations of courting any longer public favour, though it ſtill left him under the tie of gratitude to his illuſtrious friends (*f*). He acted in a manner ſuitable to his ſituation: he very ſeldom riſked the character he had obtained for the ſake of exalting it; but he never miſſed any opportunity of paying his compliments to his high patrons, in a manner worthy of himſelf and of them. The death of the Marquis of Blandford, only ſon to the Duke of Marlborough, which happened February 20, 1705, afforded him a melancholy occaſion of endeavouring to ſoften, by celebrating the diſtreſs of that illuſtrious family; which he did in a moſt beautiful Paſtoral (*g*), inſcribed to the Lord Godolphin, Lord High-Treaſurer of England. The glorious ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms, under the invincible Duke before-mentioned, ſupplied a glorious theme for an Ode to the late Queen Anne, in which he celebrates victories moſt honourable to this nation, in numbers that juſtly entitle their author to unfading reputation, as they cannot fail of preſerving the memory of thoſe victories, as long as our language ſhall laſt, or a true taſte in poetry remains (*h*). In another Pindaric Ode, he celebrated that great Stateſman, and true Patriot, the Lord High-Treaſurer Godolphin; taking occaſion, from that nobleman's great delight in horſe-racing, to imitate, or rather to emulate, the Greek Poet, in his favourite manner of writing, by a truly elegant and exquiſite digreſſion (*i*). We owe to him not only theſe two pieces in a kind of poetry almoſt before unknown to our language, but alſo a very learned and judicious diſſertation upon this ſpecies of poeſy, which contains a ſolid and juſt criticiſm on thoſe ſort of irregular pieces, that hitherto have paſſed, though very undeſervedly, for Pindarics [*I*]. The clearneſs and candour of his criticiſm, ought to give him as high a character in the Republic of Letters, as even his fine performances in ſo many different kinds of poetry. His *Birth of the Muſe*, and his *Dedication* in verſe of his poems when collected, both addreſſed to his old patron Charles Lord Halifax, are equally grateful and pleaſing, though as different in their compoſition as any two pieces can be: the former is ſolemn and ſublime, the latter eaſy and familiar. We ſee, in one, how able the Poet was to riſe to the greateſt heights, without the leaſt mixture of bombaſt or fuſtian; and, in the other, how finely he could unite the becoming liberty of a friend, with that reſpect which was nevertheleſs due to his patron's ſuperior rank and dignity. But as, in the earlier part of his life, Mr. Congreve had received obligations from perſons of leſs exalted ſtation, ſo of theſe he was highly ſenſible, and never let ſlip any favourable opportunity of returning them. He wrote an Epilogue for his old friend Mr. Southerne's fine Tragedy of *Oroonoko* (*k*); and we learn from Mr. Dryden

(*e*) Collected in a volume, and publiſhed by himſelf in 1710.

(*f*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; p. 17.

(*g*) *The Tears of Amaryllis for Amyntas.*

(*h*) The title of this piece was, *A Pindaric Ode, humbly offered to the Queen, on the Victorious Progreſs of her Majeſty's Arms under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough.*

(*i*) The Addreſs of this Poem was, *To the Right Honourable the Earl of Godolphin, Lord High-Treaſurer of England.* A Pindaric Ode.

(*k*) Congreve's Works, vol. iii. p. 279.

[*I*] *That hitherto have paſſed, though very undeſervedly, for Pindarics.*] It has been hinted in the text, that whenever Mr. Congreve applied himſelf to any kind of writing in proſe or verſe, his conſtant aim was perfection; to which he had not the vanity of thinking he might arrive by the ſtrength of his genius, but applied himſelf firſt as a critic, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the nature of his taſk, before he undertook to execute it as a poet. It was this led him to examine the works of Pindar, with the greateſt care, before he attempted to imitate him; and at firſt ſight he diſcovered how little reſemblance the odes, pretending to the character of Pindaric, in our language, had to the odes of that author in reſpect to numbers, ſtructure, or ſentiment. He reſolved therefore to reſtore this ancient and ſublime manner of writing, by giving the world a true Pindaric in ſubſtance as well as ſhow, that it might appear the force and ſpirit of this kind of poetry, conſiſted in the ſtrength of the thought, and not in the looſeneſs or irregularity of the numbers. He enquired alſo into the cauſe of ſo general a miſtake, and has aſſigned it with an equal mixture of critical juſtice, and the candour of a gentleman. His words are theſe (14), 'Mr. Cowley, 'in his preface to his Pindaric odes, ſpeaking of the 'muſic of numbers, ſays, that theſe ſometimes, eſpe- 'cially in ſongs and odes, almoſt without any thing 'elſe, make an excellent poet. Having mentioned 'Mr. Cowley, it may be very well expected, that 'ſomething ſhould be ſaid of him, at a time when 'the imitation of Pindar is the theme of our diſcourſe. 'But there is that great deference due to the me- 'mory, great parts, and learning of that gentleman, 'that I think nothing ſhould be objected to the lati- 'tude he has taken in his Pindaric odes. The beauty 'of his verſes are an atonement for the irregularity 'of his ſtanzas; and though he did not imitate Pindar 'in the ſtrictneſs of his numbers, he has very often 'happily copied him in the force of his figures, and 'ſublimity of his ſtyle and ſentiments. Yet I muſt 'beg leave to add, that I believe thoſe irregular odes 'of Mr. Cowley, may have been the principal, 'though innocent, occaſion of ſo many deformed 'poems ſince; which inſtead of being true pictures of 'Pindar, have (to uſe the Italian Painters term) been 'only caricaturas of him, reſemblances that for the 'moſt part have been either horrid or ridiculous. For 'my own part I frankly own my error, in having 'heretofore miſ-called a few irregular ſtanzas a 'Pindaric ode; and poſſibly if others, who have 'been under the ſame miſtake, would ingenuouſly 'confeſs the truth, they might own, that never hav- 'ing conſulted Pindar himſelf, they took all his irre- 'gularity upon truſt; and finding their account in 'the great eaſe with which they could produce odes, 'without being obliged either to meaſure or deſign, 'remained ſatisfied, and it may be were not altoge- 'ther unwilling to neglect being undeceived.' This ſhews not only how deſirous Mr. Congreve was of writing correctly himſelf, but alſo how willing to eſtabliſh ſo true a taſte, as might render correctneſs neceſſary to applauſe.

(14) Congreve's Works, vol. iii. p. 345.

himſelf, how much he owed to his aſſiſtance in the tranſlation of Virgil (*l*) [*K*]. He contributed, by tranſlating the eleventh Satire, to the tranſlation of Juvenal publiſhed by that great Poet, and wrote an admirable copy of verſes on the verſion of Perſius performed by Mr. Dryden alone (*m*). He wrote likewiſe a Prologue for a play of Mr. Charles Dryden's, full of kindneſs for that young gentleman, and of reſpect for his father (*n*). But the nobleſt teſtimony he gave of his filial reverence for that exalted genius, was in that inimitable panegyric upon his writings, contained in the dedication of his plays to his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle; a monument that will ever expreſs, in the moſt lively colours, the worth of him to whoſe honour it is conſecrated, and the capacity, candour, and critical juſtice, of the hand that raiſed it. His tranſlations have done him the greateſt honour, in the ſentiments of thoſe who were the beſt judges, and who have taken pains to compare them with their originals. The *Hymn to Venus*, and ſome of the moſt moving paſſages in the *Iliad*, appear with all the ſpirit and dignity of Homer in the Engliſh verſion; and as it is impoſſible for a learned writer to peruſe them without confeſſing his accuracy, ſo whoever has a true taſte for poetry muſt feel the effects of that art and force, with which all the emotions naturally riſing from the paſſions of the human mind, are expreſſed in theſe nervous pieces (*o*). His imitations of Horace have as much the air of that Poet, as our times or language will permit; that is, the ſame ſtrength, vivacity, and delicacy, for which, through a long ſeries of years, they have been admired in the original (*p*). The third book of *Ovid's Art of Love*, appears in our tongue with all the ſweetneſs and ſoftneſs peculiar to that author, who was perfectly acquainted with the paſſion, and knew how to deſcribe it with all the maſterly graces of a great Poet; and what was admired in the Auguſtan age, becomes excellent in ours, from the ſkill of Mr. Congreve, and the happy union of the moſt diſtant excellencies in a tranſlator, eaſe and exactneſs (*q*). He was the better qualified for an undertaking of this kind, from the natural turn of his own temper; for his Poem to, and his excellent Epigram on, Mrs. Arabella Hunt, are entirely in the Ovidian ſtrain, and are as pleaſingly pathetic as any Poems in their kind, in our own, or perhaps in any other language (*r*). There is a ſtrength and ſolemnity in his verſes to the memory of Lady Gethins, and in his Epitaph upon the two Huntingtons (*s*), that make one ſcarcely conceive it poſſible that he ſhould ſucceed as well in lighter compoſitions; and yet the tales that he has told after a celebrated French author, are ſo unaffected and natural, that if we were not appriſed of it, we ſhould never have ſuſpected they were tranſlations (*t*). But there is one piece of his which ought to be particularly diſtinguiſhed, as being ſo truly an original, that though it ſeems to be written with the utmoſt facility, yet we may deſpair of ever ſeeing it copied: this is his *DORIS*, ſo highly and ſo juſtly commended by Sir Richard Steele, as the ſharpeſt and moſt delicate ſatire he had ever met with (*u*). We muſt not omit, in this free catalogue of his works, two pieces of the dramatic kind, which do him equal honour as a Poet, and as a lover of Muſic, *viz.* the *Judgment of Paris*, a *Maſque*, and the *Opera of Semele*. Of theſe, the former was acted with great applauſe, and the latter finely ſet to muſic by Mr. Eccles. In reſpect to both, it is but bare juſtice to ſay, that they have the ſtamp of excellency borne by the reſt of Mr. Congreve's works, were conſidered as maſter-pieces when publiſhed, and may ſerve as models to poſterity [*L*]. We have now almoſt finiſhed the liſt of his poetical labours,

(*l*) In his Dedication to John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamſhire.

(*m*) Congreve's Works, vol. iii. p. 258.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 280.

(*o*) Congreve's Works, vol. iii. p. 228. 232. 366.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 238, 239. 241.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 299.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 225. 250.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 256, 257.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 359. 365.

(*u*) See the Dedication of Sir Richard Steele's Miſcellanies, to Mr. Congreve.

[*K*] *In the tranſlation of Virgil.*] As there have been few authors, whoſe abilities have been more univerſally confeſſed than Mr. Dryden's, ſo never any author was more remarkable for modeſty. He ſhewed it in that civility, kindneſs, and candour, with which he corrected the works of others; but much more ſo in the readineſs and gratitude, with which he received any information of miſtakes made by himſelf. He knew that every man was fallible, and therefore, with all the great gifts he received from nature, did not at all repine at his being in that reſpect not exempt from the lot of mortals. It was from a true ſenſe of this, and not a vain affectation of hearing his own praiſes echoed, that he communicated his works, before they were printed, to the ableſt of his friends, that he might receive their help as well as cenſure. Neither was he afraid or aſhamed to confeſs this to the world; for he knew that men of parts and probity, would approve and applaud it. In his dedication therefore to the Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamſhire, he makes the following mention of our author (15). *Mr. Congreve has done me the favour to review the Æneis, and compare my verſion with the original. I ſhall never be aſhamed to own, that this excellent young man has ſhewed me many faults, which I have endeavoured to correct.* The Engliſh tranſlation of Virgil was not publiſhed until 1697, but Mr. Dryden was engaged in it in 1695, and conſequently at the time he conſulted our author, he was only between twenty-three and twenty-four years of age. What an honour to have his opinion aſked by the greateſt poet of his time, upon a ſubject of ſuch importance to his reputation; what an honour to juſtify both his friendſhip and his judgment on ſo critical an occaſion; and what an honour to receive the laurel from his learned brow, only to fix it again upon his tomb; to be the defender of that great man's fame when he was dead, who had loved him ſo much living; and piouſly to vindicate the character of him, whoſe generous, though juſt, praiſes had laid the foundation of his own?

(15) See Dryden's Virgil, vol. ii. p. 435.

[*L*] *And may ſerve as models to poſterity.*] The great art of adapting poetry to muſic, though ſtudied by many, has been acquired by few. This very plainly appears from the want of a true poetic ſpirit, in many of the pieces ſet to fine muſic, in which we evidently perceive, that the notes were not accommodated to the words, but the words to the notes. We do not indeed perceive this ſo plainly, during the performance, when the faculties of the mind are ſo tranſported by the ſweetneſs of the ſound, that we have not power to diſcern the defects in the ſenſe. But what eſcapes us on the Theatre, ſtares us in the face in the cloſet; and we cannot help wondering, when we read what it was that tranſported us ſo much in the hearing. But the few great maſters that have reached the ſublime heights of Harmony, inſtead of receiving from, communicate helps to the moſt able

compoſer,

bours, in which we have been the more particular, becauſe it was peculiar to Mr. Congreve to have written and excelled, not barely in every kind of dramatic poetry, but almoſt in every kind of poetry. The laſt to which he turned his genius was that of familiar epiſtles. Of theſe, that on the *Art of Pleaſing* (*w*), addreſſed to Sir Richard Temple, afterwards Viſcount Cobham, is the only one inſerted in his works; and is ſo truly admirable, that the public has juſt reaſon to regret ſome others that are ſtill ſaid to be preſerved in the cabinets of his friends to whom they were addreſſed, and which it is hoped will one day ſee the light. Another epiſtle of his to the ſame noble perſon, as it is not to be found in his works, we have, as one of its brighteſt ornaments, inſerted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct [*M*]. This naturally leads us to mention his proſe letters,

(*w*) Congreve's Works, vol. iii p. 332.

compoſer. Of this we have the ſtrongeſt inſtance in Mr. Dryden's celebrated ode on St. Cecilia's day, which not only raviſhes us when performed, but when read, and thereby convinces the judicious peruſer of the real force of numbers. The ſame thing may with equal juſtice be ſaid of our author's maſque, the ſongs in which are moſt admirably adapted to the characters, as well as the muſic; and the performance is not only perfect upon the ſtage, but perfect alſo when conſidered only as a poetic entertainment; and though we may ſee it with more rapture, yet we read it too with the higheſt delight, and find nothing in it flat or inſipid for want of the ſupport of muſic. There is an excellency in every kind of writing; and as an author is juſtly entitled to reputation who reaches this in any, ſo admiration is the juſt tribute to that exalted genius that reaches it in all: I need not tell the reader, that this is Mr. Congreve's claim to admiration. His opera of Semele was never performed; but, for all that, it has been univerſally admired. The fable is happily choſen and ſkilfully managed; the ſcenes are finely diſpoſed, the ſentiments perfectly agreeable to the ſubject, and the language exactly ſuitable to the ſentiments. There is, however, one thing that deſerves peculiar notice, and that is, the manner in which our author has diſpoſed that part of his work which ſeemed leaſt ſuſceptible of ſenſe and grace at the ſame time. Himſelf ſhall give you an account of it, for none but himſelf could expreſs it ſo well. ‘ It was (16) not thought requiſite to have ‘ any regard either to rhyme or equality of meaſure, ‘ in the lines of that part of the dialogue, which was ‘ deſigned for the recitative ſtyle in muſic; for as that ‘ ſtyle in muſic is not confined to the ſtrict obſerva- ‘ tion of time and meaſure, which is required in the ‘ compoſition of airs and ſonata's; ſo neither is it ‘ neceſſary that the ſame exactneſs in numbers, ‘ rhymes, or meaſure, ſhould be obſerved in words ‘ deſigned to be ſet in that manner, which muſt ever ‘ be obſerved in the formation of odes and ſonnets: ‘ for what they call recitative in muſic, is only a ‘ more tunable ſpeaking; it is a kind of proſe in ‘ muſic; its beauty conſiſts in coming near nature, ‘ and in improving the natural accents of words by ‘ more pathetic or emphatical tones.’ This explains what had never been explained before, that is to ſay, the nature and meaning of the recitative; how far it approaches, and wherein it is removed from proſe; what the uſe of it, and conſequently what rules are to be obſerved in its compoſition, ſo as to keep it from ſinking ſervilely low, and to reſtrain it from ſwelling into rant and bombaſt.

(16) See the argument prefixed to Mr. Congreve's Opera of Semele, in the third vol. of his Works.

[*M*] *Inſerted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct.*] This beautiful poem is written with that ſimple elegance, that force of genius, and that dignity of ſentiment, which leaves no room to doubt of its being juſtly attributed to Mr. Congreve. At what time it was written cannot be ſaid with any pretence to certainty; but as there is a viſible alluſion in the poem to meaſures, which the writer thought were too complaiſant to the *French*, it is very evident that it muſt have been penned but a very ſmall time before his death. The title it bears is this,

Of improving the preſent time.

Sincereſt critic of my proſe or rhyme,
Tell how thy pleaſing Stowe employs thy time.
Say, Cobham, what amuſes thy retreat?
Or ſtratagems of war, or ſchemes of ſtate?
Doſt thou re-call to mind, with joy or grief,
Great Marlbro's actions? that immortal *chief*,
Whoſe ſlighteſt trophy, rais'd in each campaign,
More than ſuffic'd to ſignalize a reign.
Does thy remembrance riſing, warm thy heart
With glory paſt, where thou thyſelf had'ſt part;
Or doſt thou grieve indignant, now to ſee
The fruitleſs end of all thy victory?
To ſee the audacious foe, ſo late ſubdu'd,
Diſpute thoſe terms for which ſo long they ſu'd,
As if Britannia now were ſunk ſo low,
To beg that peace ſhe wonted to beſtow.
Be far, that guilt! be never known that ſhame!
That England ſhould retract her rightful claim!
Or ceaſing to be dreaded and ador'd,
Stain with her pen the luſtre of her ſword.
Or doſt thou give the winds afar to blow,
Each vexing thought and heart-devouring woe,
And fix thy mind alone on rural ſcenes,
To turn the levell'd lawns to liquid plains;
To raiſe the creeping rills from humble beds,
And force the latent ſprings to lift their heads;
On watry columns capitals to rear,
That mix their flowing curls with upper air?
Or doſt thou, weary grown, theſe works neglect,
No temples, ſtatues, obeliſks erect;
But catch the morning breeze from fragrant meads,
Or ſhun the noon-tide ray in wholeſome ſhades;
Or lowly walk along the mazy wood,
To meditate on all that's wiſe and good?
For nature, bountiful in thee, has join'd,
A perſon pleaſing, with a worthy mind;
Not given the form alone, but means and art,
To draw the eye, or to allure the heart.
Poor were the praiſe in fortune to excel,
Yet want the way to uſe that fortune well.
While thus adorn'd, while thus with virtue crown'd,
At home in peace; abroad, in arms renown'd;
Graceful in form, and winning in addreſs,
While well you think what aptly you expreſs,
With health, with honour, with a fair eſtate,
A table free, and elegantly neat;
What can be added more to mortal bliſs?
What can he want that ſtands poſſeſt of this?
What can the fondeſt wiſhing mother more,
Of Heaven attentive, for her ſon implore?
And yet, a happineſs remains unknown,
Or to Philoſophy reveal'd alone;
A precept which, unpractis'd, renders vain
Thy flowing hopes, and pleaſure turns to pain.
Shou'd hope and fear thy heart alternate tear,
Or love, or hate, or rage, or anxious care,
Whatever paſſions may thy mind infeſt,
(Where is that mind which paſſions ne'er moleſt?)
Amidſt the pangs of ſuch inteſtine ſtrife,
Still think the preſent day the laſt of life;
Defer not 'till to-morrow to be wiſe,
To-morrow's ſun to thee may never riſe;
Or ſhou'd to-morrow chance to chear thy ſight
With her enliv'ning and unlook'd-for light,
How grateful will appear her dawning rays!
As favours unexpected doubly pleaſe.
Who thus can think, and who ſuch thoughts purſues,
Content may keep his life, or calmly loſe.
All proofs of this, thou may'ſt thyſelf receive,
When leiſure from affairs will give thee leave.
Come, ſee thy friend retir'd, without regret,
Forgetting care, or ſtriving to forget,
In eaſy contemplation, ſoothing time
With morals much, and now and then with rhyme;

Not

letters, which are diſperſed through the works of other men; but, whenever they have a new edition, would make a very natural and a very valuable addition to his own. His letter upon *Humour* in Engliſh Comedy, is, without doubt, as inſtructive, as entertaining, and as correct a piece of criticiſm as is any where to be met with (*x*). All his other letters are written with infinite wit and ſpirit, and at the ſame time with a wonderful facility, and a fine flow of language, ſo happily intermixed with lively and inoffenſive raillery, that it is impoſſible not to be pleaſed with them at the firſt reading, or to find any fault with them on the moſt mature reflection. We may be ſatisfied from the peruſal of them, that his converſation muſt have been very engaging; and, therefore, we need not wonder that he lived in ſuch familiarity with the greateſt men of his time, or that they courted his friendſhip, by rendering him every good office in their power. It has been obſerved, that no change of Miniſtries affected him in the leaſt, nor was he ever removed from any poſt that was given him, excepting to a better (*y*). His place in the Cuſtom-Houſe, and his office of Secretary in Jamaica, are ſaid to have brought him in upwards of twelve hundred pounds a year; and though he lived in a manner ſuitable to ſuch a fortune, yet he was ſo far an œconomiſt, as to raiſe from thence a competent eſtate. No man of his parts and learning ever paſſed through life with more eaſe, or leſs envy; and as in the dawn of his reputation he was very dear to the greateſt wits of his time, ſo during his whole life he preſerved the utmoſt reſpect, and received continual marks of eſteem from men of genius and letters, without ever being involved in any of their quarrels, or drawing upon himſelf the leaſt mark of diſtaſte, or even diſſatisfaction. On the contrary, they ſought his approbation with concern, and received it as the higheſt ſanction of merit. Mr. Addiſon teſtified his perſonal regard for him, and his high eſteem of his writings, upon many occaſions. Sir Richard Steele conſidered him as his patron upon one occaſion, and was deſirous of ſubmitting to his judgment as an umpire on another (*z*). Even the judicious Mr. Pope, though ſufficiently jealous of his poetical character, thought fit to honour him with the higheſt teſtimony of deference and eſteem (*a*) [*N*]. We may add to all this, that Mr. John Dennis, who valued himſelf ſo much upon criticiſing the works of the ableſt writers of his time, was ſo ſenſible of the ſuperior excellence of Mr. Congreve's writings, or at leaſt was ſo grateful for the repeated marks of affability and beneficence which he received from him, that he always ſpoke of him, not with decency only, but with veneration; which, if not a peculiar felicity, muſt at leaſt have been a ſingular ſatisfaction to a man of Mr. Congreve's peaceable diſpoſition, who, as he never gave any offence, was very deſirous, if it was poſſible, to avoid abuſe (*b*). There is no doubt that Mr. Congreve had an appetite to fame, and was not inſenſible of praiſe: yet never any man was freer from vanity, or ſhewed leſs concern about the fate of his writings; inſomuch, that a foreigner of diſtinction, and, without compariſon, the beſt Poet his country has to boaſt, was a little offended at this, and thought him rather too careleſs as to his literary reputation (*c*) [*O*]. The

(*x*) Inſerted in *Dennis's Letters.*

(*y*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; P. ii. p. 51.

(*z*) In his Dedication of his *Miſcellanies*, and in the Addreſs prefixed to the *Drummer*, a Comedy of Mr. Addiſon's, of which he publiſhed a ſecond edition.

(*a*) See this at large in note [*N*].

(*b*) Memoirs of William Congreve, Eſq; P. ii. p. 137.

(*c*) Voltaire's Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation. Lond. 1733, 8*vo*. p. 188, 189.

Not ſo robuſt in body as in mind,
And always undejected, tho' declin'd;
Not wond'ring at the world's new wicked ways,
Compar'd with thoſe of our fore-fathers days;
For virtue now is neither more or leſs,
And vice is only vary'd in the dreſs:
Believe it, men have ever been the ſame,
And *Ovid*'s GOLDEN AGE is but a dream.

WILLIAM CONGREVE.

[*N*] *With the higheſt teſtimony of deference and eſteem.*] Thoſe who were well acquainted with the late Mr. Pope know, that there was nothing he deſpiſed ſo much in others, or the imputation of which he could have borne with ſo little patience himſelf, as the paying a ſervile court, and ſhewing a mean dependance upon any man, how great ſoever. He knew that virtue was true nobility, and parts the riches of nature: hence his deep reverence for Mr. Bethel, and his high regard for Mr. Congreve. To them, however, he would have been aſhamed to dedicate his works, and yet to them he was proud to inſcribe them. He looked upon his performances, as monuments ſecure from time and accident, and every name they bore as conſecrated to immortality. This was his ſentiment, nor was it vanity: the moſt generous poſſeſſor of gold knows the properties and value of the metal as well as the meaneſt miſer. Let us hear then what praiſes one who was ſo ſparing of them has beſtowed on Mr. Congreve. We ſhall find them at the cloſe of his poſtſcript to the tranſlation of Homer, and there they run thus (17). 'Inſtead of endeavouring to raiſe a vain monument to myſelf, let me 'leave behind me a memorial of my friendſhip, with 'one of the moſt valuable men, as well as fineſt 'writers of my age and country. One who has tried, 'and knows by his own experience, how hard an undertaking it is to do juſtice to Homer, and one who 'I am ſure, ſincerely rejoices with me at the period 'of my labours. To him therefore, having brought 'this long work to a concluſion, I deſire to dedicate 'it, and to have the honour and ſatisfaction of placing together in this manner the names of Mr. Congreve, and of

'A. POPE.'

(17) Poſtſcript to his Tranſlation of the Iliad of Homer, dated March 25, 1720.

[*O*] *As to his literary reputation.*] The gentleman mentioned in the text, was the late eminent wit, and juſtly eſteemed poet of France, Mr. Voltaire, who, in the ſhort time that he ſtayed here, acquired indeed a wonderful knowledge of our language, and of our manners; notwithſtanding which, however, he was ſometimes miſtaken; and it is the more neceſſary to take notice of his miſtakes, becauſe no man's authority in the world is more likely to paſs them upon the preſent age, or upon poſterity, for undoubted truths. The character he is pleaſed to give Mr. Congreve runs thus: 'He raiſed the glory of comedy to a 'greater height than any Engliſh writer before or 'ſince his time (18). He wrote only a few plays, 'but they are excellent in their kind. The laws of 'the drama are ſtrictly obſerved in them. They 'abound with characters, all which are ſhadowed with 'the utmoſt delicacy, and we do not meet with ſo 'much as one low or coarſe jeſt. The language is 'every where that of men of faſhion, but their actions 'are thoſe of knaves; a proof that he was perfectly 'well acquainted with human nature, and frequented what we call polite company. He was infirm, 'and come to the verge of life when I knew of him.

(18) Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation, p. 188, 189.

The beſt part of the laſt twenty years of his life was ſpent in eaſe and retirement; but towards the end of his days he was very much afflicted with the gout, which at length broke his conſtitution ſo much, as to bring on a gradual decay. It was for this, that in the ſummer of the year 1728, he made a tour to the Bath for the benefit of the waters, where he had the misfortune to be overturned in his chariot, from which time he complained of a pain in his ſide, which was ſuppoſed to ariſe from ſome inward bruiſe. However it was, upon his return to London, his health declined more and more, but without making any impreſſion on his ſpirits or underſtanding. He had accuſtomed himſelf to conſider life, and every thing belonging to it, as bleſſings in which we have a very uncertain tenure, and therefore was not either ſurprized or diſturbed at the proſpect of loſing it: the only concern he expreſſed, was for the grief it occaſioned to his friends, more eſpecially thoſe for whom he had a tender affection, and a moſt profound eſteem. He yielded his laſt breath about the hour of five on Sunday morning, January 19, 1728-9, at his houſe in Surrey-ſtreet in the Strand, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age (*e*); and on the Sunday following, January 26, his corpſe lay in ſtate in the Jeruſalem-Chamber, from whence, the ſame evening, between the hours of nine and ten, it was carried, with great decency and ſolemnity, into King Henry the VIIth's Chapel; and, after the funeral ſervice was performed, was interred in the Abbey. The pall was ſupported by the Duke of Bridgwater, Earl of Godolphin, Lord Cobham, Lord Wilmington, the Honourable George Berkeley, Eſq; and Brigadier-General Churchill; and Colonel Congreve followed his corpſe as chief mourner. Some time after, a neat and elegant monument, with a ſuitable inſcription thereupon [*P*], was erected to his memory by Henrietta Ducheſs of Marlborough.

(*e*) Mr. Congreve's laſt Will and Teſtament, Lond. 1730, 8vo, p. 10.

'Mr. Congreve had one defect, which was his entertaining too mean an idea of his firſt profeſſion, that 'of a writer, though it was to this he owed his fame 'and fortune. He ſpoke of his works as of trifles 'that were beneath him, and hinted to me in our firſt 'converſation, that I ſhould viſit him upon no other 'foot than that of a gentleman, who led a life of 'plainneſs and ſimplicity. I anſwered that had he 'been ſo unfortunate as to be a mere gentleman, I 'ſhould never have come to ſee him, and I was very 'much diſguſted at ſo unſeaſonable a piece of vanity.' It is ſomewhat ſtrange to hear an author accuſed of vanity, for undervaluing his own works. We often meet with cenſures even upon great men, for talking continually of themſelves and their writings; but it is a very ſingular cenſure that is paſſed upon Mr. Congreve, that he was troubled with an unſeaſonable vanity, which hindered him from talking of them at all. The truth of the matter ſeems to have been, that inſtead of feeling an unſeaſonable vanity, he had outlived the ſeaſon of vanity, if ever he had any; and having no longer any thing of the pride of an author about him, it is not at all wonderful that his converſation was not reliſhed by Mr. Voltaire, whoſe merit, as an author, was ſuperior to every thing ——but the ſenſe he had of that merit.

[*P*] *With a ſuitable inſcription thereupon.*] As the erecting of this monument is later, in point of time, than any of the collections of ſuch kind of ornaments in Weſtminſter-Abbey*, it is proper to inſert the inſcription here, which runs thus. 'Mr. William 'Congreve died Jan. the 19th, 1728, aged fifty-ſix, 'and was buried near this place; to whoſe moſt va'luable memory this monument is ſet up, by Henri'etta, Dutcheſs of Marlborough, as a mark how dearly 'ſhe remembers the happineſs and honour ſhe enjoy'ed in the ſincere friendſhip of ſo worthy and honeſt 'a man, whoſe virtue, candour and wit, gained him 'the love and eſteem of the preſent age, and whoſe 'writings will be the admiration of the future.' C.

*When this note was written.

*** [There are ſcarcely any new circumſtances, relative to the perſonal hiſtory of Mr. Congreve, which can at preſent be collected by the moſt diligent inveſtigation. Notwithſtanding his own aſſertion that he was born in England, it is believed by many, and hath poſitively been affirmed by ſome of his Biographers, that Ireland was the country of his nativity. Dr. Johnſon appears to have been of this opinion. "It was ſaid by himſelf," obſerves the Doctor, "that "he owed his Nativity to England, and by every "body elſe that he was born in Ireland. Southerne "mentioned him with ſharp cenſure, as a man that "meanly diſowned his native country.——To doubt "whether a man of eminence has told the truth "about his own birth, is, in appearance, to be very "deficient in candour; yet nobody can live long "without knowing that falſehoods of convenience or "vanity, falſehoods from which no evil immediately "viſibly enſues, except the general degradation of "human teſtimony, are very lightly uttered, and "when once uttered, are ſullenly ſupported. "Boileau, who deſired to be thought a rigorous and "ſteady moraliſt, having told a petty lye to Lewis "the fourteenth, continued it afterwards by falſe "dates; thinking himſelf obliged *in honour*, ſays his "admirer, to maintain what, when he ſaid it, was ſo "well received (19)." Whilſt we are ſenſible of the acuteneſs of the preceding remark, and that it ſhews Dr. Johnſon's great knowledge of the human mind, we are not ſatisfied with the application of it, in regard to Mr. Congreve. There doth not appear to be any ſufficient reaſon for charging him with maintaining a falſehood; and his aſſigning ſo particularly the place in Yorkſhire in which he declared that he was born, has all the appearance of truth. Accordingly, his two laſt Biographers, in the New and General Biographical Dictionary, and in the Biographia Dramatica, decidedly prefer our Poet's own teſtimony to that of Mr. Southerne (20).

(19) Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 41, 42. Octavo edition.

(20) New and General Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 86. Biographia Dramatica, vol. i. p. 95.

In contradiction to every account we have of Mr. Congreve, Dr. Swift, in the following lines, has repreſented him as but indifferently provided for, in the more early part of his life.

"Thus Congreve ſpent in writing plays,
And one poor office, half his days,
While Montagu, who claim'd the ſtation
To be Mecænas of the nation,
For Poets open table kept,
But ne'er conſider'd where they ſlept.
Himſelf, as rich as fifty Jews,
Was eaſy, tho' they wanted ſhoes;
And crazy Congrave ſcarce could ſpare
A ſhilling to diſcharge his chair,
Till prudence taught him to appeal
From pæan's fire to party zeal;
Not owing to his happy vein
The fortunes of his latter ſcene;
Took proper principles to thrive,
And ſo might every dunce alive."

Theſe lines afford a ſtriking inſtance how much men are biaſſed by a party ſpirit, and what little dependence can be placed on ſatirical writers, in their repreſentations of characters and facts. Swift's deſign was to throw abuſe on Lord Halifax, in the doing of which he has not ſcrupled to violate truth (21). It would have been ſtrange indeed, if Congreve could ſcarcely afford a ſhilling for the diſcharge of his chair,

(21) From the communications of a correſpondent, to whom we have often been obliged.

chair, when, from his firſt ſetting out in the world, he was put into valuable places by his noble patron.

Theophilus Cibber (or rather Mr. Shiells) informs us, that it is ſaid, that when Congreve found his play of the "Way of the World" not likely to be ſucceſsful, he came in a paſſion on the ſtage, and deſired the audience to ſave themſelves the trouble of ſhewing their diſlike; for he never intended to write again for the theatre, nor ſubmit his works to the cenſure of impotent critics (22). As this fact is grounded only upon report, we cannot pay much credit to it; eſpecially, as it doth not ſeem to comport with Mr. Congreve's acknowledged manners as a Gentleman.

(22) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 90.

Of our author's controverſy with Jeremy Collier, proper notice is taken under that Gentleman's article; and, therefore, we ſhall only add in this place, that however ſucceſsful Congreve might be in his attempts to vindicate ſome particular paſſages in his comedies, it was totally out of his power to defend their general tendency. In the latter part of his life, he became convinced that his conduct as a writer could not admit of a juſtification. On a viſit to Mr. Bevern the Quaker, in company with Mr. Pope, he ſaid, in the courſe of the converſation, that he moſt ſincerely wiſhed that it were poſſible to obliterate all the offenſive and impure paſſages in his works; and that he was fully ſenſible of the errors into which he had been betrayed, by the livelineſs of youth (23).

(23) From the information of the late Robert Dingley, Eſq; whoſe account was from Mr. Bevern.

Our worthy Predeceſſor, Dr. Campbell, has taken ſome pains in vindicating Mr. Congreve's behaviour to Voltaire; but the generality of Biographers will be found to diſapprove of that behaviour. Cibber obſerves, that, when he owed to his wit and writings the reputation, as well as the fortune he acquired, his pretending to diveſt himſelf of human nature to ſuch a degree, as to have no conſciouſneſs of his own merit, was the moſt abſurd piece of vanity which ever entered into the heart of man; and that of all vanity, that is the greateſt which maſks itſelf under the appearance of the oppoſite quality (24). "He treated," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "the muſes with ingratitude: for, "having long converſed familiarly with the great, "he wiſhed to be conſidered rather as a man of "faſhion than of wit; and, when he received a viſit "from Voltaire, diſguſted him by the deſpicable "foppery of deſiring to be conſidered not as an "author but a gentleman (25)." Congreve, however, has had the good fortune to meet with an ingenious defender in an eminent modern Poet. "I "have often thought," ſays Mr. Maſon, "that Mr. "Congreve might very well be vindicated on this "head. It ſeldom happens that the vanity of au"thorſhip continues to the end of a man's days. It "uſually ſoon leaves him where it found him; and "if he has not ſomething better to build his ſelf"approbation upon than that of being a popular "writer, he generally finds himſelf ill at eaſe, if re"ſpected only on that account. Mr. Congreve was "much advanced in years when the young French "Poet paid him this viſit; and, though a man of "the world, he might now feel that indifference to "literary fame which Mr. Gray, who always led a "more retired and philoſophic life, certainly felt "much earlier. Both of them, therefore, might "reaſonably, at times, expreſs ſome diſguſt, if their "quiet was obtruded upon by perſons who thought "they flattered them by ſuch intruſion (26)." Whatever force there may be in this reaſoning, we believe that the common ſenſe of mankind will find it difficult to acquit Mr. Congreve of ſome degree of vanity and affectation, in his reception of Voltaire's viſit.

(24) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 94.

(25) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, vol. iii. p. 55.

(26) Maſon's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray, p. 403. note, 4to edition.

The bequeſt of Congreve to Henrietta, Ducheſs of Marlborough, has been expoſed to ſtrictures. It is Cibber's remark, that he would have made a better figure in his laſt will, had he remembered the friendſhip he profeſſed for Mrs. Bracegirdle, whoſe admirable performance added ſpirit to his dramatic pieces; but that he forgot her, and gratified his vanity by chooſing a rich Ducheſs his ſole legatee, and executrix (27). This ſhort paragraph is full of miſtakes. It is not true that Mr. Congreve forgot Mrs. Bracegirdle; for he left two hundred pounds to that Lady. He bequeathed, likewiſe, ſeveral other legacies, among which were ſome to his relations; and particularly, three hundred pounds to William Congreve, ſon of Colonel William Congreve of Highgate; and two hundred pounds to Mrs. Anne Congreve, daughter of Colonel Ralph Congreve, of Clarges-ſtreet. Neither was the Ducheſs of Marlborough the executrix of our Poet's laſt will. He conſtituted the Earl of Godolphin his ſole executor, in truſt for the Ducheſs his Lordſhip's wife, and in confidence of his honour and juſtice (28). Mr. Congreve's leaving to that Lady the bulk of his fortune, which amounted to ten thouſand pounds, is not to be juſtified. Dr. Johnſon juſtly obſerves, that this accumulation of attentive parſimony, though to her ſuperfluous and uſeleſs, might have given great aſſiſtance to the ancient family from which he deſcended, at that time, by the imprudence of his relation, reduced to difficulties and diſtreſs (29). The Ducheſs of Marlborough's attachment to Congreve appears to have been of a very extravagant nature. Cibber mentions it; but the following account of it hath been tranſmitted to us by a reſpectable correſpondent. "This Lady, com"monly known by the name of the young Ducheſs "of Marlborough, had a veneration for the memory "of Mr. Congreve which ſeemed nearly to approach "to madneſs. Common fame reports, that ſhe had "his figure made in wax after his death, talked to it "as if it had been alive, placed it at table with her, "took great care to help it with different ſorts of "food, had an imaginary ſore on its leg regularly "dreſſed; and to compleat all, conſulted Phyſicians "with relation to its health. Theſe things are "uſually ranked under the appellation of *whim*. "But whenever a perſon acts thus abſurdly, the beſt "excuſe is inſanity." It ought to be remembered, that as the preceding account is grounded only on common report, there is the higheſt probability of its being greatly exaggerated.

(28) See Mr. Congreve's Will, in Wilſon's Life of him.

(29) Johnſon's Lives, *ubi ſupra*, p. 56.

Of Congreve's works much hath been ſaid by various writers, whoſe remarks are not to be neglected; and particular regard will deſerve to be given to thoſe which have been made by Dr. Johnſon. Concerning the "Incognita, or Love and Duty reconciled," the Doctor ſays, that "it is praiſed by the "Biographers, who quote ſome part of the preface, "that is indeed, for ſuch a time of life, uncommonly "judicious. I would rather praiſe it than read "it (30)." Not being altogether ſo faſtidious, we have peruſed this performance, and, as it is ſhort, without much hindrance to better objects. It has merit, conſidering the age of the author. What it is chiefly diſtinguiſhed by, is that intricacy of plot which he afterwards ſo much diſplayed in his dramatic writings; and ſomething may be traced in the dialogue parts, of his ſucceeding coruſcations of wit. The ſtory, however, is very unnatural. We ſhall not read it again.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 43.

Dr. Johnſon's general eſtimation of our Poet's genius as a Dramatiſt is finely expreſſed. "Congreve, ſays the Doctor, has merit of the higheſt kind; he is an original writer, who borrowed neither the models of his plot, nor the manner of his dialogue. Of his plays I cannot ſpeak diſtinctly; for ſince I inſpected them many years have paſſed; but what remains upon my memory is, that his characters are commonly fictitious and artificial, with very little of nature, and not much of life. He formed a peculiar idea of comic excellence, which he ſuppoſed to conſiſt in gay remarks and unexpected anſwers; but that which he endeavoured, he ſeldom failed of performing. His ſcenes exhibit not much of humour, imagery, or paſſion: his perſonages are a kind of intellectual gladiators; every ſentence is to ward or ſtrike; the conteſt of ſmartneſs is never intermitted; his wit is a meteor playing to and fro with alternate coruſcations. His comedies have therefore, in ſome degree, the operation of tragedies; they ſurpriſe rather than divert, and raiſe admiration oftener than merriment. But they are the works of a mind replete with images, and quick in combination (31)."

(31) Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, *ubi ſupra*, p. 57.

Of Mr. Congreve's firſt play, the "Old Batchelor," Dr. Johnſon thus ſpeaks:

"Such a comedy, written at ſuch an age, requires ſome conſideration. As the lighter ſpecies of dramatic poetry profeſſes the imitation of common life, of real manners, and daily incidents, it apparently preſuppoſes a familiar knowledge of many characters, and

and exact obſervation of the paſſing world; difficulty therefore is to conceive how this knowledge can be obtained by a boy.

" But if the Old Batchelor be more nearly examined, it will be found to be one of thoſe comedies which may be made by a mind vigorous and acute, and furniſhed with comic characters by the peruſal of other poets, without much actual commerce with mankind. The dialogue is one conſtant reciprocation of conceits, or claſh of wit, in which nothing flows neceſſarily from the occaſion, or is dictated by nature. The characters both of men and women are either fictitious and artificial, as thoſe of Heartwell and the Ladies; or eaſy and common, as Wittol a tame idiot, Bluff a ſwaggering coward, and Fondlewife a jealous puritan; and the cataſtrophe ariſes from a miſtake not very probably produced, by marrying a woman in a maſk.

" Yet this gay comedy, when all theſe deductions are made, will ſtill remain the work of a very powerful and fertile mind: the dialogue is quick and ſparkling, the incidents ſuch as ſeize the attention, and the wit ſo exurberant that it *o'er-informs its tenement* (32)."

(32) *Ibid.* p. 45, 46.

Concerning our author's ſecond performance, the " Double Dealer," the Editors of the Biographia Dramatica obſerve, that " the characters of it are " ſtrongly drawn, the wit genuine and original, the " plot finely laid, and the conduct inimitable; yet " ſuch is, and ever has been the capricious diſpoſition of audiences, that it met not equal encouragement with the " Old Batchelor (in ſome reſpects a much more exceptionable play,) nor had " it the ſame ſucceſs with his later performances " (33)."

(33) Biographia Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 91.

Dr. Johnſon remarks, that the comedy of " Love for Love" is of nearer alliance to life, and exhibits more real manners, than either of the former. " The character of *Foreſight*, ſays that eminent Biographer, was then common. Dryden calculated " nativities; both Cromwell and King William had " their lucky days; and Shafteſbury himſelf, though " he had no religion, was ſaid to regard predictions. " The *ſailor* is not accounted very natural, but he " is very pleaſant (34)." We well remember that above forty years ago the character of *Ben* was not deemed unnatural. It was then a common tradition, that Congreve had reſided ſix weeks at Portſmouth, in order to draw the character from living manners. It is true, that the generality of ſeamen are not ſo witty as *Ben*; but there have always been ſome wits among that body of people. A man muſt be a great ſtranger to Portſmouth and Plymouth, who does not know that a good deal of ſea-wit ſubſiſts in thoſe places. Beſides, *Ben* is not a common ſailor, but a Gentleman's ſon brought up to the navy.

(34) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 47, 48.

The annotators, in the laſt edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's works, have pointed out two paſſages in the " Elder Brother" of thoſe Poets, which Congreve appears to have had in his eye when he wrote his " Love for Love (35)." We diſpute not the inſtances; but ſurely no Dramatiſt was ever leſs of a borrower.

(35) Beaumont and Fletcher's Dramatic Works, vol. ii. p. 116. 157. notes.

Scarcely any tragedy has had more different accounts given of it than Congreve's " Mourning Bride." We have inſerted a high character of it in the article of Blackmore (36), and Lord Kaims ſpeaks of it in very favourable terms. Treating on the violation of the unity of place, he adds: " From the " foregoing cenſure muſt be excepted the ' Mourning Bride' of Congreve, where regularity concurs " with the beauty of ſentiment and of language, to " make it one of the moſt complete pieces England " has to boaſt of." Lord Kaims acknowledges, however, that in point of regularity, it is not altogether unexceptionable; the unity of place being broken in the fifth act (37). The Editors of the Biographia Dramatica treat the " Mourning Bride" with no ſmall degree of contempt. " This, they ſay, is the " only tragedy our author ever wrote, and met with " more ſucceſs than any of his other pieces; yet it " is certainly greatly inferior to the very worſt of " them: for although the ſtory is a pleaſing and affecting one, and well told, yet the language has ſo " much of the bombaſt, and ſo little of real nature " in it, that it is ſcarcely credible it could be the " work of an author ſo remarkable for the contrary, " in the eaſy flowing wit of his comedies (38)." We have obſerved, that other critics have ſpoken of the " Mourning Bride" in the like contemptuous language; not, we confeſs, with our entire approbation; for, though we are not inſenſible of its faults, we think, at the ſame time, that it has conſiderable excellencies: and it is ſome argument in its favour, that it has maintained its popularity on the theatre, ſo as to be continued a ſtock play, down to the preſent period. Mrs. Siddons has not deemed it derogatory to her reputation to appear frequently in the character of Zara. Dr. Johnſon, though not partial to the " Mourning Bride," ſays, that it is ſo written as to ſhew that Mr. Congreve was ſufficiently qualified for either kind of dramatic poetry. The Doctor remarks, however, that there is more buſtle in this play than ſentiment; that the plot is buſy and intricate, and the events take hold on the attention; but that, excepting a very few paſſages, we are rather amuſed with noiſe, and perplexed with ſtratagem, than entertained with any true delineation of natural characters. To theſe ſtrictures Dr. Johnſon hath added a paſſage highly to Congreve's honour. " But " whatever objections may be made either to his " comic or tragic excellence, they are loſt at once in " a blaze of admiration, when it is remembered, that " he had produced theſe four plays before he had " paſſed his twenty-fifth year; before other men, " even ſuch as are ſome time to ſhine in eminence, " have paſſed their probation of literature, or preſume to hope for any other notice than ſuch as is " beſtowed on diligence and inquiry. Among all " the efforts of early genius which literary hiſtory " records, I doubt whether any one can be produced that more ſurpaſſes the common limits of " nature than the plays of Congreve (39)."

(36) Biog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 329, 330.

(37) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. iii. p. 324, 325. ſecond edition.

(38) Biographia Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 243.

(39) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 49.

Our Author's " Way of the World" is generally eſteemed the moſt perfect of his comedies. It is obſerved, in the Biographia Dramatica, that, as it is the laſt, it is perhaps the beſt of his plays; that the language is pure, the wit genuine, the characters natural, and the paintings highly finiſhed; and that, though it was not well received at the firſt, time has ſince opened the eyes of the town to its perfections (40). Lord Kaims commends the " Way of the World," on account of its preſerving the unity of place during every act, and a ſtricter unity of time during the whole play than is neceſſary (41).

(40) Vol. ii. p. 399.

(41) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. iii. p. 325.

None of our readers can be ignorant of Mr. Pope's line,

" Tell me if Congreve's fools are fools indeed."

In reference to this line, and ſpeaking of the character of Lady Wiſhfort, Mr. Maſon has the following curious obſervation. " For my own part, I " think it one of the moſt entertaining characters " that ever was written. I know, however, that it " is commonly thought extravagant and unnatural; " and I believe it is true, that no woman ever exiſted who had ſo much folly and affectation, and at " the ſame time ſo much wit and fancy: yet every " one ſees that were this wit and fancy taken away, " her character would become inſipid, in proportion " as it became more natural; ſo that in this and " other inſtances, *if Congreve's fools were fools indeed*, " they would, by being true characters, ceaſe to be " entertaining ones (42)."

(42) Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray, p. 214. Quarto edition.

Mr. Murphy, in his life of Henry Fielding, having mentioned that he had contracted a vicious turn of writing by making Congreve his model, and that he had derived an error in his ſtyle from the ſame ſource, thus characterizes the latter Gentleman's comedies. " It has been obſerved, that the plays of Congreve " appear not to be legitimate comedies, but ſtrings " of repartees, and ſallies of wit, the moſt poignant " and polite indeed, but unnatural and ill-placed. " If we except the *Old Batchelor*, *Foreſight*, and " *Sir Sampſon Legend*, there will hardly, perhaps, be " found a character in this lively writer, exempt from " this general cenſure. The frequent ſurprizes of " alluſion, and the quickneſs and vivacity of theſe " ſudden turns, which abound in Mr. Congreve,

" breaking

" breaking out where you leaſt expected them, as if " a train of wit had been laid all around, put one in " mind of thoſe fire-works in a water-piece, which " uſed formerly to be played off in Cuper's Gardens. " No ſooner one tube, charged with powder, raiſed " itſelf in various forms and evolutions of fire, but " inſtantly another and another was lighted up; and " the pleaſure of the ſpectators aroſe from ſeeing " ſecret artificial mines blazing out of an element, " in which ſuch a machinery could not be expected " (43)." A ſhort character of our poet is drawn by Dr. Blair. " Congreve, ſays the Doctor, is, unqueſ- " tionably, a writer of genius. He is lively, witty, " and ſparkling; full of character, and full of action. " His chief fault as a comic writer, is, that he over- " flows with wit. It is often introduced unſeaſon- " ably; and, almoſt every where, there is too great " a proportion of it for natural well-bred converſa- " tion (44)." What this ingenious author hath added, concerning the immoral tendency of both Congreve's and Farquhar's play's, cannot be omitted. " Throughout them all, the rake, the looſe intrigue, " and the life of licentiouſneſs, are the objects con- " tinually held up to view; as if the aſſemblies of a " great and poliſhed nation could be amuſed with " none but vicious objects. The indelicacy of theſe " writers, in the female characters which they intro- " duce, is particularly remarkable. Nothing can be " more awkward than their repreſentations of a " woman of virtue and honour. Indeed, there are " hardly any female characters in their plays except " two; women of looſe principles, or women of af- " fected manners, when they attempt to draw a cha- " racter of virtue. The cenſure which I have now " paſſed upon theſe celebrated comedians, is far from " being overſtrained or ſevere. Accuſtomed to the " indelicacy of our own comedy, and amuſed with " the wit and humour of it, its immorality too eaſily " eſcapes our obſervation. But all foreigners, the " French eſpecially, who are accuſtomed to a better " regulated and more decent ſtage, ſpeak of it with " ſurprize and aſtoniſhment. Voltaire, who is, af- " ſuredly, none of the moſt auſtere Moraliſts, plumes " himſelf not a little upon the ſuperior *bienſeance* of " the French theatre; and ſays, that the language of " Engliſh comedy is the language of debauchery, " not of politeneſs. M. Moralt, in his Letters upon " the French and Engliſh nations, aſcribes the cor- " ruption of manners in London to comedy, as its " chief cauſe. Their comedy, he ſays, is like that " of no other country: it is the ſchool in which the " youth of both ſexes familiariſe themſelves with " vice, which is never repreſented there as vice, but " as mere gaiety (45)." To finiſh the cenſure of the immorality of the Engliſh comedies, we ſhall tranſcribe the concluſion of a fine paſſage upon the ſubject, by Lord Kaims, in his Elements of Criticiſm. " How odious ought thoſe writers to be, who thus " ſpread infection through their country, employing " the talents they have from their Maker moſt un- " gratefully againſt himſelf, by endeavouring to cor- " rupt and diſfigure his creatures! If the comedies " of Congreve did not rack him with remorſe in " his laſt moments, he muſt have been loſt to all " ſenſe of virtue. Nor will it afford any excuſe to " ſuch writers, that their comedies are entertaining, " unleſs it could be maintained, that wit, ſprightli- " neſs, and other ſuch qualifications, are better ſuited " to a vicious than a virtuous character: the direct con- " trary of which holds true in theory; and is exem- " pliſied in practice from the *Merry Wives of Windſor*, " where we are highly entertained with the conduct " of two ladies, not more remarkable for mirth and " ſpirit than for the ſtricteſt purity of manners(46)."

(43) Life of Fielding, prefixed to his Works, p. 43. Edition of 1784.

(44) Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, vol ii. p. 545, 546.

(45) *Ibid.* p. 546, 547.

(46) Elements of Criticiſm, *ubi ſupra*, p. 400.

In our Predeceſſor's article, the moſt extravagant encomiums are beſtowed on Mr. Congreve's Miſcellaneous Poems. Such exuberant and indiſcriminate praiſe is ſeldom the reſult of judgment, and certainly is not ſo in the preſent caſe. Our Author's Dramatic Works excepted, few readers will now be able to go through his poetical productions with any great degree of pleaſure. Dr. Johnſon's criticiſm upon them affords a fine contraſt to the loud applauſes of the text; and, indeed, in every view, deſerves to be inſerted. Perhaps, in the faſtidiouſneſs of his taſte, he may ſometimes be thought too ſevere: but if he have erred in this reſpect, with regard to the inſtance before us, his error is very trifling. Nay, we can ſcarcely help thinking that the following remarks on Congreve are ſtrictly and univerſally juſt.

" Of his miſcellaneous poetry, I cannot ſay any thing very favourable. The powers of Congreve ſeem to deſert him when he leaves the ſtage, as Antæus was no longer ſtrong than he could touch the ground. It cannot be obſerved without wonder, that a mind ſo vigorous and fertile in dramatic compoſitions, ſhould on any other occaſion diſcover nothing but impotence and poverty. He has in theſe little pieces neither elevation of fancy, ſelection of language, nor ſkill in verſification: yet if I were required to ſelect from the whole maſs of Engliſh poetry the moſt poetical paragraph, I know not what I could prefer to an exclamation in *The Mourning Bride:*

ALMERIA.
It was a fancy'd noiſe; for all is huſh'd.

LEONORA.
It bore the accent of a human voice.

ALMERIA.
It was thy fear, or elſe ſome tranſient wind
Whiſtling thro' hollows of this vaulted iſle:
We'll liſten—

LEONORA.
Hark!

ALMERIA.
No, all is huſh'd, and ſtill as death.—'Tis dreadful!
How reverend is the face of this tall pile;
Whoſe ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
To bear aloft its arch'd and pond'rous roof,
By its own weight made ſtedfaſt and immoveable,
Looking tranquillity! It ſtrikes an awe
And terror on my aching ſight; the tombs
And monumental caves of death look cold,
And ſhoot a chilneſs to my trembling heart.
Give me thy hand, and let me hear thy voice;
Nay, quickly ſpeak to me, and let me hear
Thy voice—my own affrights me with its echoes.

" He who reads theſe lines, enjoys for a moment the powers of a poet; he feels what he remembers to have felt before, but he feels it with great increaſe of ſenſibility; he recognizes a familiar image, but meets it again amplified and expanded, embelliſhed with beauty, and enlarged with majeſty.

" Yet could the author, who appears here to have enjoyed the confidence of Nature, lament the death of queen Mary in lines like theſe:

The rocks are cleft, and new-deſcending rills
Furrow the brows of all th' impending hills.
The water-gods to floods their rivulets turn,
And each, with ſtreaming eyes, ſupplies his wanting urn.
The Fawns forſake the woods, the Nymphs the grove,
And round the plain in ſad diſtractions rove;
In prickly brakes their tender limbs they tear,
And leave on thorns their locks of golden hair.
With their ſharp nails, themſelves the Satyrs wound,
And tug their ſhaggy beards, and bite with grief the ground.
Lo Pan himſelf, beneath a blaſted oak,
Dejected lies, his pipe in pieces broke.
See Pales weeping too, in wild deſpair,
And to the piercing winds her boſom bare.
And ſee yon fading myrtle, where appears
The Queen of Love, all bath'd in flowing tears;
See how ſhe wrings her hands, and beats her breaſt,
And tears her uſeleſs girdle from her waiſt:
Hear the ſad murmurs of her ſighing doves!
For grief they ſigh, forgetful of their loves.

And many years after he gave no proof that time had improved his wiſdom or his wit; for on the death of the Marquis of Blandford this was his ſong:

And now the winds, which had ſo long been ſtill,
Began the ſwelling air with ſighs to fill:

The water-nymphs, who motionleſs remain'd,
Like images of ice, while ſhe complain'd,
Now loos'd their ſtreams; as when deſcending rains
Roll the ſteep torrents headlong o'er the plains.
The prone creation, who ſo long had gaz'd,
Charm'd with her cries, and at her griefs amaz'd,
Began to roar and howl with horrid yell,
Diſmal to hear, and terrible to tell;
Nothing but groans and ſighs were heard around,
And Echo multiplied each mournful ſound.

In both theſe funeral poems, when he has *yelled* out many *ſyllables* of ſenſeleſs *dolour*, he diſmiſſes his reader with ſenſeleſs conſolation: from the grave of Paſtora riſes a light that forms a ſtar; and where Amaryllis wept for Amyntas, from every tear ſprung up a violet.

"But William is his hero, and of William he will ſing;

The hovering winds on downy wings ſhall wait around,
And catch, and waft to foreign lands, the flying ſound.

It cannot but be proper to ſhew what they ſhall have to catch and carry:

'Twas now, when flowery lawns the proſpect made,
And flowing brooks beneath a foreſt ſhade,
A lowing heifer, lovelieſt of the herd,
Stood feeding by; while two fierce bulls prepar'd
Their armed heads for fight; by fate of war to prove
The victor worthy of the fair-one's love.
Unthought preſage of what met next my view;
For ſoon the ſhady ſcene withdrew.
And now, for woods, and fields, and ſpringing flowers,
Behold a town ariſe, bulwark'd with walls and lofty towers;
Two rival armies all the plain o'erſpread,
Each in battalia rang'd, and ſhining arms array'd;
With eager eyes beholding both from far,
Namur, the prize and miſtreſs of the war.

"The *Birth of the Muſe* is a miſerable fiction. One good line it has, which was borrowed from Dryden. The concluding verſes are theſe:

This ſaid, no more remain'd. Th' ethereal hoſt
Again impatient crowd the cryſtal coaſt.
The father, now, within his ſpacious hands,
Encompaſs'd all the mingled maſs of ſeas and lands;
And, having heav'd aloft the ponderous ſphere,
He launch'd the world to float in ambient air.

"Of his irregular poems, that to Mrs. Arabella Hunt ſeems to be the beſt: his ode for Cecilia's Day, however, has ſome lines which Pope had in his mind when he wrote his own.

"His Imitations of Horace are feebly paraphraſtical, and the additions which he makes are of little value. He ſometimes retains what were more properly omitted, as when he talks of *vervain* and *gums* to propitiate Venus.

"Of his Tranſlations the ſatire of Juvenal was written very early, and may therefore be forgiven, though it have not the maſſineſs and vigour of the original. In all his verſions ſtrength and ſprightlineſs are wanting: his hymn to Venus, from Homer, is perhaps the beſt. His lines are weakened with expletives, and his rhymes are frequently imperfect.

"His petty poems are ſeldom worth the coſt of criticiſm: ſometimes the thoughts are falſe, and ſometimes common. In his verſes on lady Gethin, the latter part is an imitation of Dryden's ode on Mrs. Killigrew; and Doris, that has been ſo laviſhly flattered by Steele, has indeed ſome lively ſtanzas, but the expreſſion might be mended; and the moſt ſtriking part of the character had been already ſhewn in *Love for Love*. His *Art of Pleaſing* is founded on a vulgar but perhaps impracticable principle, and the ſtaleneſs of the ſenſe is not concealed by any novelty of illuſtration or elegance of diction.

"This tiſſue of poetry, from which he ſeems to have hoped a laſting name, is totally neglected, and known only as it is appended to his plays.

"While comedy or while tragedy is regarded, his plays are likely to be read; but, except what relates to the ſtage, I know not that he has ever written a ſtanza that is ſung, or a couplet that is quoted. The general character of his Miſcellanies is, that they ſhew little wit, and little virtue.

"Yet to him it muſt be confeſſed, that we are indebted for the correction of a national error, and the cure of our Pindaric madneſs. He firſt taught the Engliſh writers that Pindar's odes were regular; and though certainly he had not the fire requiſite for the higher ſpecies of lyric poetry, he has ſhewn us that enthuſiaſm has its rules, and that in mere confuſion there is neither grace nor greatneſs (47)."

(47) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 57—64.

Mr. Melmoth, in his elegant Sir Thomas Fitzoſborne's Letters, hath clearly ſhewn, that ſome paſſages, which Congreve tranſlated from Homer, are perfectly contemptible, when compared with Pope's verſion of the ſame paſſages (48).

(48) Fitzoſborne's Letters, p. 271—276. Seventh edition.

Mr. Congreve's ſhort Eſſay on Humour in Comedy, though not a regular and finiſhed compoſition, contains ſome ſenſible obſervations on that difficult ſubject. Lord Kaims objects, and perhaps juſtly, to the exactneſs of his definition (49); but, notwithſtanding this, ſeveral of his remarks are deſerving of attention. Mr. Congreve refers humour to peculiarity of character, to which it does undoubtedly, in general, belong; though ſometimes it appears to ariſe from an odd combination of incidents. His Remarks on Ben Jonſon are very judicious (50).

(49) Elements of Criticiſm, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 45.

(50) Wilſon's Life of Congreve, Part 2d, p. 41.

In Mrs. Cockburn's life, are two letters, written to that ingenious lady, when young, by Mr. Congreve. The ſecond of them contains ſome acute, but friendly, hints with regard to the plot of one of her tragedies (51).

(51) Cockburn's Life, p. vi, vii. xxii, xxiii.

It appears, from Mr. Ayſcough's Catalogue, that there are preſerved, in the Britiſh Muſeum, ſeveral original letters of Mr. Congreve's to Mr. Porter; and a manuſcript poem, entitled, "Satyr againſt Love (52)."

(52) P. 176. 809. 815.

We forgot to mention, in its proper courſe, that when, upon the extruſion of the Whigs, ſome interceſſion was uſed leſt Congreve ſhould be diſplaced, the Earl of Oxford made this anſwer:

"Non obtuſa adeo geſtamus pectora pœni,
"Nec tam averſus equos Tyriâ ſol jungit ab urbe
"(53)."] K.

(53) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 54.

CONNOR (BERNARD), an eminent Phyſician and learned Writer towards the cloſe of the laſt century. He was deſcended from an antient family in the kingdom of Ireland, and was born in the county of Kerry about the year 1666 (*a*). He had an early tincture of learning given him, though he was not regularly educated in the grammar-ſchools and univerſity of that iſland, on account of his family's being of the Popiſh religion (*b*). When he grew up towards man's eſtate, either out of regard to the exhortations of his family, or from the natural turn of his own diſpoſition, he determined to apply his thoughts to the ſtudy of Phyſic; and with that view, about the year 1686, he went over to France, reſided for ſome time in the univerſity of Montpelier, and went from thence to Paris, where he ſpent his time ſo well, and directed his ſtudies in ſo prudent and regular a manner, that he was very much eſteemed, not only for his proficiency in the art of Phyſic, but for his great ſkill in Anatomy and Chemiſtry (*c*). As he profeſſed himſelf deſirous of travelling,

(*a*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 258.

(*b*) See the account given of this gentleman by Dr. Hayley, in his Funeral Sermon.

(*c*) De Stupendo Oſſium Coalitu, Diſſertatio Medico-Phyſica, p. 4.

travelling, and as there were two ſons of the High-Chancellor of Poland then on the point of returning to their own country, it was thought expedient they ſhould take that long journey under the care and inſpection of Dr. Connor (*d*). He accordingly conducted them very ſafely to Venice, where he found the Honourable Mr. William Legg, afterwards Baron and Earl of Dartmouth, much indiſpoſed of a fever; from which, by his great ſkill and diligent attendance, he happily recovered him; and having accompanied him to Padua (*e*), went from thence through Tyrol, Bavaria, and Auſtria, down the Danube to Vienna; and after having made ſome ſtay at the Court of the Emperor Leopold, paſſed through Moravia and Sileſia to Cracow, and from thence, in eight days, to Warſaw (*f*). He was very well received at the Court of King John Sobieſki, and by the intereſt of Signor Hieronimo Alberto de Conti, Miniſter from the Serene Republic of Venice, who married the Lady Margaret Paſton, eldeſt daughter to Robert, and ſiſter to William Earl of Yarmouth, to whom he had been ſtrongly recommended, he became Phyſician to that Monarch (*g*). This was a very extraordinary preferment in ſo ſhort a time, and for ſo young a man; for it happened in the beginning of the year 1694, when Dr. Connor could not be above twenty-eight years of age. In right of his employment he was conſtantly near the perſon of that Prince, which gave him an opportunity of entering thoroughly into his character, and of diſcerning that he was not only a deep Politician, and one of the greateſt Captains of his age, but a perſon alſo of ſound ſenſe, great reading, quick parts, and much addicted to think freely upon all ſubjects. He gives us a very ſingular and curious inſtance of this (*b*), which, as it ſerves to let us into the Doctor's turn and diſpoſition, as well as the King's, is inſerted at the bottom of the page [*A*]. His reputation

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 258. See alſo Dr. Hayley's Funeral Sermon.

(*e*) Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, vol. i. p. 2.

(*f*) See Dr. Hayley's Funeral Sermon. Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, vol. i. p. 2.

(*g*) Peerage of England, Lond. 1709, 8*vo*. vol. i. p. 246.

(*b*) Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, vol. i. p. 173.

[*A*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The King, ſays he (1), was a well-ſpoken Prince, of very eaſy acceſs, extremely civil, and had moſt of the good qualities requiſite in a gentleman. He was not only well verſed in all military affairs, but likewiſe in all polite and ſcholaſtic learning. Beſides his own tongue, the Sclavonian, he underſtood the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkiſh languages: he delighted much in Natural Hiſtory, and in all the parts of Phyſic: he uſed to reprimand the Clergy for not admitting into the univerſity and ſchools the Modern Philoſophy. He loved to hear perſons diſcourſe of thoſe matters, and had a particular talent to ſet people about him very artfully by the ears, that, by their diſputes, he might be diverted, as happened often in my time, eſpecially once when I was undeſignedly concerned myſelf. The King being at dinner, and having the Biſhops of Poſnania, Ploſko, Vilna, and other Divines about him, particularly Father Vota, an ingenious Jeſuit, the King aſked me in Latin, 'What part of the body 'I thought the ſoul was in?' I was willing to decline talking on that ſubject, and told the King, 'That being a Phyſician, my chief enquiry was about 'the body, and that the Divines there preſent were 'able to ſatisfy his Majeſty.' The King replied, 'That ſince the ſoul has an influence upon the body, 'and ſince the paſſions of the mind, as anger and 'fear, breed fevers, and other diſtempers, it was neceſſary that the Phyſicians ſhould examine the ſoul 'in that reſpect, as well as the body.' I anſwered, 'That Phyſicians did enquire into the nature of the 'paſſions, and obſerved, that there was ſuch an influence of the ſoul upon the body, and of the body 'upon the ſoul, that altered the thoughts of the one, 'as well as the operations of the other; but that the 'ſoul being a ſubſtance inviſible, and without extenſion, it was impoſſible for Phyſicians to conceive 'the nature of it themſelves, or explain it to others, 'as they do that of the body, which they take to 'pieces by Anatomy, and reſolve into its minuteſt 'elements by Chemiſtry: that the Phyſicians only 'agree in the main, that the ſupreme Author of 'things has eſtabliſhed ſuch laws between the ſoul 'and the body, which make a mutual correſpondence 'between them: that as for the ſeat of the ſoul, I 'might perhaps differ from the Divines then preſent, 'and conſequently oppoſe the common doctrine of 'the ſchools; for they hold with Ariſtotle, that the 'ſoul is entire in all the body, and wholly in every 'part of the body, which was impoſſible to conceive; 'for if the ſoul was entire in every part of the body, 'there would be as many ſouls in the body as there 'are parts; ſince it is impoſſible that the ſelf-ſame 'ſubſtance, though an indiviſible ſpirit, can ever be 'in two places at the ſame time; beſides, the ſoul 'cannot be but where it thinks; and every one finds, 'by experience, that his thought is not in his hands 'nor feet, but is conſcious to himſelf, that his thought 'is in his head, and that conſequently the ſoul muſt 'be only in the brain, which is the ſeat of ſenſation, 'and the origin of all the nerves, which are the organs of perception and motion.' Father Vota being alarmed at this doctrine, which ſeemed altogether new in that part of Europe, ſaid, 'That if the ſoul 'was only in the head, the reſt of the body would 'be dead; ſince the received opinion was, that the 'ſoul was the life of the whole body, and that to 'enliven the whole body, the ſoul muſt be wholly 'preſent in every part of it.' This drew on a longer diſpute than I expected; for I anſwered, 'That the 'rational ſoul was not the life of the body, but the 'blood only, and the animal ſpirits; and that this 'blood and ſpirits circulated equally all over the 'body, and gave it natural heat and motion, which 'is properly its life; and that this circulation of the 'blood and ſpirits could not poſſibly depend on the 'rational ſoul, becauſe it was an involuntary motion, 'formed by the mechanic ſtructure of the body, and 'by the natural impulſe of the heart, which is the '*primum mobile* of the whole machine; and that 'though they all held, not only in Poland, but in 'other countries, that the rational ſoul performed 'every minute action in the body, yet this opinion 'was very irreconcileable with the free-will of the 'mind, which they all admitted; for ſince they allow, that whatever the ſoul does, it is not only conſcious of it, but likewiſe does it freely, without being neceſſitated thereto; when, as it is very evidently obvious to every one, that the vital motions 'in our bodies, I mean the motion of the heart, and 'that of reſpiration, with the periſtaltic motion of 'the ſtomach and guts, are performed naturally with 'ſuch mechaniſm, that the ſoul cannot ſtop them, 'no, nor ſo much as haſten nor retard them; and 'that the ſoul is not at all conſcious of them; for if 'we think of any object, or not think at all, as when 'we are aſleep, or in an apoplexy, thoſe vital motions go on equally the ſame.' The Biſhop of Poſnania, who was bred up in his youth a Phyſician, ſeemed to ſpeak in favour of this opinion, as did likewiſe ſome others of the company, which made the Jeſuit very angry; inſomuch, that he acquainted them in a kind of paſſion, 'That neither the King nor 'they ought to hearken to any diſcourſe contrary to 'the received opinion of the Church: that it might 'have been a pernicious conſequence had it been 'public; for (ſays he) if the ſoul be not in all the 'body, and if it does not animate the body, and 'perform all its vital functions, it would be of no 'uſe, and conſequently we ſhould live like other animals.' I anſwered him, 'That doubtleſs the operations of life were performed by the ſame mechaniſm

(1) Hiſtory of Poland, vol. i. p. 179.

tion in the Court of Poland was highly raiſed by the judgment he made of the Ducheſs of Radzivil's diſtemper, which all the Phyſicians of the Court took to be no more than an ague, from which ſhe might be eaſily recovered by the regular and conſtant taking of the Bark; but Dr. Connor inſiſted, that ſhe had an abſceſs in her liver, and that her caſe was deſperate (*i*). As this Lady was the King's only ſiſter, his prediction made a great noiſe, more eſpecially when it was juſtified by the event; for ſhe not only died within a month, but, upon the opening of her body, the Doctor's ſentiments of her malady were fully verified. He might have continued, with great reputation, at that Court, if he had been ſo inclined; but as he never propoſed to remain longer in Poland than was requiſite to finiſh his enquiries into the Natural Hiſtory, and other remarkables of that kingdom; and as he foreſaw that the King's life could not laſt long, and that there was little reaſon to hope for the eſtabliſhment that was promiſed him, from the political views of the royal family, he reſolved to lay hold of the firſt favourable opportunity for quitting that country, and returning into the Britiſh dominions; nor was it long before he met with as fair an occaſion as he could wiſh (*k*). The King had an only daughter, the Princeſs Tereſa Cunigunda, who eſpouſed the Elector of Bavaria by proxy, in the month of Auguſt, 1694. As ſhe was to make a journey from Warſaw to Bruſſels, of nearly a thouſand miles, and in the midſt of winter, it was thought neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be attended by a Phyſician; and, by the intereſt of his good friend the Venetian Miniſter, he procured himſelf to be named to that employment (*l*), and accordingly ſet out with her on the 11th of November for Berlin, and continued his journey through the territories of the Elector of Hanover, the Biſhop of Hildeſheim, and the Biſhop of Munſter, to Wezel, where ſhe was met by the Elector of Bavaria; and from thence he proceeded in her train to Bruſſels, where ſhe arrived on the 12th of January following (*m*). He ſoon after reſigned his charge to Dr. Piſtorini, the Elector's Phyſician; and, having taken leave of the Princeſs, ſet out for Holland, and from thence came over to England, in the month of February 1695 (*n*). He ſtayed ſome ſhort time at London, and then went to Oxford, where, in the ſpring of the year laſt mentioned, he read his Lectures upon the Animal Œconomy, to a numerous and learned audience, with very great applauſe (*o*). In his travels through Italy he had converſed with Malpighi, Bellini, Redi, and other celebrated perſons (*p*), of whoſe acquaintance he made a proper uſe; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſo clear, ſo methodical, and ſo judicious a manner of explaining the new diſcoveries in Anatomy, Chemiſtry, and Phyſic, that his reputation was very ſoon raiſed to a great height. This was not a little increaſed by his printing, during the time of his reſidence in that ſeat of the Muſes, ſeveral learned and accurate Diſſertations upon curious and important ſubjects; which treatiſe met with a very favourable reception (*q*), as it certainly deſerved, from the many new and ſenſible thoughts that occur in every part of it, and which diſcover their author to have been a man of much meditation, as well as of great reading and general knowledge.

(*i*) Hiſtoire de Maiſon de Radzivil, p. 319. Connor's Hiſt. of Poland, vol. i. p. 199.

(*k*) See the Preface to his Hiſt. of Poland, and the firſt Letter to the Earl of Yarmouth.

(*l*) Hiſt. of Poland, vol. i. p. 397.

(*m*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 219.

(*n*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 258.

(*o*) This appears from the Letters annexed to his firſt vol. of the Hiſt. of Poland.

(*p*) See Dr. Hayley's Funeral Sermon.

(*q*) Of this he informs us himſelf in the Preface to the firſt vol. of his Hiſtory of Poland.

'niſm in us as they were in brutes, ſince we have the 'ſame organs with them, as likewiſe the ſame fluids 'to enliven us: that the prerogatives of the ſoul are 'not leſs for its not being preſent to every action of 'the body; for the ſoul, though it is not the cauſe 'of ſpontaneous or vital motion in us, yet it performs 'all voluntary actions, as ſpeaking, walking, and all 'other free motions of the body; it receives all im'preſſions from the five ſenſes, it forms to itſelf all 'ideas of ambient objects, it reaſons upon them to 'know what is moſt uſeful and hurtful to itſelf and 'to the body. The ſoul, in ſhort, is like the pilot, 'though it does not ſet the body in motion, as the 'wind does a ſhip, yet it is capable of governing its 'actions, and directing voluntarily its courſe.' The King being thus ſatisfied, that the rational ſoul did not actuate, as they call it, or enliven, all the parts of the body, deſired to know what was properly *Death*. The ſchool Divinity maintains, that *Death* is a ſeparation of the rational ſoul from the body. I owned, indeed, 'That in death the ſoul was actually ſeparated 'from the body.' But I could not allow, 'That 'that ſeparation was the cauſe of death, but that the 'death of the body was the ceſſation of the motion 'of the heart, of the blood, and of the ſpirits; which 'ceſſation could not proceed from the ſeparation of 'the ſoul, ſince theſe do not at all depend upon it,' as I proved before, 'but it was occaſioned by ſome 'defects in the organs and fluids of the body, which, 'loſing their due diſpoſition, and their mutual cor'reſpondence one with another, all their actions 'ceaſe, which ceſſation is properly called *Death*; ſo 'that the ſoul, finding them incapable of receiving 'its influence, and of obeying its commands, quits 'the body after it is dead; by which it appears, that 'the ſeparation of the ſoul is not properly the cauſe 'of death, but that the death of the body is the 'cauſe of the ſeparation.' The King himſelf illuſtrated this opinion from a familiar example of an organ and an organiſt: while the parts of the organ were in their due order and ſymmetry, the organiſt played upon them; but when, by length of time, they were either broke, uſed too much, or any other way put quite out of tune, he leaves playing on them. This diſcourſe held from three of the clock till ſeven, and the Divines were extremely warm in it; and ſome of them had the boldneſs to tell the King, that his Majeſty ſhould not ſuffer ſuch heretical opinions to be introduced before ſuch a great aſſembly, contrary to the received doctrine of the Church. By this it may be plainly ſeen, how fond the Divines are of their old opinions; relying upon the doctrine of Ariſtotle, whom we cannot ſuppoſe to be ſo thoroughly acquainted with the ſtructure, ſprings, and motions of the human body, nor indeed with all other natural cauſes as the modern Phyſicians are; yet it is the policy of the Divines, not only in Poland, but in Spain, Italy, and in moſt other countries, where their power is very great, not to let any opinions creep in among them that would ſeem to contradict thoſe of Ariſtotle; for having built their ſyſtems of Divinity upon the principles of this Pagan Philoſopher, they are juſtly afraid, that if experience and reaſon ſhould ſhake the foundation, the ſuperſtructure would fall to the ground, as doubtleſs it would for the moſt part.

ledge [*B*]. He returned in the ſummer of 1695 to London, lived in Bow-ſtreet, Covent-Garden, and in the winter read a courſe of Lectures of the ſame kind that he had done at Oxford (*r*), and which were received with general approbation. He became, about this time, a member of the Royal Society, and a member of the Royal College of Phyſicians alſo, which were a kind of rewards juſtly due to his great application and ſingular merit (*s*). In the ſummer of the year 1696, he went to Cambridge, in conſequence of an invitation from ſome of the members of that Univerſity, read public Lectures there, and made various experiments in Chemiſtry (*t*). Upon his return from thence to London, he was honoured with a letter from the Biſhop of Ploſkow, wherein was contained the caſe of his old maſter the King of Poland, upon which his advice was deſired; but before he had an opportunity of returning an anſwer, the news came of that Monarch's death (*u*). As he was naturally addicted to ſpeak his ſentiments very freely, even upon very nice and delicate ſubjects, he adventured, both at Oxford and at Cambridge, to let fall ſome diſcourſes in relation to miracles, and of a new method of explaining the nature of them in a phyſical way, upon which he had digeſted his ſentiments into writing ſome years before. He was very much preſſed to make this work of his public; and though he could not but foreſee that many inconveniencies would attend it, yet the ſolicitations upon this head were ſo ſtrong, and came from perſons to whom he was ſo much obliged, that he could not avoid yielding to their requeſt (*w*). He took, however, the precaution of procuring the licence of the College of Phyſicians, which bears date April 9, 1697, and is ſubſcribed by Sir Thomas Millington, then Preſident, and by Dr. Barwick, Dr. Torleſſe, Dr. Dawes, and Dr. Gill, who were Cenſors (*x*). He dedicated it to the Right Honourable Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Preſident of the Royal Society. This work of his made a very great noiſe in the world, and came to a ſecond edition the ſame year: it is written in Latin, with as much perſpicuity as the ſubject would permit, and with great prudence and circumſpection [*C*]. Notwithſtanding this, it made a bad

(*r*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 258.

(*s*) Taken from the printed Liſts of both thoſe learned Bodies for that year.

(*t*) From the Preface to his firſt vol. of the Hiſt. of Poland.

(*u*) Inſerted in his Hiſt. of Poland, vol. i. p. 201.

(*w*) See his Letter to a Reverend Clergyman and Dignitary of the Church, at the end of the firſt vol. of the Hiſt. of Poland.

(*x*) It is prefixed to his book.

[*B*] *As well as of great reading and general knowledge.*] Theſe eſſays were printed together, under the following general title, viz. *Diſſertationes Medico-Phyſicæ, de Antris Lethiferis. De Montis Veſuvii Incendio. De Stupendo Oſſium Coalitu. De Immani Hypogaſtrii Sarcomate, A. D. Bernardo Connor, M. D. Sereniſſimi* Poloniæ *Regis* Medico, *è Regia Cameræ* Pariensis *Societate.* Oxonii. *E Theatro Sheldoniano Sumptibus Henrici Clements Bibliopolæ*, An. Dom. 1695, 8*vo*. *That is*, 'Medico-phyſical Diſſertations concern-'ing Peſtiferous Caverns, an extraordinary eruption 'of Mount Veſuvius, the wonderful coalition of hu-'man Bones, and of an extraordinary ſwelling or 'dropſy of the womb.' Theſe treatiſes are printed ſeparately, and with different title pages. There is a table of contents to the firſt, and another to the other three. The Vice-Chancellor's Imprimatur is dated June 5, 1695. The firſt of theſe diſcourſes is dedicated to Thomas, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomeryſhire, at that time Lord Privy-Seal, and one of the Lord Juſtices. It is written very ſuccinctly, and with great perſpicuity: the author introduces and diſcuſſes a multitude of curious queſtions, and gives his reaſons for believing, that there is nothing infectious or poiſonous in the famous cave near Naples; but that animals are killed therein, or rather loſe their lives, through the want of elaſticity in the air, which renders it unfit for animal reſpiration. The ſecond diſcourſe is addreſſed to Dr. Edward Browne, whom he compliments highly upon his Book of Travels that he had publiſhed. He therein gives a particular deſcription of a moſt remarkable eruption of Mount Veſuvius, which happened in the month of April, 1694, and which he attributes to the vaſt quantities of nitre and antimony lodged in the bowels of that mountain (2). He addreſſes his third diſcourſe to Dr. John Ratcliff, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the College of Phyſicians; and therein he gives an accurate account of an anatomical prodigy which he had ſeen at Paris. The fourth treatiſe is dedicated to Dr. Hans Sloane, then one of the King's Phyſicians, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College, who was afterwards knighted, and became Preſident of both thoſe learned bodies; in which he gives him an account of the diſſection of a widow at Paris, who died at the age of fifty-ſeven, and who laboured under a monſtrous big belly, occaſioned by a mole, or falſe conception, for twenty-five years. This fleſhy ſubſtance was of an enormous ſize, being in length twenty-two inches, twelve broad, ten thick, and weighing forty-two pounds. What is moſt obſervable in theſe diſſertations, is the great art and ſkill which the author has ſhewn in bringing in a great variety of uſeful ſubjects, more eſpecially relating to the animal œconomy, of which he diſcourſes with much freedom and judgment; from whence it is very evident, that they were not publiſhed ſo much with a view to gratify the curioſity of the learned men at that time, as to excite a good opinion of the author's capacity and knowledge in his profeſſion; and, at the ſame time, to ſhew the improvements he had made in his travels, that by this means he might come into practice with the greater eaſe and credit. It is pretty certain that this method had its effects, and that if he had not been taken off ſo ſuddenly, he would have very ſoon grown into as high repute as any Phyſician of his time. It ſeems to be a pity that theſe diſſertations have not been tranſlated, as there is a great variety of curious obſervations in them, that would prove very entertaining to the Engliſh reader.

(2) He gives a very clear and accurate deſcription of this mountain, from his own obſervation.

[*C*] *And with great prudence and circumſpection.*] In the firſt place it will be neceſſary to ſee the title of it at large, which we may preſume has given at leaſt as much offence as the book, it runs thus: Evangelium Medici: *ſeu Medicina Myſtica de Suſpenſis Naturæ Legibus, ſive de Miraculis; Reliquiſque ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις Memoratis, quæ Medicæ indagini ſubjici poſſunt. Ubi perpenſis priùs Corporum Naturâ, ſano & morboſo Corporis Humani Statu, nec non Motûs Legibus, Rerum Status ſuper naturam, præcipuè qui Corpus Humanum & Animam ſpectant, juxta Medicinæ Principia explicantur. A Bernardo Connor*, M. D. & R. S. S. i. e. 'The Phyſician's Goſpel: or, Myſtical 'Phyſic, with reſpect to the ſuſpenſion of the laws 'of nature, or of miracles; and whatever elſe worthy 'of note occurs in the ſacred writings, that falls pro-'perly under the conſideration of Phyſic, wherein 'the nature of bodies, the ſound and diſeaſed ſtate of 'human bodies, as alſo the laws of motion, and the 'ſupernatural ſtate of things, more eſpecially of the 'human body and ſoul, are previouſly conſidered, and, 'according to the principles of Phyſic, explained.' *Londini* 1697, 8*vo* & 12*mo*. *Amſtelodami* 1699, 8*vo*. This curious little treatiſe contains ſixteen ſhort ſections, in which the author, with great clearneſs and conciſeneſs, and with the moſt perfect connection, treats every part of his ſubject ſo as to make the reader fully ſenſible, that he had not haſtily or ſuperficially run it over in his mind, but with great care and cau-

a bad impreſſion upon ſome minds, occaſioned a ſuſpicion of the author's religious principles here at home, and has given occaſion to ſome warm and inconſiderate writers abroad,

tion had conſidered all things that he advances, and the conſequences that might be drawn from them. The beſt, as well as moſt ſuccinct account that can be given of it, the reader will meet with in the following extract of a letter, written by himſelf, to an eminent Divine (3).

(3) This letter is to be found at the end of the firſt vol. of his Hiſt. of Poland.

'My deſign, Sir, ſays he, is to endeavour to make 'it no longer a difficulty to conceive and make evi-'dent, by reaſon and the principles of Phyſic, I mean 'the principles of nature, all the ſupernatural effects 'authentically delivered to us concerning bodies 'chiefly, but particularly the human: I mean, ſup-'poſing thoſe effects to be true matters of fact, and all 'matters of fact, as well natural as ſupernatural, to 'be immediate effects of a ſupreme Being, which 'muſt be granted; it is as eaſy to conceive the man-'ner how this infinite power may be applied to bodies 'to work ſupernatural effects, as to produce the com-'mon phænomena of nature. By this I hope to 'convince our Sceptics, the Deiſts, who muſt give 'their aſſent, when they have the ſame evident reaſon 'to conceive the poſſibility, and conſequently to be-'lieve the truth, of ſuch miraculous effects, that are 'authentically related, as they have to conceive, 'that ſtraw can burn in a flaming fire. The foun-'dation I go upon is the ſtructure of the human body, 'which I have often taken to pieces by Anatomy, 'and reſolved into its eſſential elements, or minute 'particles, by Chemiſtry; for I find it as neceſſary 'to be acquainted with its fabric, to give an account 'of the miraculous ſtates it is ſuppoſed to have been 'in ſupernaturally, as it is to explain the natural 'effects commonly produced in it. For want of a 'ſufficient inſight into this matter, ſeveral Divines in 'the latter ages have given very groſs ideas of the 'ſupernatural effects they have pretended to explain; 'and in ſeveral places where I have been, I ſaw 'them, either through ignorance, or for intereſt, 'give out for miracles, phænomena, that were only 'ſurpriſing effects of natural cauſes, which has given 'ſo great an occaſion to Sceptiſciſm, and increaſe of 'Deiſm. Having laid down for my baſis the ſtruc-'ture of the human body, as far as I could diſcover 'from my ſenſes, anatomy, fire, microſcopes, and 'experiments, I proceed to examine, and endeavour 'to explain, the different ways its natural ſtate is 'ſuppoſed to have been ſupernaturally altered by an 'infinite power: for finding that the human body is 'all matter, and that all this matter is nothing but an 'union of particles with bulk, figure, and reſpective 'ſituation, I thought that all the alterations that 'could ſupernaturally happen to this bulk, figure, or 'ſituation, could be conceived. But before I enter 'upon thoſe nice ſubjects, I find it firſt neceſſary to 'enquire into the cauſe, nature, and laws of motion, 'becauſe motion is the only true cauſe of all natural 'phænomena; and the ſuſpenſions of the laws of this 'motion, are the only cauſes of all ſupernatural 'effects. I conceive the laws of motion can be ſuſ-'pended three different ways; and by one or more of 'theſe laws of ſuſpenſion, it is as eaſy to ſolve clearly 'all ſupernatural effects, as it is to explain the moſt 'evident effects of natural cauſes by the common 'laws of motion. Though I mention, that all ſu-'pernatural effects whatſoever can be eaſily reduced 'to ſome of the three laws of ſuſpenſion of motion, 'notwithſtanding I do not deſign to ſpeak of them 'all in particular, but of ſuch only as are moſt in 'diſpute amongſt the learned; yet any underſtanding 'man may eaſily make his application, and reſolve 'all other miraculous effects into one or other of 'them. By the ſuſpenſion of the laws of motion, I 'do not mean, that theſe laws are changed or abro-'gated, but only that their courſe is ſtopt while an 'effect is produced by the immediate action of the 'Deity, without any influence of theirs, for ſome 'particular end; and it cannot be denied, but that 'ſupreme Legiſlator, who made firſt the laws, may 'ſuſpend them when he pleaſes, and, in that ſtate of 'ſuſpenſion, produce, of himſelf alone, without their 'concurrence, the ſame effects, which are wont to 'be produced only by the ſame laws put in execu-'tion; ſo that though a body; for example, of a 'hundred pound weight, by the eſtabliſhed laws of 'motion, muſt be moved by another that has ſeveral 'degrees of motion, yet an infinite power may, of 'himſelf, either move it without the concurrence of 'another body, or hinder its being moved by any 'other body of what weight ſoever, though put into 'the moſt rapid motion, as if combuſtible matter 'ſhould be in a flaming fire without burning. — Sir, 'the learned and judicious gentlemen of your own, 'can have no reaſon to complain, that I invade their 'province, or encroach upon their prerogatives; for 'I do not undertake to prove, that there ever were 'any ſupernatural effects produced: that matter, I 'think, belongs entirely to Divines to make evident 'from authentic teſtimony. I only endeavour to 'demonſtrate the poſſibility of them, and if there 'were ever any, to explain the mode and mechaniſm 'with which we may conceive how they might have 'been performed. This is not doing any prejudice 'to your profeſſion; for I have that reſpect to the 'Church, and that deference to the Clergy, that I 'did nothing in this matter without the advice and 'approbation of thoſe of them that are in the higheſt 'ſtation; and they owned, that though this ſubject 'had never yet been handled by any Phyſician, nor 'indeed by any Divine that I know of, yet it was 'only a Phyſician's buſineſs to treat of, according to 'the principles of Natural Philoſophy and Phyſic: 'for ſince it is on all ſides acknowledged, that mira-'culous effects are above natural cauſes, no people 'can better judge whether any effect is really ſuper-'natural, than thoſe that make it their buſineſs and 'profeſſion to know how far the activity of natural 'cauſes can reach. For Phyſicians may find ſome-'times that what the wilful miſtakes of ſome, and 'the ignorance of others, take for ſupernatural, is 'the viſible effect of a natural cauſe, as I obſerved 'once at Rome ſome years ſince; paſſing by chance 'through the Strada del Popolo, I ſaw a multitude 'of people hurrying a man to St. Mark's Chapel, 'which belongs to the Venetian Embaſſador; they 'told me, that he was poſſeſſed with the devil, and 'that they were carrying him to be exorciſed. I 'crowded through the throng into the church, and 'felt the man's pulſe; I found him in a fever, mak-'ing hideous grimaces and motions with his face, 'eyes, tongue, and all his limbs, which were nothing 'elſe but a fit of convulſive motions all over his body, 'occaſioned by diſorder of his blood and his ſpirits, 'being a hypochondriacal perſon. The clergy and 'people began very devoutly to fright the pretended 'devil out of him, and, in a little time, his diſor-'derly motion ceaſed; which, as they thought it to 'be the miraculous effect of their prayers, I attribut-'ed to the natural abatement and uſual ceſſation of 'ſuch fits. Every underſtanding Naturaliſt knows, 'that an able Chemiſt can work ſuch ſurprizing ef-'fects in his art, as may very eaſily paſs for miracles 'with ſuch as are unacquainted how far the force of 'natural cauſes can extend. It would ſeem to them 'very aſtoniſhing to ſee two liquors that are cold of 'their own nature ferment, boil, and become very 'hot, without any viſible cauſe to put them in mo-'tion: to ſee Aqua Regalis diſſolve maſſy gold, 'Aqua Fortis diſſolve ſilver, iron, Mercury, and moſt 'other minerals: to ſee the Spirit of Nitre, and the 'Oil of Cloves, which ſeparately are very quiet, turn 'into a burning flame when mixed together; to ſee 'tranſparent liquors, when mixed, turn red, green, 'white, and into all ſorts of colours. I ſay nothing 'of the Phoſphorus, of the ſurprizing effects of the 'Air-Pump, of the elaſticity of the Air, of the Mag-'net, nor of an infinite number of other wonderful 'Phænomena in nature, which though they may be 'common, yet they are not the leſs ſurprizing, be-'cauſe their cauſe is as hid from thoſe that do not, 'and even to thoſe that do, ſtudy nature, as that of

'ſuper-

abroad (*y*), to repreſent him as an abſolute Atheiſt; though there is nothing more certain, than that the Doctor was entirely free from any thing of that kind, and actually wrote this piece with a very good intention: neither is there any thing in the treatiſe, that, fairly conſidered, will admit of any ſuch conſtruction, notwithſtanding the prejudices that have been raiſed againſt it. The Poliſh election, upon the death of King John Sobieſki, having a ſtrong influence upon the general ſyſtem of affairs in Europe, and being from thence a common topic of diſcourſe at that time, induced many perſons of the firſt diſtinction to deſire the acquaintance of Dr. Connor, that they might inform themſelves as to the ſtate of that kingdom, than which there was none ſo little known, or ſo indifferently underſtood, amongſt the generality even of intelligent perſons: and the ſatisfaction given by the Doctor in his converſations upon theſe ſubjects was ſuch, that he was deſired to gratify the public, by committing what he knew of the Poliſh nation and country to the preſs (*z*). Upon his giving his conſent to this, he found himſelf ſo much hurried in the execution, and this hurry ſo inconvenient with reſpect to his practice, that he was obliged to engage one Mr. Savage to aſſiſt in compoſing, correcting, and publiſhing that performance (*a*). The method he took, was that of an ingenious French Jeſuit in his account of China; that is to ſay, he threw his materials into the form of letters, each of which he addreſſed to ſome perſon of high rank and diſtinction, who perhaps had formerly deſired thoſe lights from him, that are given in the Epiſtle thus addreſſed. The two volumes of which this work conſiſts, were publiſhed ſeparately; and the laſt more eſpecially, carries in it many marks of precipitation: but, however, it muſt be allowed to be the beſt book that we have upon the ſubject, or rather, to contain the beſt things in it, and may be read with equal pleaſure and improvement (*b*) [*D*]. There are ſome particulars which fell more immediately under the author's own inſpection, that are very curious, and not to be met with elſewhere; ſuch as his account of the ſalt-mines, of young children carried away and nouriſhed by bears, and of the diſeaſes peculiar to that country,

(*y*) Reimanni, Hiſtoria Univerſalis Atheiſmi & Atheorum, p. 449. Heiſteri Apologia pro Medicis, p. 10.

(*z*) See his Preface to the firſt vol. of his Hiſtory.

(*a*) This he tells us himſelf in the ſame Preface.

(*b*) Methode pour etudier l'Hiſtoire, par M. l'Abbé du Freſnoy, Tom. iv. p. 294.

ſupernatural effects is to thoſe Naturaliſts who trace natural cauſes to their higheſt ſphere of activity. I do not doubt, but that if the miſſionaries that are ſent from the Weſtern Churches to convert the Pagans of the Eaſtern Nations, were as well verſed in Anatomy and Chemiſtry, as they are in the tenets of the Chriſtian Religion, and in the Mathematics, and that if they did but dazzle the eyes of thoſe ignorant people with a great many curious and uſeful experiments in theſe two fundamental branches of Phyſic, they would perhaps make as deep impreſſions upon their minds, and give them as convincing teſtimonies of the power and legality of their miſſion, as they can at preſent by the ſpiritual or indelible character they ſay is inherent in them, by virtue of their commiſſion. Pope Clement X. knew well the effects which Chemiſtry, artfully applied, might produce in the minds of ignorant people, when he ſecured the perſon of the famous Italian, Signior Borri, who, about thirty-five years ago, by his ſkill in Chemiſtry, did work ſeveral extraordinary cures on diſeaſes in Germany, and gained ſuch univerſal reputation all over the Empire, and the northern kingdoms, that, (as it was reported of him) he thought he had credit and opportunity ſufficient to invent and propagate a new religion, by making his ſurprizing experiments in Chemiſtry paſs for miracles; which they might have eaſily done, ſince Chemiſtry being then in its minority was not much known in the world. But the Pope, foreſeeing the ill conſequence ſuch a deſign might produce, gave timely orders to his Nuncio, then at Vienna, to deſire the preſent Emperor to get him ſeized; which being accordingly done, he was ſent priſoner to Rome, on condition nevertheleſs, that his life ſhould be ſafe. Here he lived in Caſtello St. Angelo for ſeveral years, where I ſaw him, and his curious Laboratory for Chemiſtry, allowed him for his diverſion. Nobody was admitted to diſcourſe him without ſpecial leave, for fear, I ſuppoſe, he ſhould inform the world either of his pretended new doctrine, or of the injuſtice he might intimate that was done to him. He died lately in this cloſe confinement ſince I have been at Rome.' To this is added another little piece, intitled, *Teutamen Epiſtolare de Secretione Animali*, that is, 'An Epiſtolary Eſſay upon Animal Secretion,' addreſſed to Edward Southwell, Eſq; ſon to Sir Edward Southwell, formerly Preſident of the Royal Society.

[*D*] *With equal pleaſure and improvement.*] The title of this work promiſes largely (4), and there is no doubt that the author was both willing and able to have performed what he promiſed, if he had been ſuffered to proceed in his own way; for as he was naturally a very cloſe and conciſe writer, he intended to have inſiſted chiefly upon matters of the greateſt moment, and upon facts and things that fell under his immediate obſervation, and to have brought the whole into an octavo volume; which if he had done, there is no doubt it would have appeared a very correct, and finiſhed performance: but being prevailed upon to extend his plan, and to leave the open part of it, for which he had no materials, to be filled up from books by another perſon, it is, to ſay the truth, not a little confuſed and unequal; but wherever we can diſcern the Doctor's pen, the reader is ſure to meet with ſomething worthy his notice. The firſt volume is divided into ſix letters, *viz.* to the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Rocheſter, the Duke of Devonſhire, the Earl of Yarmouth, the Lord Townſend, and Mr. Stepney. According to the plan of the ſecond volume, printed before the firſt, there is a ſcheme of twelve letters, notwithſtanding which, there are only ten in that volume, addreſſed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, Mr. Secretary Vernon, the Earl of Marlborough, the Marquis of Normanby, the Duke of Ormond, Mr. de Cleverſkerk the Dutch Embaſſador, the Earl of Burlington, Sir Thomas Millington, and Mr. Bridges, afterwards Duke of Chandos; but the laſt named letter is not upon the ſubject which was promiſed, for that and another, were never executed, though the contents of them ſhew that this was a loſs to the public. Letter XI. giving an anatomical account of the natural cauſe, why people muſt neceſſarily die of old age alone, attended with no other diſeaſe. Letter XII. explaining the nature of curable and incurable wounds, demonſtrating by practical obſervations, and anatomical experiments, the ſmall number of wounds which are of themſelves abſolutely mortal; and ſhewing the true and common abuſe of ſtyptic waters and powders, in the practice of Surgery. All the letters in the ſecond volume, excepting the firſt, are ſigned I. S. though it is evident, that part of the materials in each was furniſhed by Dr. Connor, who ſeeing them indifferently put together, did not care to own them.

(4) The Hiſtory of Poland, in ſeveral Letters to Perſons of Quality, giving an account of the antient and preſent State of that Kingdom, Hiſtorical, Geographical, Phyſical, Political, and Eccleſiaſtical; its Origin and Extent; with a Deſcription of its Towns and Provinces, the Succeſſion and remarkable Actions of all its Kings, and of the Great Dukes of Lithuania, &c.

of

of which ſome notice will be taken in its proper place (c) [E]. Dr. Connor's practice, by that time he had finiſhed the firſt volume of his work, was ſo much enlarged, that he was forced to charge his aſſiſtant with the care of the ſecond entirely, furniſhing him only with notes; and there is no doubt that if he had lived, he might have become a very eminent man in his profeſſion. But in the flower of his age, and juſt as he began to reap the fruits of his learning, ſtudy, and travels, he was attacked by a violent fever, which, after a ſhort illneſs, carried him off in the month of October 1698, when he was very little more than thirty-two years of age (d). He had, as we obſerved before, been bred in the Romiſh religion, but had embraced that of the Church of England, upon his firſt coming over from Holland; but in what communion he died is not perfectly clear, the reaſons of which the reader will learn at large in the notes (e) [F], from a funeral ſermon preached

(c) See a brief account of theſe matters in the note.

(d) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 258.

(e) Dr. Hayley's Sermon at his funeral.

[E] *Of which ſome notice will be taken in its proper place.*] We are told by Dr. Connor, that the ſalt-mines near Cracow, were diſcovered in 1548, by a cobler (5); and that they have been wrought ever ſince, without any danger of being exhauſted. They deſcend into them by ſeveral pair of wooden ſtairs, and the depth of the mine is computed at three hundred geometrical paces. There are a vaſt number of turnings and windings at that depth, ſome narrow like alleys, and others broad and large like ſtreets. The owner of the mine, Mr. Morſtin Covalſki, told the Doctor, it would require a week's time to go all over the mine, which muſt be conſequently of a vaſt extent. In ſome places there is a great deal of freſh water, but in moſt places it is ſalt. There are frequently ſuch fierce winds in the mine, as are not to be withſtood; and the air, to thoſe who are not uſed to it, is exceſſively penetrating and ſharp. The miners poſitively affirm, that the ſalt weighs leſs in the mine than when brought up into the air; of which, however, the Doctor ſeems a little to doubt. The ſalt found here is of four ſorts; the firſt clear, and hard like cryſtal; the ſecond clear, but not ſo hard; the third brittle and white, like ſugar; the fourth not ſo well coloured, and of a leſs pungent taſte. In ſome places it is impoſſible to work, becauſe the nitrous vapours are apt to take fire upon the approach of a candle. The revenue drawn from this mine by the public, amounts to eight hundred thouſand Poliſh florins a year; beſides which, the proprietor makes preſents to each of the cities and towns of Poland, and to the Staroſts, all which, and the expences of working defrayed, there remains a very great income.——The Doctor takes occaſion to prove at large, a ſtory he had before mentioned in one of his Latin treatiſes (6), of a boy kept in a convent in his time, that had been bred up by a ſhe bear, and was taken in the woods when he was about ten years old, as they gueſſed from his ſtature and aſpect: he was of a hideous countenance, and had not either the uſe of reaſon or of ſpeech: he went upon all four, and had nothing in him like a man, excepting his human ſtructure. But ſeeing he reſembled a rational creature, he was admitted to the font, and chriſtened; yet ſtill he was reſtleſs and uneaſy, and often inclined to flight; and at length being taught to ſtand upright, by clapping him againſt a wall, and holding him after the manner that dogs are taught to beg, and being by little and little accuſtomed to eat at table, he, after ſome time, became indifferently tame, and began to expreſs his mind with a hoarſe and inhuman tone; but being aſked concerning his courſe of life in the woods, he could not give much better account of it, than we can do of our actions in the cradle.——The account the Doctor gives us of the Plica (7) is very ſingular, but free from the abſurdities of former accounts. He tells us, that it conſiſts in the hairs being matted and intangled like fulled cloth, ſometimes on one ſide of the head, ſometimes on both; but he aſſures us, that no blood follows upon cutting it, nor does the patient feel any pain in that operation, though he is afterwards ſubject to a kind of rheumatic diſorder all over, and ſometimes to greater inconveniencies; yet he aſſures us, that Dr. Jonas, a Jew, and the King of Poland's Phyſician, found a very ſhort and ſafe method of curing it, by firſt ſalivating by friction, and then cutting off the hair, which was done without any dangerous conſequences enſuing. The moſt extraordinary circumſtances attending this diſeaſe are two (8); firſt, that it is peculiar to the kingdom of Poland, and Duchy of Lithuania; next, that it comes ſuddenly without any viſible cauſe, and, that too, frequently in a night's time.

(5) Hiſtory of Poland, vol. i. p. 246.

(6) Evangel. Medici, Art. 15. p. 181.

(7) Hiſtory of Poland, vol. ii. p. 95.

(8) Chwalkowſk Singularia Polonica, p. 191.

[F] *Will learn at large in the notes.*] This funeral ſermon upon Dr. Bernard Connor, was preached by the Reverend William Hayley, D. D. Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, on the 30th of October 1698, at which time the corps of Dr. Connor was interred there. What follows is in that Divine's own words (9). 'He had in his ſickneſs, before his diſtemper 'arrived to a great height, and while he was in his 'perfect ſenſes made a *will*, in which he left five 'pounds to the poor of this pariſh, where he now 'lived; and deſired, that if it ſhould pleaſe God to 'take him out of this world, I might preach his *funeral ſermon*, and that it might be made public; his 'friends let me know this, and at his and their re'queſt I viſited him: I found him very much decayed 'in ſtrength, but perfectly ſenſible, as he had ſtill 'been in the intervals of his fits, though the height 'of his fever put him into *ravings*. As ſoon as I 'ſaw him, he requeſted of me what his friends had 'told me before hand; and I preſumed his deſign in 'it was, that he might be vindicated from the ſuſpi'cion of ſome *heterodox opinions*, which his cenſurers 'imputed to him, as well as that his death might 'be the occaſion of an uſeful diſcourſe to the living. 'I therefore told him, that in caſe I complied with 'his deſire, I thought it would be expected I ſhould 'ſay ſomething of a *perſon* whoſe *writings* and *cha'racter* had rendered him ſo much known to the 'world, and had given occaſion to ſome people to 'ſpeak *doubtfully* of his *principles* in *religion*; and 'that for this reaſon, among others, it would be very 'proper for me to have ſome ſatisfaction from him as 'to his *faith*; upon which I put ſeveral queſtions to 'him, *As whether he believed the goſpel? whether he 'gave credit to the miracles that are there recorded, and 'looked upon them as atteſtations of the truth of the 'Chriſtian religion? whether he believed that Jeſus 'Chriſt was the ſaviour of the world, and that he came 'to be our propitiation, and to ſatisfy divine juſtice for 'the ſins of mankind?* To which, and ſuch like 'queſtions, he anſwered *affirmatively* with great *ear'neſtneſs*; and when I diſcourſed him on the ſubject 'of that *book* of his, which occaſioned ſuſpicion of 'his principles, he declared that he had no intention 'to prejudice *religion* thereby, and remitted me to his 'Grace the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* for farther ſatis'faction, to whom he ſaid he had explained himſelf 'in this matter; and as an atteſtation of his ſince'rity, had received the *ſacrament* upon it at the pariſh 'church of St. *Martin in the Fields*, which I have 'ſince found to be true.

'I then began to examine him as to the *ſtate* of his 'ſoul, what ſenſe he had of his ſins, and what remorſe 'for having at any time offended *God?* And whether 'he were perſuaded of the neceſſity of repentance 'and amendment of life, in order to gain the ſalva'tion purchaſed by *Jeſus Chriſt?* To all which he 'gave me ſatisfactory anſwers, and expreſſed great 'ſorrow for the *ſins* and *errors* of his life paſt; and 'then joined with us very *devoutly* in the prayers of 'the Church, in the office for the viſitation of the ſick.

'In the *afternoon* of the ſame day, I went with a 'deſire to have had ſome farther diſcourſe with him,

(9) Sermon preached at the funeral of Bernard Connor, M. D. in the pariſh church of St. Giles's, Oct. 30, 1698, by William Hayley, D. D. Rector of the ſaid Pariſh. Lond. 1699, 4to.

preached by an eminent Divine, at his own requeſt, who ſeems to have ſpoken of him with all the candour and charity that became a Chriſtian Prieſt. As his writings are very well known, and his character has been much canvaſſed in foreign countries, this article was thought the more neceſſary, in which we have endeavoured to collect all the ſcattered facts that can be met with about him.

'but the violence of his fit being upon him, he was 'not in a condition to be ſpoken with.

'The next *morning* I viſited him again, and found 'him in one of his *intervals* ſtill *ſenſible*, but very 'much weakened. I took this occaſion to talk with 'him more particularly concerning his principles; 'and upon mentioning the *merits* of our *Saviour*, 'aſked him whether he depended entirely on the *me-* 'rits of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his *interceſſion*, for pardon 'of his ſins, and reconcilement to God? And he 'made anſwer, *that he relied only on the merits of his* 'Saviour. He was then put in mind of receiving 'the *ſacrament*, and he ſaid he deſired it *with all his* 'ſoul. I aſked, whether in receiving the *ſacrament*, 'he had in his view the profeſſing himſelf a diſciple 'of *Chriſt*, and a member of *his body* the *Church?* 'And if in receiving it from *my hands*, he deſired to 'profeſs himſelf a member of the *Church* of *England*, 'which queſtion being a *ſecond* time diſtinctly put to 'him by a friend of his then preſent, he anſwered, 'with very great *ſeriouſneſs*, that he did. Then I 'put him in mind of his *neglect* of receiving the *ſa-* 'crament, which he had not done ſince about *two* 'years ago, when he communicated at *St. Martin's*, 'and he expreſſed a ſorrow for it. By all this I 'thought he ſufficiently purged himſelf from the im- 'putation of *Deiſm*, *Socinianiſm*, or *Popery*. I looked 'on him as a *true penitent* member of the *Church* of 'England, and I gave him the *ſacrament*. He received 'it with ſigns of very great *devotion*, with expreſſions 'of hearty *repentance* for all the ſins and follies of his 'life, and earneſt petitions for pardon; and ſo I left 'him, as far as we could judge, in a Chriſtian diſpo- 'ſition for death, which I looked upon as very near.

'Theſe are things which I think myſelf obliged to 'give a particular account of, partly to anſwer what 'I conceive was the *deſign* of the deceaſed, and partly 'upon occaſion of an accident that happened ſome 'hours after I left him, which perhaps it will be 'thought not fair to conceal. A certain perſon, who 'it ſeems was a *Romiſh* Prieſt, came to the Doctor's 'lodgings, and deſired very earneſtly to ſee him; de- 'claring that he was his *countryman*, his *friend*, and 'his *relation:* thoſe about him looking upon him as 'very near his departure, were unwilling he ſhould 'be diſturbed; but upon great *importunity* did at laſt 'grant the *ſtranger* admittance, who coming to the 'bed-ſide, called the Doctor by his name, and ſalut- 'ed him three times before he regarded, but at the 'third time he cried out *for God's ſake aſſiſt me*. Upon 'which the company was prevailed with to leave the 'room, but the Doctor's moſt intimate *friend* return- 'ed to the door, and heard the Doctor repeating over 'his *Confiteor* in *Latin*, in a very *huddled* manner, 'upon which the *prieſt* gave him *abſolution*; and then 'aſked him, whether he would have *extreme unction*; 'and the Doctor ſaid *yes*, after which it is ſuſpected 'it was adminiſtered to him.

'Now here could I imagine the Doctor was in his 'ſenſes, and that he was really in his heart of the 'Roman communion, while he only acted this part in 'the laſt ſcene of his life, I ſhould look upon it as a 'very great *ſtain* on his memory; and I am perſuad- 'ed it would give every body a ſhocking idea of that 'religion, which would allow a perſon ſo to *preva-* 'ricate both with God and man.

'But I confeſs that I believe his judgment was now 'quite decayed, and that he did not know what he 'did; for he was thought dying by thoſe about him, 'though he recovered out of that agony and lived till 'next day. His *friend* aſſures me, that in his 'ſickneſs, he turned away another *Romiſh* prieſt who 'would have ſeen him: that the doctor *thanked* him 'for it, and deſired that none of thoſe perſons (ad- 'ding a reproachful word, which I do not think de- 'cent to publiſh) ſhould be admitted to him; and 'that it was the *Doctor's own deſire* that I ſhould at- 'tend him in his ſickneſs; and I cannot ſee what 'occaſion there ſhould be for ſuch a piece of *diſſimu-* 'lation if he had been of the *Roman communion*." C.

*** [If it was true, when Dr. Campbell wrote the preceding article, that Dr. Connor's account of Poland was the beſt book we had upon the ſubject, or, at leaſt, contained the beſt things in it, this is no longer the caſe at preſent. Several performances have appeared of late years, which throw great light upon that country; and we are, in particular, highly indebted in this reſpect to Mr. Coxe's Travels, publiſhed in 1784. Our readers will there find the moſt exact and faithful deſcription of the ſtate of Poland, which, perhaps, has been yet given. Dr. Connor was undoubtedly a man of lively parts; but he doth not ſeem to have attained to a ſolid and regular mode of thinking. It is plain, from the letter inſerted in note [*C*], that his ideas concerning the Miracles of Scripture were very ill digeſted. His writings are now of little conſequence, and will probably never be enquired for: and with regard to his Hiſtory of Poland, it is evident, from our predeceſſor's account of it, that it is a confuſed production, and, in part, a haſty compilation. The circumſtances of Dr. Connor's death are extremely ſuſpicious. The truth of the matter ſeems to have been, that having been a Sceptic in life, but poſſibly not a confirmed Infidel, he was deſirous, in the darkneſs and diſtreſs of his laſt moments, to receive the conſolations of religion, we ſhould rather ſay of ſuperſtition; and theſe conſolations he was willing to derive from the hands both of a Divine of the Church of England, and of a Popiſh Prieſt. The latter, however, appears to have taken an undue advantage of Dr. Connor's weak ſtate of body and mind, and of his early prejudices, as having been brought up in the Roman Catholic communion.] K.

* For the principal materials of this article, we are indebted to the obliging communications of the Rev. Dr. William Conybeare.

(*a*) Amory's Memoirs of Dr. Benſon, p. xii.

(*b*) New Biographical Dictionary, vol. v. p. 408.

[CONYBEARE (JOHN), * a learned Divine and Prelate of the Church of England, was born at Pinhoe, near Exeter, on the 31ſt of January, 1691-2. His father was the Rev. John Conybeare, Vicar of Pinhoe [*A*]; and his mother, whoſe maiden name was Grace Wilcocks, was the daughter of a ſubſtantial Gentleman Farmer of that place. At a proper age, he was ſent to the free-ſchool of Exeter for grammatical education. In this city, Mr. Joſeph Hallet, afterwards a diſſenting Miniſter there, whoſe notes on the ſcripture are held in great eſteem by Clergymen of all denominations, was one of his ſchool-fellows (*a*). Another of his ſchool-fellows is ſaid to have been the celebrated Dr. James Foſter (*b*). But though they might be at the ſchool together at the ſame time, they were not of

[*A*] *Was the Rev. John Conybeare, Vicar of Pinhoe.*] This gentleman died when his ſon was only in the fifteenth year of his age, having never recovered from a bad diſorder, which he had contracted on the night of the great ſtorm in 1703. At that time, his parſonage-houſe, which ſtood on an eminence, and was much expoſed to the ſouth-weſt winds, was totally unroofed. However, by the aſſiſtance of ſome good relations, young Mr. Conybeare was enabled to go on in his education, notwithſtanding the untimely death of his father.

of the ſame ſtanding, Foſter being more than five years and a half younger than Mr. Conybeare. We may judge, from the great literary improvements of the perſons educated in the free-ſchool of Exeter, that it was at that time under excellent tuition †. On the 23d of February, 1707-8, Mr. Conybeare was admitted a Battler of Exeter-College, Oxford, under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Rennel, afterwards Dr. Rennel, and who for many years was Rector of Drew's Teington, one of the beſt livings in the county of Devon. Mr. Conybeare, on his coming to the Univerſity, was, according to the language of that place, *Chum* with Mr. Richard Harding, who was elected Fellow of Exeter-College in 1709, and died Rector of Marwood in Devonſhire, in 1782, in the ninety-fifth year of his age. How early our young ſtudent obtained the eſteem of the learned ſociety with which he was connected, appears from his having been choſen on the 30th of June, 1710, and admitted on the 8th of July following, a Probationary Fellow of his College, upon Sir William Petre's foundation, in the room of Mr. Daniel Oſborne. When he was propoſed as a candidate, it was only with the deſign of recommending him to future notice; but ſuch was the ſenſe entertained of his extraordinary merit, that he was made the object of immediate election. Mr. Harding uſed to ſay, that Mr. Conybeare had every way the advantage of him, excepting in ſeniority; and that he ſhould have had no chance in a competition with him, if they had both been eligible at the ſame time. The patronage of Dr. Rennel, Mr. Conybeare's worthy tutor, concurred with his own deſert, in bringing him forward thus early to academical advantages. On the 17th of July, 1713, he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and at the next election of college officers, upon the 30th of June, 1714, he was appointed Prælector, or Moderator, in Philoſophy. On the 19th of December following, he received Deacon's orders from the hands of Dr. William Talbot, Biſhop of Oxford; and on the 27th of May, 1716, he was ordained Prieſt by Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Biſhop of Wincheſter. On the 16th of April, 1716, he proceeded to the degree of Maſter of Arts (*c*); ſoon after which he entered upon the Curacy of Fetcham, in Surry, where he continued about a year. He was adviſed to this change of ſcene for the benefit of his health, which was always delicate, and had been greatly impaired by the intenſeneſs of his application. Upon his return from Fetcham to Oxford, he became a tutor in his own College, and was much noticed in the Univerſity as a Preacher ‡. In the beginning of the year 1722, he publiſhed a ſermon, which he had delivered before the Univerſity, on the 24th of December preceding, from Hebrews ii. 4. entitled, "The Nature, Poſſibility, and Certainty of Miracles, &c." This diſcourſe was ſo well received, that it went through four editions. Mr. Conybeare was hence encouraged to commit to the preſs a ſecond ſermon, from 1 Corinthians xiii. 12. (*d*), which he had preached before the Univerſity, on the 21ſt of October, 1724, and the title of which was, "The Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion credible." It is probable, that the reputation our author gained by theſe diſcourſes, recommended him to the notice of the Lord Biſhop of London (Dr. Gibſon), who appointed him one of his Majeſty's Preachers at Whitehall, upon the firſt eſtabliſhment of that inſtitution. The eſteem in which his abilities and character were held, procured him, alſo, the favour of the Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, who, in May, 1724, preſented him to the Rectory of St. Clement's in Oxford; a preferment of no great value, but which was convenient to him from his conſtant reſidence at that place, and from its being compatible with his fellowſhip. In 1725, he was choſen ſenior Proctor of the Univerſity, which office he ſerved in conjunction with Mr. Barnaby Smyth, Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti College, and a ſcholar of eminence. In the ſame year, Mr. Conybeare was called upon to preach a viſitation ſermon before the Biſhop of Oxford, at whoſe requeſt it was publiſhed, under the title of "The Caſe of Subſcription to Articles of Religion conſidered." This ſermon, the text of which is taken from 1 Timothy vi. 3, 4. has obtained no ſmall degree of celebrity. It hath often been referred to in the controverſy relating to ſubſcription, and is particularly noticed by the acute and learned writer of the Confeſſional (*e*). The poſition of Mr. Conybeare is, that "every one who ſubſcribes the Articles of Religion, does thereby engage, "not only not to diſpute or contradict them; but his ſubſcription amounts to an approba-"tion of, and an aſſent to, the truth of the doctrines therein contained, in the very ſenſe "in which the compilers are ſuppoſed to have underſtood them (*f*)." Many perſons, who may not agree with our author in other reſpects, will concur with him in this point; and, indeed, it ſeems to be clearly confirmed by the avowed deſign of the Articles of the Church of England, which was to prevent diverſities of opinion. Mr. Conybeare's next publication was an aſſize ſermon, preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1727, from Ezra vii. 26. and entitled, "The penal Sanctions of Laws conſidered (*g*)." This diſcourſe was dedicated by him to the Honourable Charles Talbot, at that time Solicitor General, afterwards Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain, who had honoured our author with the care of his two eldeſt ſons, Mr. Charles Talbot, celebrated by the Poet Thomſon, and the late Earl Talbot, Steward of his Majeſty's Houſehold. On the 11th of July, 1728, Mr. Conybeare was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and on the 24th of January following, he took his Doctor's degree (*h*). In the year 1729, he again appeared from the preſs, in a ſermon that had been preached before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen at

† Mr. Thorpe, we have reaſon to believe, was at that time maſter of the ſchool; and it is underſtood that two other of Mr. Conybeare's ſchool-fellows were Dr. Atwell and Dr. Rundle.

(*c*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, 1772, p. 79.

‡ St. Mary's Church was ſcarcely ever ſo much crowded as when Mr. Conybeare preached.

(*d*) Cooke's Preacher's Aſſiſtant, vol. ii. p. 83.

(*e*) Confeſſional. Third edition, p. 32, 33. note.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 208.

(*g*) Cooke's Preacher's Aſſiſtant, *ubi ſupra*.

(*h*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, *ubi ſupra*.

at St. Paul's Cathedral, and which was entitled, " The Expediency of a divine Revelation repreſented." It was accompanied with a dedication to Biſhop Talbot, father of the Solicitor General. From Dr. Conybeare's introduction to this family, and the reputation he had acquired as a Divine, it was expected that he would ſoon have been promoted to ſome dignity in the Church. But the good Biſhop was taken off, before he had a proper opportunity of carrying his benevolent intentions, in our author's favour, into execution. In 1730, the Headſhip of Exeter-College becoming vacant, by the death of Dr. Hole, Dr. Conybeare was choſen to ſucceed him. His competitor, on this occaſion, was the Rev. Mr. Stephens, Vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth, a truly worthy Clergyman, and the author of ſeveral ingenious diſcourſes. Nevertheleſs, as he had retired early from the ſociety, he could not be ſuppoſed to carry ſuch weight with him as Dr. Conybeare, who had reſided conſtantly in the College. In this year Dr. Tindal's famous deiſtical book had appeared, entitled, " Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, or the Goſpel a Republication of the Law of Nature." This work excited the greateſt attention, and drew forth the pens of ſome of the ableſt Divines of the kingdom, both in the Church of England, and among the Proteſtant Diſſenters. Biſhop Gibſon, who had himſelf engaged in the controverſy, in his " Paſtoral Letters," encouraged Dr. Conybeare to undertake the taſk of giving a full and particular anſwer to Tindal's production. Accordingly, he publiſhed, in 1732, his " Defence of revealed Religion [*B*];" by which he gained great credit

[*B*] *His defence of revealed Religion.*] The whole title of the work is, " A Defence of revealed Religion " againſt the Exceptions of a late Writer, in his " Book, intitled, *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, " &c." By John Conybeare, D. D. Rector of Exeter-college in Oxford, 8vo. London, 1732. We ſhall extract the account which Dr. Leland has given of it, in his " View of the Deiſtical Writers."

' Another anſwer which particularly engaged the attention of the public, was that publiſhed by Dr. John Conybeare, Rector of Exeter-College, Oxford, now Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, viz. *A Defence of revealed Religion, againſt the Exceptions of a late Writer in his Book*, intitled, *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, London, 1732. This book is divided into nine chapters: The firſt is deſigned by the acute and learned author, to ſhew what we are to underſtand by the law or religion of nature, from what the obligation of it ariſes, and how far it extends. He ſhews, that the religion or law of nature, does not take in every thing that is founded in the nature or reaſon of things, which ſeems to be the ſenſe the author of *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, takes it in throughout his whole book, but only ſuch a collection of doctrines and precepts, as is diſcernible to us in the uſe of our natural faculties. And this, though founded in nature, becomes then only properly a law to us, when it is regarded as the will of God the ſupreme legiſlator; and our obligation to it, ſtrictly ſpeaking, is founded on the divine ſanctions of rewards and puniſhments. In the ſecond chapter it is ſhewn, that the law or religion of nature, in the ſenſe already explained, is not abſolutely perfect: ſince as the law of nature is only what men are capable of diſcerning in the uſe of their natural faculties, it can be no more perfect than human reaſon. If the law of nature was abſolutely perfect, it muſt have ſuch a clearneſs as to the meaning and authority of it, as can admit of nothing more in any poſſible circumſtance; it muſt have ſuch a ſtrength of inforcement, that it cannot be heightened in any way whatſoever; and ſuch an extent of matter, as to comprehend every thing that may be fit and proper to be known or done, and not to admit of any poſſible article to be added to it. And he plainly proves, that the law or religion of nature is not abſolutely perfect in any of theſe reſpects. Chap. 3d is intended to ſhew, that the law of nature is not immutable, in ſuch a ſenſe eſpecially as to be incapable of admitting any additional precepts. And here the queſtion concerning poſitive precepts is accurately ſtated, and it is proved that God may appoint them, and an anſwer is returned to the author's objections to the contrary. In chap. 4th he enquires, whether natural and revealed religion be neceſſarily the ſame, and if not, wherein the proper diſtinction between them doth conſiſt. In the former chapter he had ſhewn, that poſitive precepts might be given; here he carries it farther, and proves that ſome poſitive inſtitutions might reaſonably be expected, if ever God ſhould reveal his will at all; both as tokens of his authority and our ſubmiſſion, and for the better order and decency of his worſhip, and the outward part of religion, and for the increaſe and advancement of inward piety. The ſame thing is urged from the concurrent ſenſe of mankind in all ages, and under all religions. It is farther ſhewn, there are other things of higher importance in which natural and revealed religion differ, though they are not properly oppoſed to each other, *e. g.* with regard to principles and doctrines not diſcoverable by nature's light, or as to precepts, which though founded in the nature of things, yet are not knowable in the uſe of our own reaſon; they alſo differ in point of clearneſs, and in efficacy. He inſtances particularly in the aſſurance given us of the pardon of ſin, divine aſſiſtances, and the eternal retributions of a future ſtate. Chap. 5th is deſigned to ſhew, that a proper rule of life is not perfectly and eaſily diſcoverable by every man, even by thoſe of the meaneſt capacity. And here it is evinced, that the author's own ſcheme of natural religion, which he pretends is ſo obvious to all mankind, is perplexed, obſcure, and defective. In chap. 6th he inquires, whether a proper rule of life be more eaſily and perfectly diſcoverable by us in the uſe of our own reaſon, than the proof or meaning of a revelation can be. He ſhews the poſſibility of immediate revelation or inſpiration, and that this gives the higheſt evidence. And that as to traditional revelation, though the evidence be not ſtrictly demonſtrative, it may be ſuch as is ſufficient to determine the aſſent of a ſober thinking man. And he anſwers what the author had brought to prove, that the ſenſe and meaning of ſuch a revelation cannot be fixed and aſcertained. Chap. 7th is deſigned to ſhew, that a revelation is expedient in order to a more eaſy, more perfect, and more general knowledge of the rule of life. This is diſtinctly evinced, both with regard to the wiſer and better part of men, particularly the philoſophers, and with reſpect to perſons of a lower rank and meaner abilities. And a good anſwer is made to what the author had urged concerning the ſuppoſed inconſiſtency between our being governed by reaſon, and revelation. In chap. 8th it is ſhewn, that a revelation is expedient in order to inforce the general practice of the rule of life. That the mere pleaſure of doing well, or a moral taſte or ſenſe, is not alone a ſufficient balance for all the inconveniencies of doing otherwiſe, amidſt all the embaraſſments of paſſion and temptation; nor if to this be added the civil ſanctions of human authority, are theſe alone ſufficient. For theſe are deſigned not ſo much to reward virtues, ſeveral of which do not come under the cognizance of human courts, as to puniſh crimes, and thoſe only ſuch as tend to the hurt of the ſociety. Virtue can only be ſufficiently inforced by ſanctions eſtabliſhed by God himſelf; and a revelation is expedient for that purpoſe. He concludes this chapter with giving a clear anſwer to two objections urged by

dit to himſelf, and performed an eminent ſervice to the cauſe of chriſtianity. In his dedication to the learned Prelate now mentioned, he obſerves, that if he has not ſucceeded in his book according to his wiſhes, he may plead that it was drawn up amidſt a variety of interruptions, and under a bad ſtate of health. "This, ſays he, will in ſome ſort excuſe "the author, though it may detract from the performance." But Dr. Conybeare's work did not ſtand in need of an apology. It is diſtinguiſhed by the perſpicuity of its method, and the ſtrength of its reaſoning; and is, indeed, one of the ableſt vindications of Revelation which England has produced. So well was the work received, that the third edition of it was publiſhed in 1733. Dr. Warburton juſtly ſtyles it one of the beſt reaſoned books in the world. It is, likewiſe, recommended by the temper and candour with which it is compoſed. Dr. Conybeare's Defence will always maintain its rank, and perhaps be thought to ſuſtain the firſt place, among the four capital anſwers which Tindal received. The other three were, Foſter's "Uſefulneſs, Truth, and Excellency of the Chriſtian Revelation;" Leland's "Anſwer to a late Book, intitled, Chriſtianity as old as the Creation;" and Mr. Simon Browne's "Defence of the Religion of Nature and the Chriſtian Revelation."

Though Dr. Conybeare, by his promotion to the Headſhip of Exeter-College, had obtained a conſiderable rank in the Univerſity, he did not, by the change of his ſituation, make any addition to his fortune. Indeed, the emoluments of his new place were ſo ſmall, that he was much richer as a private Fellow and Tutor, than as the Governor of his College. It may be preſumed that this circumſtance in part, and ſtill more the reputation he had acquired by his anſwer to Tindal, induced the Biſhop of London, who at that time had great influence in the diſpoſal of eccleſiaſtical preferments, to exert himſelf more vigorouſly in our author's behalf. This the good Prelate ſo effectually did, that on the death of Dr. Bradſhaw, Biſhop of Briſtol, and Dean of Chriſt-Church, Oxford, in December, 1732, Dr. Conybeare was appointed to ſucceed him in the latter dignity. Accordingly, the Doctor was inſtalled Dean of that Cathedral in the month of January following. On this occaſion, he reſigned the Headſhip of Exeter-College, in which he was ſucceeded by Mr. Atwell. Not long after, he gave up, likewiſe, the Rectory of St. Clement's, in favour of a friend, the Rev. Mr. Webber, one of the Fellows of Exeter. On the 6th of June, 1733, Dean Conybeare married Miſs Jemima Juckes, daughter of Mr. William Juckes, of Hoxton Square, near London; and in the ſame year he publiſhed a ſermon, which he had preached in the Cathedral of St. Peter, Exon, in Auguſt, 1732, from 2 Peter iii. 16. on the ſubject of Scripture-difficulties (*i*). In the beginning of the next year, he had the honour of entertaining the Prince of Orange, at the deanery of Chriſt-Church. The Prince, who had come into England to marry the Princeſs Royal, being deſirous of viſiting Oxford, and ſome of the places adjacent, took up his reſidence at Dr. Conybeare's apartments; and how ſolicitous the Dean was to treat his illuſtrious gueſt with a proper ſplendour and dignity, appears from his having received, by the hands of one of her ſervants, the eſpecial thanks of Queen Caroline on the occaſion.

(*i*) Cooke's Preacher's Aſſiſtant, *ubi ſupra*.

When, in 1737, Dr. Morgan had publiſhed his "Moral Philoſopher," the Dean had it in contemplation to anſwer that work, ſo far as the general ſcheme of the writer might be thought to deſerve it; and he had prepared many materials for this purpoſe (*k*). The deſign, for what reaſon we know not, was never carried into execution; and the omiſſion of it will be reflected on with ſome regret by learned men; though it muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged, that Dr. Morgan was encountered by a number of very able and ſucceſsful antagoniſts. It is to the honour of Dean Conybeare's temper, that he expreſſed his hope, that none of the animadverters on the "Moral Philoſopher" would be provoked to imitate his ſcurrilities (*l*). In 1738, the Dean was requeſted to preach the ſermon at the annual meeting of the ſeveral Charity-ſchools in London, which he did from Galatians vi. 9.; and the diſcourſe was publiſhed (*m*). In 1747, he met with a great domeſtic affliction, in the loſs of his lady, who departed this life on the 29th of October, after their union had ſubſiſted not much longer than fourteen years. When, on the 25th of April, 1749, a day of ſolemn thankſgiving was held, on account of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had been ſigned on the 18th of October in the preceding year, Dr. Conybeare was fixed upon to preach before the Honourable Houſe of Commons on this occaſion. The ſubject was "True Patriotiſm," and the following words of the Pſalmiſt furniſhed the text. "Pray for the peace of Jeruſalem: they ſhall proſper that "love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and proſperity within thy palaces. For my bre-

(*k*) Amory's Life of Dr. Benſon, p. xi.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. xii.

(*m*) Cooke's Preacher's Aſſiſtant, *ubi ſupra*.

the author: The one is, that if a revelation be expedient to be made to any, it muſt be equally expedient to be made to all, and at all times. The other is, that the revelation hath not in fact anſwered that purpoſe for which we affirm it to be expedient. The ninth and laſt chapter is intended to evince that there is ſufficient evidence of the reality of a revelation, eſpecially of the Chriſtian. He obſerves, that what is uſually called the internal evidence of a revelation is not ſtrictly and properly an evidence, but only a neceſſary condition or qualification of a true revelation: That external proof is the only direct evidence of a divine revelation; and this conſiſteth in miracles as including prophecies, which may be conſidered as one ſort of miracles. He ſhews what reaſon we have to believe, that the miracles recorded to have been done in favour of the Chriſtian religion were really wrought; and that ſuppoſing them to have been wrought, they were real and ſatisfactory proofs of a divine original (1)."

(1) Leland's View, vol. ii. p. 124—126. Fourth edition.

" thren and companions ſakes I will now ſay, peace be within thee. Becauſe of the " houſe of the LORD our God, I will ſeek thy good (*n*)." If our readers would not be diſpleaſed with us for quoting any fine ſentiments from a Greek or Roman Claſſic, it is to be hoped that we ſhall be forgiven for reciting ſentiments equally beautiful from a Sacred Writer.

(*n*) Pſalm cxxii. 6, 7, 8, 9.

As Dr. Conybeare was raiſed early in life to ſo conſpicuous a ſtation as that of the Deanery of Chriſt-Church, it might have been expected, from his eminent merit and learning, that he would ſooner have been called to the higher honours of his profeſſion. But it is to be remembered, that, not long after his promotion to the Deanery, his good friend, the Biſhop of London, loſt his influence at Court; and the Lord Chancellor Talbot dying in the year 1737, our author had no particular patron to recommend him to royal favour. It was not, therefore, till the latter end of 1750, that he attained the mitre; and this was more owing to his acknowledged abilities and character, than to any perſonal interpoſition. On the tranſlation of Dr. Joſeph Butler to the See of Durham, Dr. Conybeare was appointed to the Biſhoprick of Briſtol, and was conſecrated at Lambeth Chapel, on the 23d of December. The conſecration ſermon, which was ſoon afterwards publiſhed, was preached by Francis Webber, D. D. Rector of Exeter-College. The promotion of Dr. Conybeare to the Prelacy, whilſt it raiſed him to the higheſt order of the Church, and enlarged his ſphere of uſefulneſs, was injurious to his private fortune. The ſlender revenues of his Biſhoprick were not equal to the expences which accrued from his neceſſary reſidence ſometimes at Briſtol, and ſometimes at London. Four diſcourſes were publiſhed by our author, after he became a Biſhop. The firſt was the Eaſter Monday ſermon, in 1751, from Proverbs xi. 17. before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, in which the virtue of being merciful was ſtated and enforced. The ſecond was preached before the Houſe of Lords, on the 11th of June, in the ſame year, from Pſalm lxxviii. 72. upon occaſion of his Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne: the ſubject treated of, was civil government. The third was from Matthew xviii. 10, 11. in favour of the Iriſh Proteſtant ſchools; and the fourth, from James i. 27. was before the Sons of the Clergy, at Briſtol. Both theſe diſcourſes were printed in 1752 (*o*). It may be obſerved, with regard to the twelve ſingle ſermons publiſhed by our Prelate, that they were not vague, declamatory eſſays, calculated only to anſwer a preſent purpoſe, but judicious and ſolid compoſitions, in which important topics were diſcuſſed with great perſpicuity of method and language, and with equal ſtrength of reaſoning; ſo that it is not a little to be regretted, that they have not been collected together in a volume. Dr. Conybeare did not long enjoy a good ſtate of health, after his being raiſed to the Biſhoprick of Briſtol. He was much afflicted with the gout; and, having languiſhed about a year and a half, was carried off by that diſorder at Bath, on the 13th of July, 1755. He was interred in the Cathedral Church of Briſtol, where, ſome time after his death, the following inſcription was erected to his memory:

(*o*) Cooke's Preacher's Aſſiſtant, *ubi ſupra*, p. 88.]

Juxta ſitus eſt
Reverendus admodum in Chriſto Pater,
JOANNES CONYBEARE,
Celeberrimæ Academiæ Oxonienſis
Primarium, dum vixit, Ornamentum.
Quippe ex illorum erat hominum numero,
Quorum unus aut alter cuivis ſe oſtendit ſæculo,
In honorem humani generis quaſi de cœlo delapſus.
Quid mirum eſt igitur, ſi eâ vi, illo ingenii acumine
Hoſtes fidei revelatæ adeo penitus profligaverit,
Ut de memorabili hâc victoriâ
Hodiè glorientur Chriſtiani.
Sane obtinuiſſe videatur
In Æde Chriſti eminentiorem Decani locum,
Epiſcopalem poſteà in hâc Eccleſiâ Cathedram,
Non tam potentiorum auctoritate, aut propriis meritis,
Quam ipſâ Divini Numinis deſignatione evocatus.
Ut optimi Viri memoriæ quodammodò inſerviat,
Marmor hoc poſitum eſt
Piâ tanti nominis reverentiâ.
Obiit 13° die Julii. A. D. 1755. Ætatis ſuæ 64.

Biſhop Conybeare had by his lady five children, three of whom died in their infancy. A daughter and a ſon ſurvived him. The daughter, Jemima, departed this life at Oxford, on the 14th of March, 1785. The ſon, William, is the preſent Dr. Conybeare. As our worthy Prelate died in but indifferent circumſtances, and conſequently left behind him a very ſlender proviſion for his children, it was propoſed, by ſome friends of the family, to publiſh two volumes of ſermons by ſubſcription. The ſcheme ſucceeded ſo well,

that perhaps a larger liſt of ſubſcribers never appeared on the like occaſion [C]. Beſides this, his Majeſty King George the Second was pleaſed, in conſideration of the Biſhop's merits, to beſtow upon the family, for the life of Miſs Jemima Conybeare, a penſion, the clear produce of which was about one hundred pounds a year.

Dr. Conybeare's connection with Biſhop Gibſon, and the Talbot family, has already been mentioned. Amongſt his moſt intimate private friends may be reckoned Dr. Hayter, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Norwich and London, Dr. Atwell, and the famous Dr. Rundle, afterwards Biſhop of Derry. The latter gentleman is underſtood to have been inſtrumental in recommending our author to the notice of the Talbots. There ſubſiſted, likewiſe, a great intimacy between Dr. Conybeare and Dr. Secker. When Secker entered himſelf a Gentleman Commoner at Exeter-College, with a view of taking a degree at the Univerſity of Oxford, Mr. Conybeare was appointed his nominal tutor. The preſent Dr. William Conybeare enjoys the Rectory of St. Botolph's, Biſhopſgate, as an option of Archbiſhop Secker's.

Biſhop Conybeare's character appears to have been, in every view of it, reſpectable and excellent. Whilſt he was a firm and faithful adherent to the doctrine and conſtitution of that Church of which he was ſo great an ornament, he was candid in his ſentiments, and friendly in his conduct, with regard to the Proteſtant Diſſenters. He occaſionally correſponded with his former ſchool-fellow, Mr. Joſeph Hallet; and in the article of Dr. George Benſon, we have inſerted ſome extracts from a letter written by him to that gentleman, which ſhew him to have been a truly Chriſtian Prelate, who had imbibed no ſmall portion of the benevolent and liberal ſpirit of his Divine Maſter (p)]. K.

(p) Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 205, note [O]. Second edition.

[C] *That perhaps a larger liſt of ſubſcribers never appeared on the like occaſion.*] The number of ſubſcribers amounted to nearly four thouſand ſix hundred perſons, many of whom took more than one copy. Such an almoſt unparalleled ſubſcription can only be accounted for from Dr. Conybeare's numerous connections, in conſequence of his having preſided over ſuch a ſociety as that of Chriſt-church, with the greateſt reputation, for twenty-two years and a half; from the general eſtimation in which his abilities and character were held in the world, among men of all denominations; and from the diſintereſtedneſs of his temper, in making but a ſmall proviſion for his family. The ſermons were publiſhed in 1757, and dedicated, by the Biſhop's daughter, to his Majeſty King George the Second. The ſubjects of the diſcourſes are as follows. Volume i. "Chriſtian Salvation the Matter of Joy and Praiſe to Angels." From Luke ii. 14. "The true Ground of the Jews rejecting the Meſſias, conſidered." From John i. 11. "The Excellency of Patience." From James i. 2, 3, 4. "The Hiſtory of Joſeph." In three parts. From Geneſis xxxvii. 36. xxxix. 1, 2. xli. 46. "The Diviſion of Mankind into Rich and Poor, conſidered." From Proverbs xxii. 2. "Reflections on the Conduct of Herod towards John the Baptiſt." In two parts. From Matthew xiv. 6, 7, 8, 9. "Prophecies and Miracles ſufficient Proofs of a Divine Commiſſion." From John xx. 31. "St. Paul's Difficulties and Diſtreſſes conſidered and applied." From 2 Corinthians xi. 23. "The Condition of Mankind in general unhappy, without the Belief of a future State." In two parts. From 1 Corinthians xv. 19. "Different degrees of Happineſs in a future State." From 1 John iii. 2. "The Excellency of Charity above Faith and Hope." From 1 Corinthians xiii. 13. Volume ii. "The Aggravations of Sin under the Goſpel." From Hebrews x. 29. "Reflections on the Diſpute between St. Paul and Barnabas." In two parts. From Acts xv. 39. "The Doctrine of Chriſt's Satisfaction agreeable to Reaſon." From 1 Peter iii. 18. "The Needfulneſs of a Revelation, ſhewn from the Imperfection of the Law of Nature conſidered as a Rule of Duty." From Luke i. 78, 79. "Hiſtory of Cain and Abel." In two parts. From Geneſis iv. 3, 4, 5. "The Example of Abraham's Faith propoſed to Chriſtians." From Hebrews xi. 17, 18, 19. "On the Nature and Employment of good Angels." From Hebrews i. 14. "Providence concerned in the Revolutions of Government." From Iſaiah xliv. 24, 25, 26. "Reaſons why God delays the puniſhments of wicked Men." From 2 Peter iii. 8, 9. "The Rule of Equity." In two parts. From Matthew vii. 12. "The Moral Infirmity of Human Nature conſidered." From Matthew xxv. 5. "Human Life a State of Pilgrimage." From Hebrews xi. 13. "On the Vanity of the World." From Eccleſiaſtes i. 2, 3. The ſecond volume is concluded with the Biſhop's charge to his clergy, delivered at his primary viſitation, in the month of July, 1752.

COOKE (Sir ANTHONY), Governor, Preceptor, or School-maſter to King Edward VI. and great-grandſon to Sir Thomas Cooke, Lord-Mayor of London, in 1462 [A], was born at Giddy, or Giddy-Hall, in Eſſex (a), about the year 1506 (b). Where the place of his education was, we cannot find any where mentioned, though it was moſt probably at Cambridge (c). But wherever it was, he became eminent in the whole circle of arts,

(a) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Eſſex, p. 327.

(b) Mr. Camden tells us, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth under the year 1576, that Sir Anthony was *ſeptuagenarius*, 70 years old, that very year when he died; and therefore muſt have been born about the year 1506.

(c) He is not mentioned at all by A. Wood.

[A] *Great Grandſon to Sir* Thomas Cooke, *Lord-Mayor of* London, *in* 1462.] This Sir Thomas Cooke was ſon of Robert Cooke, of Lavenham, in Suffolk. He was of the Drapers Company, and probably brought up to that buſineſs. In the 5th of King Edward IV. he was made Knight of the Bath, and knighted in the field by the King (1); but in the year 1467 he came into great troubles: For one Hawkins having, ſome years before, deſired him to lend him a thouſand marks upon good ſecurity, Sir Thomas anſwered, he would firſt know for whom it was, and for what intent. Underſtanding it was for the uſe of Queen Margaret, (wife of King Henry VI.) he anſwered, he had no goods that he could convert into money without too much loſs; and, at length, refuſed to lend even a hundred pounds. Two or three years after, Hawkins being committed to the Tower, and put to the rack, impeached Sir Thomas Cooke of high-treaſon, for what ſhould *then* have been imputed to him as a virtue rather than a crime. However, he was for the ſame tried at Guildhall, by the procurement of Sir John Fogg; and though he was acquitted of treaſon, he was ſent to the Counter, and from thence to the King's-Bench. During his confinement, his houſe in London, and his country-ſeat at Giddy-Hall, were plundered by the ſervants of Sir John Fogg, and Anthony Rivers, Earl of Widville: for which damages Sir Thomas could never get the leaſt recompence: nor was he releaſed until he had paid eight thouſand pounds to the King, and eight hundred pounds to the Queen (2). His ſon was Philip Cooke, Eſq; — his grandſon John Cooke, Eſq; who died Oct. 10, 1516, — and his great grandſon, Sir Anthony, of whom we are now writing (3).

(1) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, fol. vol. ii. B. v. p. 122.

(2) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 420.

(3) Hiſt. and Antiq. of Eſſex, by N. Salmon, p. 249.

being

being a thorough maſter of the Latin and Greek languages, an excellent Critic and Philologiſt, and equally ſkilled in Poetry, Hiſtory, and the Mathematics. He was, at the ſame time, adorned with ſingular piety and goodneſs. Theſe illuſtrious qualities, together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his own family [*B*], being taken notice of by thoſe noble perſons that had the charge of King Edward VI. they appointed Sir Anthony to be that Prince's chief inſtructor, and the great guide of his learning and manners (*d*); and what glorious progreſs he made, under his, and the reſt of his governors good care, is ſufficiently known. During Queen Mary's perſecuting reign, Sir Anthony was an exile for his religion. But after Queen Elizabeth's happy acceſſion, he returned to his native country, and peaceably ſpent the remainder of his days at Giddy-Hall, of which he finiſhed the building (*e*) [*C*]. He died June 11, 1576, aged ſeventy, leaving behind him the character of a man of ſevere gravity, and great learning (*f*). See the reſt of his character in the note [*D*]. Several witty and ingenious ſayings of his are recorded [*E*]. He

(*d*) State Worthies, &c. by Dav. Lloyd, 2d edit. 8*vo*. Lond. 1679, p. 374, &c. See alſo Sir John Hayward's Life of King Edward VI. in Compl. Hiſt. of England, fol. vol. ii. edit. 1706, p. 274, note (*d*).

(*e*) D. Lloyd; and Fuller's Worthies, *ubi ſupra*; and the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Eſſex, &c. by N. Salmon, p. 249.

(*f*) *Vir—antiqua ſeveritate, & doctrina multiplici*—as Mr. Camden ſtyles him; Annal. Reg. Eliz. ſub anno, 1576.

[*B*] *Together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his own family.*] His children's maintenance was always according to their quality, and their employment according to their diſpoſition; he neither allowing them to live above their fortunes, nor forcing them againſt their natures. His firſt care was to give them a true ſenſe of religion, and his next, to inure them to ſubmiſſion, modeſty, and obedience, and to let their inſtructions grow with their years. Their book and pen were their recreation; the muſic and dancing-ſchool, the court and city, their accompliſhment; the needle in the cloſet, and houſewifery in the hall and kitchen, their buſineſs. They were reproved, but with reaſon that convinced and checked; that wrought as well an ingenuous ſhame, as an unfeigned ſorrow, and a dutiful fear. He never loved them with over-fondneſs, nor chaſtiſed them in a paſſion. He ſaid, 'That the joys of parents are ſecrets, and 'ſo are their griefs and fears.' Children ſweeten labours, but they embitter misfortunes; they increaſe the care of life, and mitigate the remembrance of death. The recreations he indulged his in, were moderate, lawful, ſober, becoming, uſeful, and ſeaſonable: the expences he allowed, not ſo illiberal as to acquaint them with ſhifts, make them reſort with mean company, nor ſurfeit when they came to plenty; nor yet ſo prodigal, but that they were taught how to live in the world. The books he adviſed were not many, but choice; the buſineſs he preſſed, was not reading, but digeſting. The diet he preſcribed was moderate: in apparel he allowed for neceſſity, for decency, and in ſome caſes for magnificence, provided that it were neither too coſtly, nor too vain; neither above the purſe, nor beyond the calling, nor beſides the eſtate (4).

(4) State Worthies, &c. as above, p. 375, 376, 377.

[*C*] Giddy-hall, *of which he finiſhed the building.*] As the following inſcription, on the front of it, teſtified.

Ædibus his frontem proavus Thomas *dedit olim,*
Addidit Antoni *cætera ſera manus.* 1568.
Ædes quiſque ſuas, Domini ſed mœnia pauci
Ædificant, levior cura minora decet (5).

(5) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, edit. 1631, fol. p. 650.

The purport of which is, that the front of that houſe was built by his great grandfather Thomas, and the reſt added by himſelf in 1568, &c. This ſeat was not long ago re-built, in an elegant manner, by the late owner, Sir John Eyles, Bart.

[*D*] *See the reſt of his character in the note.*] He was, if David Lloyd may be credited (6), naturally of a reſerved temper; and took more pleaſure to breed up ſtateſmen, than to be one. Contemplation was his ſoul, privacy his life, and diſcourſe his element: buſineſs was his purgatory, and publicneſs his torment." To which may be added what King Edward VI. uſed to ſay of his tutors, that Rodolph, the German, ſpake honeſtly, Sir John Cheke talked merrily, Dr. Cox ſolidly, and Sir *Anthony Cooke* weighingly (7).

(6) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 377.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 386.

[*E*] *Several witty and ingenious ſayings of his are recorded.*] Particularly the following: 'That there 'were three things before whom he could not do 'amiſs; his Prince, his conſcience, and his children.' Writing to his daughter Mildred, he ſaid to her, 'My example is your inheritance, and my life is 'your portion.' This ſtory is likewiſe related of him: That a Suſſex Knight having ſpent a great eſtate at Court, and reduced himſelf to one park and a fine houſe in it, was yet ambitious to entertain King Edward VI. therein; and to that purpoſe had new-painted his gates, with a Coat of Arms, and this motto over them in large golden letters, OIA VANITAS. Sir Anthony offering to read it, deſired to know of the gentleman what he meant by OIA? who told him it ſtood for *omnia*. Sir Anthony replied, 'Sir, I wonder, having made your *Omnia* (8) 'ſo little as you have, you notwithſtanding make 'your *Vanitas* (9) ſo large (*).' M.

(8) *i. e.* Your All.

(9) *i. e.* Vanity.

(*) State Worthies, by David Lloyd, *ubi ſupra*, p. 375. 385.

*** [Sir Anthony Cooke's four daughters made ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure among the literary Ladies of the period in which they lived, and were otherwiſe ſo reſpectable, in point both of ſituation and character, that it cannot be improper to give a more particular account of them than has been done by our predeceſſors. Indeed, to record them in the Biographia, is only paying a deſerved tribute to their uncommon attainments and virtues.

Of Mildred, the eldeſt of theſe daughters, ſome notice was taken in the article of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh (10). It was there briefly mentioned, that ſhe was long the faithful wife of that great Stateſman; that ſhe was learned in the Greek tongue, and wrote a letter to the Univerſity of Cambridge in that language; that ſhe was a patroneſs of literature; and that ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by her numerous charities. It will, therefore, only be neceſſary to add a few circumſtances concerning her, which have not already been ſpecified. This Lady was born, probably at her father's houſe at Giddy-Hall, in Eſſex, in the year 1526. Her preceptor was Mr. Lawrence, an eminent Grecian; and ſhe fully anſwered the care and pains that were taken in her education. In due time ſhe became excellently acquainted with the Greek and Latin tongues, and eſpecially with the former. Her reading was not confined to the claſſic writers of Greece only, but extended, likewiſe, to the ancient Chriſtian fathers. Among the reſt, ſhe took great delight in peruſing Baſil, Cyril, Chryſoſtome, and Gregory Nazianzen. A piece of Saint Chryſoſtome's was tranſlated by her, from the original, into the Engliſh language. It was on the twenty-firſt of December, 1546, and in the twentieth year of her age, that ſhe was married to Sir William Cecil. Her death, as we have ſeen in her huſband's article, was on the 4th of April, 1589. She had an admirable underſtanding, and is ſaid to have been a good Politician. Nor is this at all ſurprizing, conſidering her intellectual powers, and that, for more than forty and two years, ſhe was the wife of ſuch an illuſtrious Stateſman as Lord Burleigh. As an evidence of her political talents, Mr. Ballard has produced a letter written by her, on the 26th of October, 1573, to Sir William Fitzwilliams, at that time Lord Deputy of Ireland. The letter contains ſome excellent advice, and ſhews that ſhe was not only a woman of great good ſenſe, but well acquainted with the world. Five days after her deceaſe, Lord Burleigh wrote what he calls a *meditation* on the death of his Lady. As it contains ſeveral farther particulars concerning her; as it is a ſtriking teſtimony of his affection to her memory; and as it is the production of ſo eminent a perſon, the inſertion of it will probably be a gratification to many of our readers.

(10) Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. Second edition, p. 395. note [*T*].

He was buried in the chapel of Rumford in Eſſex, where a monument is erected to his memory (g). If he was great and happy in himſelf, he was much happier and greater in his

(g) J. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 467, &c.

" Ther is no cogitation to be uſed with an intent " to recover that which never can be had ageyn, " that is, to have my deare wiff to lyve ageyn in her " mortall body, which is ſeperated from the ſowle, " and reſteth in the erth deade, and the ſowle taken " up to heaven, and ther to remayne in the fruition " of bleſſednes unſpeakable, untill the generall ſur- " rection of all fleſh; whan by the almighty power " of God (who made all thyngs of nothyng) hir body " ſhall be rayſed upp and joyned wyth her ſowle, in " an everlaſtyng unſpeakable joye, ſuch as no tongue " can expreſs, nor hart can conceive.

" Therefor my cogitations ought to be occupyed " in theſe thyngs following.

" I ought to thank Almighty God for his favor in " permittyng hir to have lyved ſo manny yers togi- " ther with me, and to have given hir grace to have " had the trew knolledg of hir ſalvation by the death " of his Son *Jeſus*, oppened to hir by the knowlledg " of the goſpell: wherof ſhe was a profeſſor from " hir youth.

" I ought to comfort my ſelf with the remembrance " of hir manny vertuouſs and godly actions wherin " ſhe contynued all hir liff, and eſpecially in that ſhe " did of late yers ſondry charitable dedes, wherof " ſhe determined to have no outward knolledg " whyleſt ſhe lyved, in ſo much as when I had ſome " litell underſtandyng therof, and aſked her wherin " ſhe had diſpoſed any charitable gifts, accordyng to " hir often wiſhyng that ſhe war hable to doo ſome " ſpeciall act, for mayntenance of learnyng, and " releff of the poore; ſhe wold allweiſs only ſhew " her ſelf rather defirooſe ſo to do, than ever confeſs " any ſuch act; as ſence hir deth is manifeſtly known " now to me, and confeſſed by ſondry good men, " whoſe names and miniſteryes ſhe ſecretly uſed, that " ſhe did charg them moſt ſtryctly that whyleſt ſhe " lyved, they ſhould never declare the ſame to me " nor to any other. And ſo now have I ſene hir er- " neſt wrytyngs to that purpoſe of hir own hand.

" The particulars of many of theſe hereafter do " follow, which I do with myne owne hand wrytyng " recite, for my comfort in the memory therof, with " aſſurance that God hath accepted the ſame in ſuch " favourable ſort, as ſhe fyndeth now the fructs " therof in heaven.

" About yers ſence, ſhe cauſed exhibitions " to be ſecretly given by the hands of the maſter of " St. Ihons in Cambridg for the mayntenance of two " ſchollars for a perpetuite whereof to conynew.

" She did cauſe ſome lands to be purchaſed in the " name of the Dean of Weſtmynſter, who alſo in " his own name to, did aſſure the ſame to that col- " ledg for a perpetuall mayntenance of the ſayd two " ſchollars in that colledg. All which was done " without any ſignification of hir act or charg to any " manner of perſon but only of the Deane, and one " William Walter of Wymbleton, whoſe adviſe was " uſed; for the wrytyng of the purchaſe and aſſu- " rance.

" She alſo did with the privite of Mr. Deanes of " Powles and Weſtmyſtre, and of Mr. Alderly, beyng " fre of the Haberdaſhers in London, give to the " company of the ſayd Haberdaſhers a good ſome of " money; whereby is provyded that every two yers " ther is lent to ſix poore men of certen ſpeciall oc- " cupations, as Smyths, Carpyntors, Weavors and " ſuch like in Romford in Eſſex, twenty pounds a " pece, in the whole one hundred and twenty pounds. " And in Cheſthunt and Woolthам to other ſix lik " perſons twenty marks a pece, in the whole four- " ſcore pound. Which releff by way of loan is to " continew. By the ſame means is provided for " twenty poore people in Cheſthunt the firſt ſonday " of every month a meaſs of meate, in fleſh, bread, " and money for drynk. And lykwiſe is provided " four marks yerly for four ſermons to be preached " quarterly, by on of the preachers of St. Ihon's " Colledg. And theſe diſtributions have bene made " a long time, whyleſt ſhe lyved by ſome of my ſer- " vants, without gyvyn me knolledg therof; though " in dede, I had cauſe to thynk that ſhe did ſome- " tymes beſtow ſuch kynd of alms, but not that I " knew of any order taken for contynuance therof; " for ſhe wold rather cōenly uſe ſpeches with me, " how ſhe was diſpoſed to give all that ſhe cold to " ſome ſuch uſes if ſhe cold deviſe to have the ſame " faythfully performed after hir liff, wherof ſhe all- " wayes pretended many doubts. And for that ſhe " uſed the adviſe of Mr. Deanes of Powles and of " Weſtmynſter, and wold have hir actions kept ſe- " crett, ſhe forced upon them ſome ſmall peces of " plate to be uſed in their chambres, as remembrances " of hir good will for their paynes.

" She did alſo four tymes in the yere ſecretly ſend " to all the priſons in London, money to buy bread, " cheſe and drink cōenly for four hundred perſons, " and many tymes more, without knolledg from " whom the ſame come.

" She did lykwiſe ſondry tymes in the yere ſend " ſhyrts and ſmokks to the poore people, both in " London, and at Cheſthunt.

" She alſo gave a ſome of money to the maſter of " St. Ihon's Colledg, to procure to have fyres in the " hall of that colledg uppon all ſondays and holly- " dayes betwixt the feſt of all Sayntes and Candel- " mas, whan ther war no ordinary fyres of the charge " of the colledg.

" She gave alſo a ſume of mony ſecretly towards " a buyldyng for a new waye at Cambridg to the " Cōen Scolles.

" She alſo provyded a great nomber of books, " wherof ſhe gave ſome to the Univerſity of Cam- " bridge, namely the great Bible in Hebrew, and " four other tongs. And to the college of Saint " Ihon's very many books in Greke, of divinite and " phyſick, and of other ſciences. The lyk ſhe did " to Chriſt's Chyrch, and St. Ihon's Colledg in Ox- " ford. The lyk ſhe did to the colledg of Weſt- " minſter.

" She did alſo yerly provyde wooll and flaxe, and " did diſtribute it to women in Cheſthunt pariſh, " wyllyng them to work the ſame into yarn, and to " bryng it to hir to ſe ther manner of workyng; " and for the moſt part, ſhe gave to them the ſtuff by " way of alms. Some tyme ſhe cauſed the ſame to " be wrought into cloth and gave it to the poore, " paying firſt for the ſpynning more than it was " worth.

" Not long afor hir deth, ſhe cauſed ſecretly to be " bought a large quantite of wheat and rye, to be " diſpoſed amongſt the poore in tyme of derth. " Which remayned unſpent at hir deth; but the " ſame confeſſed by ſuch as provyded it ſecretly. " And therfor in conſcience to be ſo diſtributed ac- " cordyng to hir mynd.

" April 9th 1589. Written at Collings

" Lodge by me in ſorrow

" W. B. (11)."

(11) Ballard's Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, p. 126—132. Second edition.

Anna, the ſecond daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, was born in 1528. She had the ſame liberal education which was beſtowed upon her elder ſiſter, and perhaps under the ſame tutor. Having added much acquired knowledge to great natural endowments, ſhe made an illuſtrious figure among the literati of that period; and hence acquired ſo extraordinary a reputation, that ſhe is ſaid to have been conſtituted Governeſs to King Edward the ſixth (12). If this be a fact, it is a very ſurprizing one; ſince ſhe could not be much more than twenty-five years of age at the death of that young monarch, and only nineteen years old when he began to reign. However that matter may ſtand, it is certain that ſhe early became eminent for piety, virtue, and learning, and that ſhe was ſkilled in the Greek, Latin, and Italian tongues. At what time ſhe was married to Sir Nicholas Bacon has not exactly been aſcertained. Her eldeſt ſon, Anthony, was born in 1558 (13); and her youngeſt ſon,

(12) *Ibid.* p. 132.

(13) Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 11.

his four daughters, learned above their ſex in Greek and Latin; namely; 1. Mildred, married to Sir William Cecil, Baron Burleigh, Lord-Treaſurer of England. 2. Anne, to

ſon, Francis, on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1560-61 (14). It was a great honour to her to be the parent of two gentlemen of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, and eſpecially of the younger of them, whoſe intellectual powers and attainments are ſo well known to have been above all praiſe. There can be no doubt, but that they were much indebted to their mother for the early cultivation of their underſtandings; and we may be aſſured, from her acknowledged character, that ſhe was equally aſſiduous, if not equally ſucceſsful, in forming their minds to the principles of piety and virtue. Before ſhe became Lady Bacon, ſhe had given to the world a ſpecimen of her literary induſtry, in tranſlating, out of Italian into Engliſh, twenty-five ſermons, written by Barnardine Ochine, a celebrated Divine of that age, concerning the predeſtination and election of God. This tranſlation was publiſhed, in octavo, about the year 1550. Another edition, in 12mo, without a date, is mentioned in Ames's "Typographical Antiquities," under the following title: "Certayne ſermons of the ryghte "famous and excellent Clerk, maſter Barnardine "Ochine, born within the famous Univerſitie of "Siena in Italy, now alſo an example in thys lyfe, "for the faithful teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſte. Twen-"ty-five ſermons, tranſlated into Engliſh from the "Italian, by a gentleman, and the laſt twenty-five "tranſlated by a young Lady." Not long after her marriage, Lady Bacon again employed her pen, much to her own honour and to the advantage of her country. At that time, the Roman Catholics in general, and the Engliſh fugitives in particular, induſtriouſly applied all the learning, wit, and malice they were maſters of, to the purpoſes of blackening the reformation of the Church of England, and of bringing our excellent reformers into contempt. Pope Pius the fourth had called the council of Trent, and had ſent his nuncio, Martiningo, to invite Queen Elizabeth to accede to it. The chief Princes of Chriſtendom interpoſed, likewiſe, by letters to her Majeſty, ſoliciting her to entertain the nuncio, and ſubmit to the council. At ſuch a criſis, it was deemed neceſſary to give the world an account of what had been done in the Engliſh Parliament, and of the reaſons on which it had proceeded; and to retort the many accuſations that had been brought againſt our Church by the Papiſts. Upon this occaſion, the learned, eloquent, and maſterly pen of the incomparable Biſhop Jewel was employed in drawing up, in the Latin tongue, "An Apology for the Church of England." This taſk he performed to the infinite ſatisfaction of the reformed churches, and to the ſhame and confuſion of the Romaniſts. As the book made a great noiſe in the world, and excited no ſmall degree of alarm among the advocates of the Popiſh Communion, the common people of England were earneſtly deſirous of becoming acquainted with its contents. But the literary men of that period being wholly engaged in refuting the calumnies raiſed by the Papiſts, and in anſwering the numerous ſeditious libels which ſwarmed hither from Louvain, Doway, and other places, Lady Bacon determined to gratify the curioſity of the public, and to promote the edification of her countrymen, by tranſlating Biſhop Jewel's work. The verſion is ſaid not only to be faithful but elegant, due regard being had to the time in which it was made. When the tranſlation was finiſhed, Lady Bacon ſent the copy to Archbiſhop Parker for his peruſal, as a perſon to whom the care of the Church of England, and of its doctrine, chiefly belonged. Another copy was ſent by her to Biſhop Jewel, to be overlooked by him, leſt ſhe ſhould in any point have miſtaken his meaning. The tranſlation was accompanied by an epiſtle to him in Greek, which he anſwered in the ſame language. Both the Biſhop and the Archbiſhop, after reading over the verſion, found it to be ſo correct, as not to require the alteration of a ſingle word. Lady Bacon muſt undoubtedly have been an excellent Latiniſt, and have thoroughly entered into the ſpirit of the work, when the original author of it could find nothing to amend in her tranſlation. The letter written to her by the Archbiſhop was ſo highly to her honour, that were we not to tranſcribe part of it, we ſhould not render her that full juſtice to which her character is entitled. It was ſuperſcribed "To the Right Ho-"nourable, learned, and virtuous Lady, A.B. M.C. "wiſheth from God, Grace, Honour, and Felicity." The Archbiſhop tells her, "That according to her "requeſt, he had peruſed her ſtudious labour of "tranſlation, profitably employed in a right com-"mendable work. Whereof, for that it liked her "to make him a judge, and for that the thing itſelf "had ſingularly pleaſed his judgment, and delighted "his mind in reading it, he had right heartily to "thank her Ladyſhip, both for her well thinking of "him, and for the comfort that it wrought in him: "But far above theſe private reſpects, he was by "greater cauſes enforced, not only to ſhew his re-"joice of this her doing, but alſo to teſtify the ſame "by this his writing prefixed before the work, to "the commodity of others, and good encouragement "of herſelf. That ſhe had uſed her accuſtomed mo-"deſty, in ſubmitting it to judgment; but therein "her praiſe doubled, ſith it had paſſed judgment "without reproach. And whereas both the chief "author of the Latin work, and he, ſeverally peru-"ſing and conferring her whole tranſlation, had "without alteration allowed of it, he was both to "deſire her Ladyſhip, and advertiſe the readers, to "think that they had not therein given any thing to "any diſſembling affection towards her, as being "contented to wink at faults to pleaſe her, or to "make her without cauſe to pleaſe herſelf. For that "there were ſundry reſpects to draw them from ſo "doing, although they had been ſo ill minded, as "there was no cauſe why they ſhould be ſo thought "of. That her own judgment in diſcerning flat-"tery, her modeſty in miſliking it, the laying open "of their opinion to the world, the truth of their "friendſhip towards her, the unwillingneſs of them "both, in reſpect of their vocations, to have that "public work not truly and well tranſlated, were "good cauſes to perſuade, that their allowance was "of ſincere truth and underſtanding. That by her "travail ſhe expreſſed an acceptable duty to the glory "of God, deſerved well of this Church of Chriſt, "honourably defended the good fame and eſtimation "of her own native tongue, ſhewing it ſo able to "contend with a work originally written in the moſt "praiſed ſpeech. That beſides the honour done to "her ſex, and to the degree of Ladies, ſhe had done "pleaſure to the author of the Latin book, in deli-"vering him, by her clear tranſlation, from the pe-"rils of ambiguous and doubtful conſtructions; and "in making his good work more publicly beneficial: "whereby ſhe had raiſed up great comfort to her "friends, and had furniſhed her own conſcience joy-"fully with the fruit of her labour, in ſo occupying "her time. Which muſt needs redound to the en-"couragement of noble youth in their good educa-"tion, and to ſpend their time and knowledge in "godly exerciſe, ſhe having delivered them ſo ſin-"gular a precedent. That as God, he was ſure, did "accept that her doing, and would bleſs with in-"creaſe; ſo her, and their moſt virtuous and learned "ſovereign Lady and miſtreſs, it ſhould be good "cauſe to commend; and all noble gentlewomen "ſhould, he truſted, hereby be allured from vain de-"lights, to doings of more perfect glory.

"That he, for his part, as occaſion might ſerve, "ſhould exhort others to take profit by her work, "and follow her example: whoſe ſucceſs he be-"ſeeched our heavenly Father to bleſs and proſper. "That to the end, both to acknowledge his good "approbation, and to ſpread the benefit more largely, "where her Ladyſhip had ſent him her book written, "he had, with moſt hearty thanks, returned it her, "as ſhe ſaw, printed: knowing that he had thereby "done for the beſt, and in this point uſed a reaſon-

(14) See his article.

to Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. 3. Elizabeth, to John, Lord Ruſſel, ſon and heir of Francis Earl of Bedford; and, 4. Catherine, to Henry Killigrew, Eſq. By

" able policy; that is, to prevent ſuch excuſes as " her modeſty would have made in ſtay of publiſhing " it (15)." Lady Bacon's verſion of Jewel's Apology was accompanied, when printed, with ſome additions by the Archbiſhop (16). It firſt appeared, in quarto, in 1564. Another edition, in 12mo. was publiſhed in 1600 (17). That her Ladyſhip's literary reputation extended beyond her own country, is evident from the famous Theodore Beza's dedication to her of his Meditations (18). In Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Lady Bacon's name frequently occurs; and we there meet with ſome of her letters at full length, and with extracts from others of them (19), which will fully juſtify the following character given of her by the hiſtorian now mentioned. " She frequently introduces Greek as well as Latin " into her letters, ſometimes with a view of ſecrecy, " but more commonly from the cuſtom of that age, " wherein ſuch an intermixture of languages had " leſs the air of pedantry and affectation, than it " would have in the preſent. She was very ſtrict in " the duties of piety, and inclined to the principles " of the Puritans, to whom her huſband had not " been thought unfavourable: but her temper ſeems " to have been ſevere and peeviſh, eſpecially in the " latter years of her life, when it was probably af- " fected by her ill health. Her advices and remon- " ſtrances to her elder ſon, Anthony, were generally " delivered in a ſtyle of authority, and in terms of " reproach, which rendered them leſs acceptable and " effectual, than otherwiſe they might have been (20)." Of her letters to Mr. Anthony Bacon, we have taken particular notice in that gentleman's article (*). The advice ſhe gave to the Earl of Eſſex, when ſhe apprehended him to be in danger of a criminal connection, reflects great credit upon her integrity; and the Earl's anſwer (both of which may be ſeen in the book referred to) was as honourable to himſelf as it was reſpectful to her Ladyſhip (21). What was the exact time of Lady Bacon's death cannot now be aſcertained; but it is certain, from the dates of the circumſtances laſt related, that ſhe was living in December, 1596. Mr. Ballard conjectures, that ſhe died about the beginning of King James the Firſt's reign, at Gorhambury, near St. Alban's, where her picture ſtill remains. According to Dr. Rawley, ſhe was buried at St. Michael's Church, in that town; but Mr. Ballard could not find there any monument or inſcription to her memory (22).

(15) Ballard's Memoirs, p. 132—136.

(16) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, p. 11.

(17) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*.

(18) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, p. 16.

(19) *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 54. 56. 67. 107. 116. 143. 173, 174. 195. 227. 270, 271. 278. Vol. ii. p. 24. 61. 65. 102. 218. 220.

(20) *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 11.

(*) See the addition to that article, vol. i. of our work, p. 506.

(21) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 218—220.

(22) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*.

Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, was born about the year 1529, and enjoyed the ſame liberal education which was beſtowed upon her ſiſters. She was equally happy in improving the advantages conferred upon her; for ſuch was her progreſs in the learned languages, that ſhe gained the applauſe of the moſt eminent ſcholars of the age. It was obſerved by Sir John Harrington, that if Madam Vittoria, an Italian Lady, deſerved to have her name celebrated and tranſmitted to poſterity by Arioſto, for writing ſome verſes, in the manner of an epitaph, upon her huſband, after his deceaſe; no leſs commendation was due to the Lady before us, who did as much and more, not only for two huſbands, but for her ſon, daughter, brother, ſiſter, and venerable old friend Mr. Noke of Shotteſbrooke, in the Greek, Latin, and Engliſh tongues. She was married, firſt, to Sir Thomas Hobby, and accompanied him to France, when he went there, as Embaſſador from Queen Elizabeth. At Paris Sir Thomas died, on the 13th of July, 1566, aged thirty-ſix years. His diſconſolate Lady, who was big with child, brought him honourably home, and having erected a chapel in the chancel of the church at Biſham, in Berkſhire, ſhe carefully depoſited the remains of her huſband, and of his brother, Sir Philip Hobby, in one tomb together, which ſhe adorned with large inſcriptions, in Latin and Engliſh verſe, of her own compoſition. She had by Sir Thomas Hobby four children, Edward, Elizabeth, Anne, and Thomas Poſthumus. It doth not appear that ſhe had great comfort in either of her ſons; and the youngeſt in particular, as is manifeſt from a letter written by her to Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, was guilty of ſuch extravagancies and undutifulneſs, as gave her much uneaſineſs. It is evident, from the letter, that ſhe was a woman of uncommon ſpirit and ſenſe, and an excellent oeconomiſt. Some years after the deceaſe of Sir Thomas Hobby, ſhe was married, a ſecond time, to John, Lord Ruſſel, ſon and heir to Francis Ruſſel, Earl of Bedford. Her huſband, dying before his father, in the year 1584, was buried in the Abbey Church of Weſtminſter, where there is a noble monument erected to his memory, and embelliſhed with inſcriptions, in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh, by this his ſurviving Lady. Her children, by John Lord Ruſſel, were one ſon, who died young in 1580, and two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth. The laſt of them ſurvived her father but a little time, and is ſaid to have bled to death by the prick of a needle in the forefinger of her left hand. This ſtory has been ſupported by the figure placed on her monument, which is in the ſame grate with that of her father; where, on a pedeſtal of black and white marble made column-wiſe, in imitation of a Roman altar, may be ſeen the ſtatue of a young Lady ſeated in a moſt curiouſly wrought oſier chair, of the fineſt poliſhed alabaſter, in a very melancholy poſture, inclining her head to the right hand, and with the fore-finger of her left only extended downwards, to direct us to behold the death's-head underneath her feet, and, as the tradition goes, to ſignify the diſaſter that brought her to her end. Mr. Ballard thinks, that if the fact be true, it muſt be attributed to ſome gangrene, or other dangerous ſymptom, occaſioned, perhaps, at firſt, by the pricking of an artery or nerve, which at laſt brought her to the grave. The matter, however doth not deſerve to be reaſoned upon; being, in truth, no other than an idle and groundleſs tale, which very well anſwers the purpoſe of amuſing the croud who go to viſit the tombs in the Abbey.

Lady Ruſſel tranſlated out of French into Engliſh a tract, entitled, " A Way of Reconciliation of a " *good and learned Man*, touching the true Nature " and Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in " the Sacrament." This work was printed in 1605 (†), and is dedicated to her only daughter, Anne Herbert, wife to Henry Lord Herbert, ſon and heir to Edward Earl of Worceſter. A ſhort extract from the dedication will afford a ſpecimen of Lady Ruſſel's diſpoſition of mind, and of her manner of writing. " Moſt vertuous and worthily beloved daughter; " even as from your firſt birth and cradle, I was ever " moſt careful, above any worldly thing, to have " you ſuck the perfect milk of ſincere religion; ſo, " willing to end as I began, I have left to you, as my " laſt legacy, this book, a moſt precious jewel, to " the comfort of your ſoul; being the work of a " good learned man, made above fifty years ſince in " Germany; after by travail a French creature, now " naturalized by me into Engliſh." Then proceeding to give the reaſon of her publiſhing this piece, ſhe added, " That at firſt ſhe meant not to ſet it " abroad in print; but herſelf only to have ſome cer- " tainty to lean unto in a matter ſo full of contro- " verſy, and to yield a reaſon of her opinion. But " ſince lending the copy of her own hand to a " friend, ſhe was bereft thereof by ſome: and fear- " ing leſt after her death it ſhould be printed accord- " ing to the humours of others, and wrong of the " dead: who in his life approved her tranſlation " with his own allowance: therefore dreading, ſhe " ſaid, wrong to him, above any other reſpect, ſhe " had by anticipation prevented the worſt. And " then piouſly and affectionately ſhe concludes thus; " that ſhe meant it for a new-year's gift: and then, " farewel, my good Nancy. God bleſs thee with a " continuance of the comfort of the holy Spirit; " that it may ever work in you, and perſevere with " you to the end, and in the end."

(†) We have ſome doubts whether this was the firſt edition.

The dedication is concluded with the following Tetraſtich

By his Lady, Anne, daughter of Sir William Fitz-Williams, of Milton, Knt. he had alſo two ſons, Richard and William (*b*).

(*b*) Strype, *ibid.*

Tetraſtich to her daughter, ſuitable to the new year:

" In ANNAM filiam.

" Ut veniens annus tibi plurima commodet, Anna,
" Voce piâ Mater, ſupplice mente, precor;
" Ut valeat paritérq; tuo cum conjuge Proles,
" Officiis junctis, vita ſerena fluat.

" ELIZABETHA RUSSELLA, Dowager.

" To her Daughter ANNE.

" That each new year new bleſſings Anne may bear,
" Thy tender mother breathes her pious pray'r,
" Bleſt be thy huſband, bleſt thy offspring be,
" And all thy days from ev'ry ill be free."

The time of Lady Ruſſel's death has not been aſcertained. In a letter written by her to Sir Robert Cecil, without date, ſhe complains of her bad health and infirmities, and mentions her having compleated ſixty-eight years. She ſeems to have been buried at Biſham, in Berks, near the remains of her firſt huſband, and in the chapel which ſhe herſelf had founded (23). From Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, it appears that Lady Ruſſel intereſted herſelf in the concerns of her nephew Anthony Bacon, and endeavoured to do him ſervice with the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh. In that work there are ſome extracts from two of her letters upon this occaſion, and a long account of a curious converſation which ſhe had with her nephew, relative to the diſputes between him and the Treaſurer. The fact was, that Lord Burleigh was diſſatisfied with the connections both of Mr. Anthony and Mr. Francis Bacon, and eſpecially with their attachment to the Earl of Eſſex, and on theſe accounts was not favourable to their promotion (24).

(23) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*, p. 136—141.

(24) Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 129. 131, 132—137. 168.

Katherine, the fourth daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, was born about the year 1530; and her natural genius being improved by the ſame excellent education which was beſtowed upon her ſiſters, ſhe became famous for her knowledge in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, and for her ſkill in poetry. A ſhort ſpecimen of her talent in that art has been preſerved by Sir John Harington and Dr. Thomas Fuller; but there is ſome difficulty in determining the occaſion upon which the verſes were written. Sir John Harington ſays, that her deſign in writing them was to get a kinſman of her's ſent to Cornwall, where ſhe inhabited, and to prevent his going beyond ſea. Mr. Phillips, in his " Theatrum Poetarum," aſſerts that it was her lover. Dr. Fuller, however, with greater appearance of reaſon, informs us, that her huſband being deſigned by Queen Elizabeth Embaſſador to France, in troubleſome times, when the employment, always difficult, was then apparently dangerous, his Lady wrote theſe lines to her ſiſter Mildred Cecil, to engage her intereſt with Lord Burleigh for preventing the appointment. The verſes are as follows:

" Si mihi quem cupio cures Mildreda remitti,
" Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi ſola ſoror:
" Sin male ceſſando retines, & trans mare mittis,
" Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla ſoror.
" Is ſi Cornubiam, tibi pax ſit & omnia læta;
" Sin mare, Ciciliæ nuncio bella. Vale."

Thus tranſlated by a friend of Mr. Ballard's.

" If, Mildred, to my wiſhes kind,
" Thy valued charge thou ſend,
" In thee my ſoul ſhall own combin'd
" The ſiſter and the friend.

" If from my eyes by thee detain'd
" The wanderer croſs the ſeas,
" No more thy love ſhall ſooth, as friend,
" No more as ſiſter, pleaſe.

" His ſtay let Cornwall's ſhore engage;
" And peace with Mildred dwell:
" Elſe war with Cecil's name I wage,
" Perpetual war. Farewell."

The perſon to whom Katherine Cooke was married was Henry Killegrew, Eſq; a Gentleman of good abilities, and who, for the ſervices he performed to his country in the quality of an Embaſſador, was afterwards knighted. It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that, if Fuller be right in the account he has given of the purpoſe of the preceding verſes, the fair author did not obtain her requeſt. Sir Henry Killegrew had a daughter, probably by this Lady, married to Sir Jonathan Trelawny, a Gentleman of Cornwall, about the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Sir Henry was living in great eſteem, in the year 1602. It appears, from her father's will, that Lady Killegrew was alive on the 22d of May, 1576. She was buried in the Chancel of the Church of St. Thomas the Apoſtle, in Vintry-yard, London, where is an elegant monument erected to her memory, on which is the following inſcription, compoſed by herſelf.

" Dormio nunc Domino, Domini virtute reſurgam;
" Et σωτῆρα meum carne videbo mea.
" Mortua ne dicar, fruitur pars altera Chriſto:
" Et ſurgam Capiti, Tempore, tota meo."

" To God I ſleep, but I in God ſhall riſe,
" And, in the fleſh, my Lord and Saviour ſee.
" Call me not dead, my ſoul to Chriſt is fled,
" And ſoon, both ſoul and body join'd ſhall be.

The death of Lady Killegrew was lamented in various Epitaphs. Her ſiſter, Lady Ruſſel, wrote one, partly in Greek and partly in Latin verſe. Three others, in Latin verſe, were written by Robert Maſon Forman, Miniſter of the reformed French Church in London, by Andrew Melvin, and by William Chark. Such of our readers as are curious to ſee theſe productions, may find them in Ballard (25).

(25) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*, p. 142—146.

It is generally underſtood that Sir Anthony Cooke had only four daughters; but there is ſome reaſon to believe that he had, at leaſt, one more. Camden, Fuller, Lloyd, Bohun, and Strype concur in mentioning a fifth daughter, whoſe name, they ſay, is loſt. Nevertheleſs, they all obſerve that ſhe was married to Sir Ralph Rowlet. Nay, Sir William Dugdale informs us (though without producing any authority for his aſſertion), that Sir Anthony Cooke had ſix daughters. On the other hand, Sir John Harington, who correſponded with Lady Ruſſel, and who might be ſuppoſed not likely to be miſtaken in this affair, ſpeaks only of four. What is ſtill more material, there is a monumental inſcription for Sir Anthony Cooke, in the Church of Rumford in Eſſex, that contains a ſort of pedigree of the family, and which mentions two ſons, Richard and William, and the above-named four daughters. It is, likewiſe, obſervable, that the monument repreſents Sir Anthony with two ſons behind him; and his Lady with only four daughters behind her. Strong as this evidence may be thought, it is weakened by the teſtimony of Mr. Fulman's manuſcripts, in which that indefatigable Gentleman remarks, that the name of Sir Anthony Cooke's fifth daughter was Margaret, and that ſhe was married to Ralph Rowlet. Theſe facts are farther confirmed by the following tetraſtich in Dr. Haddon's poems.

In nuptias Rodolphi Rouleti, & Thomæ Hobei, qui duas D. Antonii Coci filias, duxere uxores eodem die.

" Margaritam, Roulete, tuam fac mente recondas,
" Gemma ſit ut tuto tam pretioſa loco.
" Sit frater fratri ſimilis, ſit filia patri,
" Sic vir erit dignus conjuge, ponſa viro."

On the nuptials of Ralph Rowlet, and Thomas Hobby, who, on the ſame day, married two daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke.

" Rowlet, in pureſt heart thy Marg'ret wear,
" A caſket proper for a gem ſo rare!

" The

" The brother's merit let the brother claim,
" The daughter emulate the father's fame:
" So ſhall the bridegroom to his like be join'd,
" The bride her virtues in her conſort find."

Strype, in his Memorials Eccleſiaſtical, under the year 1557, ſays, that " December the eighth, the " Lady Rowlet, one of the learned daughters of Sir " Anthony Cooke, and the youngeſt of the five, wife " of Sir Ralph Rowlet, Knight, was buried in the " pariſh of St. Mary Staining, London." Mr. Ballard propoſes a query, whether Lady Rowlet might not be a natural daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke; but this is a ſuppoſition to which we cannot give our aſſent. It doth not well accord with her being married to a Gentleman of ſuch rank as her huſband was, nor with the celebration of her marriage on the ſame day with that of her ſiſter Elizabeth. Neither does Strype's account of her agree with Mr. Ballard's ſuggeſtion. Mr. Strype ſpeaks of her without ignominy as one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, and as the youngeſt of the five (26). Her not being mentioned in the inſcription of the monument at Rumford may be accounted for, by her having died nearly twenty years before her father. The ſurviving children only appear to have been repreſented in that monument. If, however, Lady Rowlet poſſeſſed as much literature as her ſiſter, no memorials of it have come to our knowledge. Her early deceaſe, for ſhe could not, at moſt, be above twenty-ſix years of age when ſhe died, might prevent the public fruits which would otherwiſe have been produced from her literary accompliſhments. We are ſenſible, that this ſhort diſquiſition concerning her is of little importance; but, when ſuch ſubjects come properly before us, it is our duty to aſcertain hiſtorical truth, as far as we are able. Bayle, whoſe genius was ſo much ſuperior to our's, did not think theſe minute diſcuſſions beneath his attention; and whilſt we are in ſome meaſure juſtified by his example, it fortunately happens that we ſhall not have occaſion to enter into them ſo frequently as was done by that great Biographer.

(26) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*, p. 146, 7.

We cannot diſmiſs Sir Anthony Cooke's four celebrated daughters, without making a few obſervations on the general ſtate of female literature in that period. It has been remarked by Mr. Wotton, that no age was ſo productive of learned women as the ſixteenth century. Speaking of the flouriſhing condition of learning in that century, he ſays, it was ſo very modiſh, that the fair ſex ſeemed to believe that Greek and Latin added to their charms; and that Plato and Ariſtotle untranſlated were frequent ornaments of their cloſets. " One would think by the " effects, that it was a proper way of educating " them, ſince there are no accounts in hiſtory of ſo " many great women in any one age, as are to be " found between the years fifteen and ſixteen hun- " dred." Eraſmus, alſo, deſcribing thoſe times, ſays, " Scena rerum humanarum invertitur: mo- " narchi literas neſciunt, & fœminæ libris indulgent. " ——Bellum eſt eum ſexum ad priſca exempla ſeſe " poſtliminio recipere." " The ſcene of human " affairs is changed: the monks are ignorant of li- " terature, and women are fond of books.——It is " a pleaſing circumſtance, that the female ſex ſhould " at length have recourſe to the ancient examples." Learning was then held in ſuch high eſtimation, that ſeveral great men were deſirous that their daughters ſhould be poſſeſſed of it, as well as their ſons. The examples of King Henry the Eighth, in the education of the Princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, and of Sir Thomas More with regard to Mrs. Roper, are thought to have chiefly contributed to the introduction of this cuſtom (27). There can be no doubt but that the conduct of perſons ſo illuſtrious would have much effect upon the ſentiments of our countrymen, and be productive of imitation. But, beſides this, there was a concurrence of other cauſes; ſuch as the recent origin of printing; the curioſity hence excited in the human mind; the admiration with which the ancient writers, ſo lately brought to light, were contemplated; and the diſtinguiſhed honour that aroſe from literary purſuits. In ſhort, the general ſpirit of the age nouriſhed the principle of training up women in learning. Nor was a ſlight degree of learning deemed ſufficient for them. They were rendered complete miſtreſſes of the Greek and Latin, as well as of the modern languages. Their reading was not confined to the claſſic authors, but comprehended the fathers of the Church. They could write Greek epiſtles, and compoſe Greek verſes. It ſhould be remembered, however, that the literature of the women of that period extended comparatively but to a few perſons, and thoſe only of conſiderable rank, the generality of the female ſex being in a ſtate of ignorance. There was by no means that diffuſion of knowledge, that cultivation of mind, that taſte for books, which we now meet with in almoſt every company of ladies. Neither do we find that the learned women of the ſixteenth century produced ſuch works as have continued to be read much by poſterity. The moſt important production of any of Sir Anthony Cooke's daughters, was Lady Bacon's tranſlation of Biſhop Jewel's Apology; and yet, who but an Antiquary would now ſeek for it, or give himſelf the trouble of peruſing it? Not a ſingle Poeteſs, deſerving to be mentioned, aroſe in this country till the ſeventeenth century. The Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, Mrs. Katherine Philips, and Mrs. Behn, appear to have been the firſt who could, in any degree, merit that appellation. If we come down to later times, we ſhall be ſenſible that, independently of poetry, the learned women of the ſixteenth century have been far exceeded by the ingenious ladies of the preſent age, both in the general and extenſive utility of their writings, and in the elegancies of compoſition. We pretend not to enumerate all thoſe whoſe works will be read and admired by ſucceeding generations; but it is impoſſible, whilſt we are treating on ſuch a ſubject, to forget the names of a Cockburn, a Rowe, a Montagu, a Carter, a Chapone, a More, and a Barbauld. We are ſpeaking of proſe works only, ſince otherwiſe we could not avoid adding to the catalogue a Seward and a Williams. Neither does novel-writing come under our immediate view, to which ſo many, perhaps too many female authors, apply themſelves, though none with a ſucceſs equal to that of a Burney.

There is a remark to be made concerning the difference between the literature of the ladies of the ſixteenth century, and that of the women of more recent times. The former entered deeply into the ſtudy of the ancient languages, whilſt the latter, beſides acquiring a ſkill in the modern tongues, eſpecially the French and the Italian, have paid their principal attention to the cultivation of general knowledge. Some of them, however, have been no ſmall proficients in the learning of antiquity. Mrs. Carter ſtands, without competition, at the head of her ſex in this reſpect; having diſplayed her accurate acquaintance with the Greek writings and philoſophy, in a manner highly honourable to herſelf, and advantageous to the world. How admirably Mrs. Barbauld hath entered into the ſpirit of the Latin claſſics, is apparent from the uncommon propriety and beauty of her mottos. Mrs. Montagu, in her admirable Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Shakſpeare, hath ſhewn that, amongſt the other qualifications neceſſary to conſtitute a Critic of the firſt order, ſuch as a penetrating mind, a fine taſte, and a correct and elegant ſtyle, ſhe is well acquainted with ancient literature, and rich in the ſtores of various knowledge.

Another circumſtance obſervable in the learned ladies of the ſixteenth century is, that they were moſt eminent for their piety. Religion was deeply impreſſed upon their minds, and, agreeably to the faſhion of the times, religion was almoſt the ſole topic of their writings. It is pleaſing to reflect, that the beſt female authors of the preſent day are not inferior to them in pious and virtuous principles and conduct. Thoſe who have the happineſs of a perſonal intimacy with Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Chapone, and Miſs Hannah More, will know that we ſpeak the truth; to which may be added, that theſe ladies are unaffected in their manners, and that they do not eſteem themſelves above the ordinary duties of domeſtic life.] K.

(27) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*, p. 126, 127.

*** [COOK (JAMES), one of the greateſt Navigators and Diſcoverers that ever exiſted, had no claim to diſtinction on account of the luſtre of his birth, or the dignity of his anceſtors. His father, James Cook, who from his dialect is ſuppoſed to have been a Northumbrian, was in the humble ſtation of a ſervant in huſbandry, and married a woman of the ſame rank with himſelf, whoſe chriſtian name was Grace. Both of them were noted in their neighbourhood for their honeſty, ſobriety, and diligence. They firſt lived at a village called Morton, and then removed to Marton, another village in the North-riding of Yorkſhire, ſituated in the high road from Giſbrough, in Cleveland, to Stockton upon Tees, in the county of Durham, at the diſtance of ſix miles from each of theſe towns. At Marton Captain Cook was born, on the 27th of October, 1728 (*a*); and, agreeably to the cuſtom of the Vicar of the pariſh, whoſe practice it was to baptize infants ſoon after their birth, he was baptized on the 3d of November following. He was one of nine children, all of whom are now dead, excepting a daughter, who married a fiſherman at Redcar. The firſt rudiments of young Cook's education were received by him at Marton, where he was taught to read by Dame Walker, the School-miſtreſs of the village. When he was eight years of age, his father, in conſequence of the character he had obtained for induſtry, frugality, and ſkill in huſbandry, had a little promotion beſtowed upon him, which was that of being appointed head ſervant, or hind (*b*), to a farm belonging to the late Thomas Skottow, Eſq; called Airy Holme, near Great Ayton. To this place, therefore, he removed with his family (*c*); and his ſon James, at Mr. Skottow's expence, was put to a day School in Ayton, where he was inſtructed in writing, and in a few of the firſt rules of arithmetic. Before he was thirteen years of age, he was bound an apprentice to Mr. William Sanderſon, a Haberdaſher, or Shopkeeper, at Staiths, a conſiderable fiſhing town, about ten miles north of Whitby. This employment, however, was very unſuitable to young Cook's diſpoſition. The ſea was the object of his inclination; and his paſſion for it could not avoid being ſtrengthened by the ſituation of the town in which he was placed, and the manner of life of the perſons with whom he muſt frequently converſe. Some diſagreement having happened between him and his Maſter, he obtained his diſcharge, and ſoon after bound himſelf for ſeven years to Meſſrs. John and Henry Walker, of Whitby, Quakers by religious profeſſion, and principal owners of the ſhip Free-love, and of another veſſel, both of which were conſtantly employed in the coal trade. The greateſt part of his apprenticeſhip was ſpent on board the Free-love. After he was out of his time he continued to ſerve in the coal and other branches of trade (though chiefly in the former) in the capacity of a common ſailor; till, at length, he was raiſed to be mate of one of Mr. John Walker's ſhips. During this period it is not recollected that he exhibited any thing very peculiar, either in his abilities or his conduct; though there can be no doubt but that he had gained a conſiderable degree of knowledge in the practical part of navigation, and that his attentive and ſagacious mind was laying up a ſtore of obſervations which would be uſeful to him in future life (*d*). In the Spring of the year 1755, when hoſtilities broke out between England and France, and there was a hot preſs for ſeamen, Mr. Cook happened to be in the river Thames with the ſhip to which he belonged. At firſt he concealed himſelf, to avoid being preſſed; but reflecting that it might be difficult, notwithſtanding all his vigilance, to elude diſcovery or eſcape purſuit, he determined, upon farther conſideration, to enter voluntarily into his Majeſty's ſervice, and to take his future fortune in the Royal Navy. Perhaps he had ſome preſage in his own mind, that by his activity and exertions he might riſe conſiderably above his preſent ſituation. Accordingly, he went to a rendezvous at Wapping, and entered with an officer of the Eagle man of war, a ſhip of ſixty guns, at that time commanded by Captain Hamer. To this ſhip Captain (now Sir Hugh) Palliſer was appointed, in the month of October, 1755; and when he took the command, found in her James Cook, whom he ſoon diſtinguiſhed to be an able, active, and diligent ſeaman. All the officers ſpoke highly in his favour, and the Captain was ſo well pleaſed with his behaviour, that he gave him every encouragement which lay in his power. In the courſe of ſome time, Captain Palliſer received a letter from Mr. Oſbaldeſton, then Member of Parliament for Scarborough, acquainting him that ſeveral neighbours of his had ſolicited him to write in favour of one Cook, on board the Captain's ſhip. They had heard that Captain Palliſer had taken notice of him, and they requeſted, if he thought Cook deſerving of it, that he would point out in what manner Mr. Oſbaldeſton might beſt contribute his aſſiſtance towards forwarding the young man's promotion. The Captain, in his reply, did juſtice to Cook's merit; but, as he had been only a ſhort time in the Navy, informed Mr. Oſbaldeſton that he could not be promoted as a commiſſion officer. A Maſter's warrant, Captain Palliſer added, might perhaps be procured for Mr. Cook, by which he would be raiſed to a ſtation that he was well qualified to diſcharge with ability and credit (*e*). Such a warrant he obtained on the 10th of May, 1759, for the Grampus ſloop; but the proper Maſter having unexpectedly returned to her, the appointment did not take place. Four days after he was made Maſter of the Garland; when, upon enquiry, it was found that he could not join her, as the ſhip had already ſailed. On the next day, the 15th of May, he was appointed to the Mercury (*f*). Theſe quick

(*a*) The mud houſe in which Captain Cook drew his firſt breath is pulled down, and no veſtiges of it are now remaining.

(*b*) This is the name which, in that part of the country, is given to the head ſervant, or bailiff, of a farm.

(*c*) Mr. Cook, ſenior, ſpent the cloſe of his life with his daughter, at Redcar, and is ſuppoſed to have been about eighty-five years of age when he died.

(*d*) From the regiſter of the pariſh of Marton; from the account given by ſome inhabitants of the pariſh; and from the information of —— Jackſon, Eſq. of Normanby, Yorkſhire, in a letter to Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. preſident of the Royal Society.

(*e*) From the information of Sir Hugh Palliſer.

(*f*) From the books of the Admiralty.

quick and ſucceſſive appointments ſhew that his intereſt was ſtrong, and that the intention to ſerve him was real and effectual. The deſtination of the Mercury was to North America, where ſhe joined the fleet under the command of Sir Charles Saunders, which, in conjunction with the land forces under General Wolfe, was engaged in the famous ſiege of Quebec. During that ſiege, a difficult and dangerous ſervice was neceſſary to be performed. This was to take the ſoundings in the Channel of the river St. Lawrence, between the Iſland of Orleans and the north ſhore, directly in the front of the French fortified camp at Montmorency and Beauport, in order to enable the Admiral to place ſhips againſt the enemy's batteries, and to cover our army on a general attack, which the heroic Wolfe intended to make on the camp. Captain Palliſer, in conſequence of his acquaintance with Mr. Cook's ſagacity and reſolution, recommended him to the ſervice; and he performed it in the moſt complete manner. In this buſineſs he was employed during the night-time, for ſeveral nights together. At length he was diſcovered by the enemy, who collected a great number of Indians and canoes, in a wood near the water-ſide, which were launched in the night, for the purpoſe of ſurrounding him, and cutting him off. On this occaſion, he had a very narrow eſcape. He was obliged to run for it, and puſhed on ſhore on the Iſland of Orleans, near the guard of the Engliſh Hoſpital. Some of the Indians entered at the ſtern of the boat, as Mr. Cook leaped out at the bow; and the boat, which was a barge belonging to one of the ſhips of war, was carried away in triumph. However, he furniſhed the Admiral with as correct and complete a draught of the Channel and ſoundings as could have been made after our countrymen were in poſſeſſion of Quebec. Sir Hugh Palliſer has good reaſon to believe, that before this time Mr. Cook had ſcarcely ever uſed a pencil, and that he knew nothing of drawing. But ſuch was his capacity, that he ſpeedily made himſelf maſter of every object to which he applied his attention. Another important ſervice was performed by Mr. Cook while the fleet continued in the river of St. Lawrence. The navigation of that river is exceedingly difficult and hazardous. It was particularly ſo to the Engliſh, who were then in a great meaſure ſtrangers to this part of North America, and who had no chart, on the correctneſs of which they could depend. It was, therefore, ordered by the Admiral, that Mr. Cook ſhould be employed to ſurvey thoſe parts of the river, below Quebec, which navigators had experienced to be attended with peculiar difficulty and danger; and he executed the buſineſs with the ſame diligence and ſkill of which he had already afforded ſo happy a ſpecimen. When he had finiſhed the undertaking, his Chart of the river St. Lawrence was publiſhed, with ſoundings, and directions for ſailing in that river. Of the accuracy and utility of this Chart it is ſufficient to ſay, that it hath never ſince been found neceſſary to publiſh any other. One which has appeared in France is only a copy of our author's, on a reduced ſcale. After the expedition at Quebec, Mr. Cook, by warrant from Lord Colvill, was appointed, on the 22d of September, Maſter of the Northumberland man of war, the ſhip in which his lordſhip ſtaid, in the following winter, as Commodore, with the command of a ſquadron at Halifax. In this ſtation Mr. Cook's behaviour did not fail to gain him the eſteem and friendſhip of his commander. During the leiſure which the ſeaſon of Winter afforded him, he employed his time in the acquiſition of ſuch knowledge as eminently qualified him for future ſervice. It was at Halifax that he firſt read Euclid, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of aſtronomy and other branches of ſcience. The books of which he had the aſſiſtance were few in number; but his induſtry enabled him to ſupply many defects, and to make a progreſs far ſuperior to what could be expected from the advantages he enjoyed (*g*). While Mr. Cook was Maſter of the Northumberland under Lord Colvill, that ſhip came to Newfoundland, in September, 1762, to aſſiſt in the recapture of the Iſland from the French, by the forces under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Amherſt. When the Iſland was recovered, the Engliſh fleet ſtaid ſome days at Placentia, in order to put it in a more complete ſtate of defence. During this time Mr. Cook manifeſted a diligence in ſurveying the harbour and heights of the place, which arreſted the notice of Captain (now Admiral) Graves, Commander of the Antelope, and Governor of Newfoundland. The Governor was hence induced to aſk Cook a variety of queſtions, from the anſwers to which he was led to entertain a very favourable opinion of his abilities. This opinion was increaſed, the more he ſaw of Mr. Cook's conduct; who, wherever they went, continued to diſplay the moſt unremitting attention to every object that related to the knowledge of the coaſt, and which was calculated to facilitate the practice of navigation. The eſteem which Captain Graves had conceived for him, was confirmed by the teſtimonies to his Character that were given by all the officers under whom he ſerved (*h*). In the latter end of 1762, Mr. Cook returned to England; and, on the 21ſt of December, in the ſame year, married, at Barking in Eſſex, Miſs Elizabeth Batts (*i*), an amiable and deſerving woman, who was juſtly entitled to, and enjoyed his tendereſt regard and affection. But his ſtation in life, and the high duties to which he was called, did not permit him to partake of matrimonial felicity without many and very long interruptions. Early in the year of 1763, after the peace with France and Spain was concluded, it was determined that Captain Graves ſhould go out again, as Governor of Newfoundland. As the country was very valuable in a commercial view, and had been

(*g*) From the information of Sir Hugh Palliſer.

(*h*) From a paper of Admiral Graves's communicated by the Rev. Dr. Douglas, now Biſhop of Carliſle.

(*i*) From the information of Mrs. Cook.

an object of great contention between the Engliſh and the French, the Captain obtained an eſtabliſhment for the ſurvey of its coaſts; which, however, he procured with ſome difficulty, becauſe the matter was not ſufficiently underſtood by Government at home. In conſidering the execution of the plan, Mr. Cook appeared to Captain Graves to be a proper perſon for the purpoſe; and propoſals were made to him, to which, notwithſtanding his recent marriage, he readily and prudently acceded. Accordingly, he went out with the Captain as ſurveyor; and was firſt employed to ſurvey Miquelon and St. Pierre, which had been ceded by the treaty to the French, who, by order of Adminiſtration, were to take poſſeſſion of them at a certain period, even though the Engliſh Commander ſhould not happen to be arrived in the country. When Captain Graves had reached that part of the world, he found there the Governor who had been ſent from France (Monſ. D'Anjac), with all the ſettlers and his own family, on board a frigate and ſome tranſports. It was contrived, however, to keep them in that diſagreeable ſituation for a whole month, which was the time taken by Mr. Cook to complete his ſurvey. When the buſineſs was finiſhed, the French were put into poſſeſſion of the two iſlands, and left in the quiet enjoyment of them, with every profeſſion of civility (*k*). At the end of the ſeaſon, Mr. Cook returned to England, but did not long continue at home. In the beginning of the year 1764, his old and conſtant friend and patron, Sir Hugh Palliſer, was appointed Governor and Commodore of Newfoundland and Labradore; upon which occaſion he was glad to take Mr. Cook with him, in the ſame capacity that he had ſuſtained under Captain Graves. Indeed, no man could have been found who was better qualified for finiſhing the deſign which had been begun in the preceding year. The charts of the coaſts, in that part of North America, were very erroneous; and it was highly neceſſary to the trade and navigation of his Majeſty's ſubjects, that new ones ſhould be formed, which would be more correct and uſeful. Accordingly, under the orders of Commodore Palliſer, Mr. Cook was appointed, on the 18th of April, 1764, Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland and Labradore; and he had a veſſel, the Grenville ſchooner, to attend him for that purpoſe. How well he executed his commiſſion is known to every man acquainted with navigation. The Charts which he afterwards publiſhed of the different ſurveys he had made, reflected great credit on his abilities and character, and the utility of them is univerſally acknowledged. It is underſtood, that, ſo far as Newfoundland is concerned, they were of conſiderable ſervice to the King's Miniſters, in ſettling the terms of the laſt peace. Mr. Cook explored the inland parts of this Iſland in a much completer manner than had ever been done before. By penetrating farther into the middle of the country than any man had hitherto attempted, he diſcovered ſeveral large lakes, which are indicated upon the general Chart (*l*) In theſe ſervices Mr. Cook appears to have been employed, with the intervals of occaſionally returning to England for the winter ſeaſon, till the year 1767, which was the laſt time that he went out upon his ſtation of Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland. It muſt not be omitted, that, while he occupied this poſt, he had an opportunity of exhibiting to the Royal Society a proof of his progreſs in the ſtudy of aſtronomy. A ſhort paper was written by him, and inſerted in the fifty-ſeventh volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, entitled, "An Obſervation of an Eclipſe of the Sun at the Iſland of Newfound-land, Auguſt 5, 1766, with the Longitude of the Place of Obſervation deduced from it." The obſervation was made at one of the Burgeo Iſlands, near Cape Ray, in latitude 47° 36′ 19″, on the ſouth-weſt extremity of Newfoundland. Mr. Cook's paper having been communicated by Dr. Bevis to Mr. Witchell, the latter Gentleman compared it with an obſervation taken at Oxford, by the Rev. Mr. Hornſby, on the ſame eclipſe, and thence computed the difference of longitude reſpecting the places of obſervation, making due allowance for the effect of parallax, and the prolate ſpheroidal figure of the earth. It appears from the "Tranſactions," that our navigator had already obtained the character of being an able Mathematician (*m*).

(*k*) From Admiral Graves's paper.

(*l*) From Sir Hugh Palliſer's communications.

(*m*) Philoſophical Tranſaction, vol. lvii. p. 215, 216.

There is ſcarcely any thing from which the natural curioſity of man receives a higher gratification, than from the accounts of diſtant countries and nations. Nor is it curioſity only that is gratified by ſuch accounts; for the ſphere of human knowledge is hereby enlarged, and various objects are brought into view, an acquaintance with which greatly contributes to the improvement of life and the benefit of the world. With regard to information of this kind, the moderns have eminently the advantage over the ancients. The ancients could neither purſue their enquiries with the ſame accuracy, nor carry them on to the ſame extent. Travelling by land was much more inconvenient and dangerous than it hath been in later times; and, as navigation was principally confined to coaſting, it muſt neceſſarily have been circumſcribed within very narrow limits. The invention of the compaſs, ſeconded by the ardent and enterprizing ſpirit of ſeveral able men, was followed by wonderful diſcoveries. Vaſco di Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and a new way being thus found out to the Eaſt Indies, the countries in that part of the earth became more accurately and extenſively known. Another world was diſcovered by Columbus; and, at length, Magalhaens accompliſhed the arduous and hitherto unattempted taſk of ſailing round the globe. At different periods, he was ſucceeded by other circum-

navigators,

navigators, of whom it is no part of the preſent narrative to give an account. The ſpirit of diſcovery, which was ſo vigorous during the latter end of the fifteenth and through the whole of the ſixteenth century, began, ſoon after the commencement of the ſeventeenth century, to decline. Great navigations were only occaſionally undertaken, and more from the immediate views of avarice or war, than from any noble and generous principles. But of late years they have been revived, with the enlarged and benevolent deſign of promoting the happineſs of the human ſpecies. A beginning of this kind was made in the reign of King George the Second, during which two voyages were performed; the firſt under the command of Captain Middleton, and the next under the direction of Captains Smith and Moore, in order to diſcover a North-weſt paſſage, through Hudſon's Bay (*n*). It was reſerved, however, for the glory of the preſent reign to carry the ſpirit of diſcovery to its height, and to conduct it on the nobleſt principles; not for the purpoſes of covetouſneſs or ambition; not to plunder or deſtroy the inhabitants of newly-explored countries; but to improve their condition, to inſtruct them in the arts of life, and to extend the boundaries of ſcience. No ſooner was peace reſtored, in 1763, than theſe laudable deſigns engaged his Majeſty's patronage; and two voyages round the world had been undertaken, before Mr. Cook ſet out on his firſt command. The conductors of theſe voyages were the Captains Byron, Wallis, and Carteret (*o*), by whom ſeveral diſcoveries were made, which contributed, in no ſmall degree, to increaſe the knowledge of geography and navigation. Nevertheleſs, as the purpoſe for which they were ſent out appears to have had a principal reference to a particular object in the South Atlantic, the direct tract they were obliged to hold, on their way homeward by the Eaſt Indies, prevented them from doing ſo much as might otherwiſe have been expected towards giving the world a complete view of that immenſe expanſe of ocean which the South Pacific comprehends (*p*). Before Captain Wallis and Captain Carteret had returned to Great Britain, another voyage was reſolved upon, for which the improvement of aſtronomical ſcience afforded the immediate occaſion. It having been calculated by Aſtronomers, that a tranſit of Venus over the Sun's diſk would happen in 1769, it was judged that the beſt place for obſerving it would be in ſome part of the South Sea, either at the Marqueſas, or at one of thoſe Iſlands which Taſman had called Amſterdam, Rotterdam, and Middleburg, and which are now better known under the appellation of the Friendly Iſlands (*q*). This being a matter of eminent conſequence in aſtronomy, and which excited the attention of foreign nations as well as of our own, the affair was taken up by the Royal Society, with the zeal which has always been diſplayed by that learned body for the advancement of every branch of philoſophical ſcience. Accordingly, a long memorial was addreſſed to his Majeſty, dated February the 15th, 1768, repreſenting the great importance of the object, together with the regard which had been paid to it by the principal Courts of Europe; and intreating, among other things, that a veſſel might be ordered, at the expence of Government, for the conveyance of ſuitable perſons, to make the obſervation of the tranſit of Venus at one of the places before mentioned. This memorial having been laid before the King by the Earl of Shelburne, (now the Marquis of Landſdown) one of the principal Secretaries of State, his Majeſty graciouſly ſignified his pleaſure to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that they ſhould provide a ſhip for carrying over ſuch obſervers as the Royal Society ſhould judge proper to ſend to the South Seas; and, on the 3d of April, Mr. Stephens informed the Society, that a bark had been taken up for the purpoſe (*r*). The Gentleman who had originally been fixed upon to take the direction of the expedition, was Alexander Dalrymple, Eſq; an eminent Member of the Royal Society, and who, beſides poſſeſſing an accurate knowledge of aſtronomy, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his enquiries into the geography of the Southern Oceans, and by the collection he had publiſhed of ſeveral voyages to thoſe parts of the world. Mr. Dalrymple being ſenſible of the difficulty, or rather of the impoſſibility, of carrying a ſhip through unknown ſeas, the crew of which were not ſubject to the military diſcipline of his Majeſty's Navy, he made it the condition of his going, that he ſhould have a brevet commiſſion as Captain of the veſſel, in the ſame manner as ſuch a commiſſion had been granted to Dr. Halley in his voyage of diſcovery. To this demand Sir Edward Hawke, who was then at the head of the Admiralty, and who poſſeſſed more of the ſpirit of his profeſſion than either of education or ſcience, abſolutely refuſed to accede. He ſaid at the board, that his conſcience would not allow him to truſt any ſhip of his Majeſty's to a perſon who had not regularly been bred a ſeaman. On being farther preſſed upon the ſubject, Sir Edward declared, that he would ſuffer his right hand to be cut off, before he would ſign any ſuch commiſſion. In this he was, in ſome degree, juſtified by the mutinous behaviour of Halley's crew, who refuſed to acknowledge the legal authority of their commander, and involved him in a diſpute which was attended with pernicious conſequences. Mr. Dalrymple, on the other hand, was equally ſteady in requiring a compliance with the terms he had propoſed. Such was the ſtate of things, when Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty, whoſe diſcrimination of the numerous characters, with which by his ſtation he is converſant, reflects as much credit on his underſtanding, as his upright and able conduct does on the office he has filled, for ſo many years, and under ſo many Adminiſtrations, with honour to

(*n*) Introduction to Capt. Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. i.

(*o*) The Captains Wallis and Carteret went out together upon the ſame expedition; but the veſſels they commanded having accidentally parted company, they proceeded and returned by a different route. Hence their voyages are diſtinctly related by Dr. Hawkeſworth.

(*p*) Introd. to Capt. Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. xviii.

(*q*) *Ibid.* ſecond voyage, vol. i. p. xx. fourth edit.

(*r*) From the minutes of the Council of the Royal Society.

to himſelf and advantage to the public, obſerved to the board, that, ſince Sir Edward Hawke and Mr. Dalrymple were equally inflexible, no method remained but that of finding out another perſon capable of the ſervice. He knew, he ſaid, a Mr. Cook, who had been employed as Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland, who had been regularly educated in the Navy, in which he was a Maſter, and whom he judged to be fully qualified for the direction of the preſent undertaking. Mr. Stephens, at the ſame time, recommended it to the Board, to take the opinion of Sir Hugh Palliſer, who had lately been Governor of Newfoundland, and was intimately acquainted with Cook's character. Sir Hugh rejoiced in the opportunity of ſerving his friend. He ſtrengthened Mr. Stephens's recommendation to the utmoſt of his power; and added many things in Mr. Cook's favour, ariſing from the particular knowledge which he had of his abilities and merit (*s*). Accordingly, Mr. Cook was appointed to the command of the expedition by the Lords of the Admiralty; and, on this occaſion, he was promoted to the rank of a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, his commiſſion bearing date on the twenty-fifth of May, 1768 (*t*).

(*s*) From the information of Philip Stephens, Eſq; communicated by Sir Joſeph Banks.

(*t*) From the books of the Admiralty.

When the appointment had taken place, the firſt object was to provide a veſſel adapted to the purpoſes of the voyage. This buſineſs was committed to Sir Hugh Palliſer; who took Lieutenant Cook to his aſſiſtance, and they examined together a great number of the ſhips which then lay in the river Thames. At length, they fixed upon one, of three hundred and ſeventy tons, to which was given the name of the Endeavour (*u*). While preparations were making for Lieutenant Cook's expedition, Captain Wallis returned from his voyage round the world. The Earl of Morton, Preſident of the Royal Society, had recommended it to this Gentleman, on his going out, to fix upon a proper place for obſerving the tranſit of Venus. He kept, accordingly, the object in view; and having diſcovered, in the courſe of his enterpriſe, an Iſland, called by him George's Iſland, but which hath ſince been found to bear the name of Otaheite, he judged that Port Royal harbour in this Iſland would afford an eligible ſituation for the purpoſe. Having, immediately on his return to England, ſignified his opinion to the Earl of Morton, the Captain's idea was adopted by the Society, and an anſwer conformable to it was ſent to the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, who had applied for directions to what place the obſervers ſhould be ſent (*w*). Mr. Charles Green, a Gentleman who had been aſſiſtant to Dr. Bradley at the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich, was united with Lieutenant Cook in conducting the aſtronomical part of the voyage; and, ſoon after their appointment, they received ample inſtructions, from the Council of the Royal Society, with regard to the method of carrying on their enquiries (*x*). The Lieutenant was alſo accompanied by Joſeph Banks, Eſq. (now Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart.) and Dr. Solander, who, in the prime of life, and the firſt of them at great expence to himſelf, quitted all the gratifications of poliſhed ſociety, and engaged in a very tedious, fatiguing, and hazardous navigation, with the laudable views, of acquiring knowledge in general, of promoting natural knowledge in particular, and of contributing ſomething to the improvement and the happineſs of the rude inhabitants of the earth. Though it was the principal, it was not the ſole object of Lieutenant Cook's voyage to obſerve the tranſit of Venus. A more accurate examination of the Pacific Ocean was committed to him, although in ſubſerviency to his main deſign; and, when his chief buſineſs was accompliſhed, he was directed to proceed in making farther diſcoveries in the great Southern Seas (*y*). The complement of Lieutenant Cook's ſhip conſiſted of eighty-four perſons, beſides the Commander. Her victualling was for eighteen months; and there were put on board of her ten carriage and twelve ſwivel guns, together with an ample ſtore of ammunition and other neceſſaries (*z*). On the 25th of May, 1768, Lieutenant Cook was appointed, by the Lords of the Admiralty, to the command of the Endeavour, in conſequence of which he went on board on the 27th, and took charge of the ſhip. She then lay in the baſon in Deptford-yard, where ſhe continued to lie till ſhe was completely fitted for ſea. On the 30th of July ſhe ſailed down the river, and on the 13th of Auguſt anchored in Plymouth Sound. The wind becoming fair on the 26th of that month, our navigators got under ſail, and on the 13th of September anchored in Funchiale Road, in the Iſland of Madeira (*a*). While Lieutenant Cook and his company were in this Iſland, they were treated with the utmoſt kindneſs and liberality by Mr. Cheap, the Engliſh Conſul there, and one of the moſt conſiderable Merchants in the town of Funchiale. He inſiſted upon their taking poſſeſſion of his houſe, and furniſhed them with every poſſible accommodation during their ſtay at Madeira. They received, likewiſe, great marks of attention and civility from Dr. Thomas Heberden, the principal Phyſician of the Iſland, and brother to the excellent and learned Dr. William Heberden, of London. Dr. Thomas Heberden afforded all the aſſiſtance in his power to Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander in their botanical enquiries (*b*). It was not ſolely from the Engliſh that the Lieutenant and his friends experienced a kind reception. The fathers of the Franciſcan Convent diſplayed a liberality of ſentiment towards them, which might not have been expected from Portugueſe Friars; and in a viſit which they paid to a Convent of Nuns, the Ladies expreſſed a particular pleaſure in ſeeing them. At this viſit the good Nuns gave an amuſing proof of the progreſs they had made in the cultivation of their underſtandings. Having heard that there were great Philoſophers among the Engliſh Gentle-

(*u*) From Sir Hugh Palliſer's communications.

(*w*) General Introduction to Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. i. p. iii.

(*x*) Minutes of the Council.

(*y*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. iv.

(*z*) *Ibid.*

(*a*) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 1. 3.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 4, 5.

Gentlemen, they aſked them a variety of queſtions; one of which was, when it would thunder; and another, whether a ſpring of freſh water, which was much wanted, was any where to be found within the walls of the Convent. Eminent as our Philoſophers were, they were puzzled by theſe queſtions (*c*). Lieutenant Cook, having laid in a freſh ſtock of beef, water, and wine, ſet ſail from the Iſland of Madeira, in the night of the 18th of September, and proceeded on his voyage. By the 7th of November, ſeveral articles of the ſhip's proviſions began to fall ſhort; for which reaſon the Lieutenant determined to put into Rio de Janeiro. This place he preferred to any other port in Braſil or to Falkland's Iſlands, becauſe he could there be better ſupplied with what he wanted, and had no doubt of meeting with a friendly reception (*d*). During the run between Madeira and Rio de Janeiro, Lieutenant Cook and the Gentlemen in the Endeavour had an opportunity of determining a philoſophical queſtion. On the evening of the 29th of October, they obſerved that luminous appearance of the ſea which hath ſo often been mentioned by Navigators, and which has been aſcribed to ſuch a variety of cauſes. Flaſhes of light appeared to be emitted, exactly reſembling thoſe of lightning, though without being ſo conſiderable; and ſuch was the frequency of them that ſometimes eight or ten were viſible almoſt at the ſame moment. It was the opinion of Mr. Cook and the other Gentlemen, that theſe flaſhes proceeded from ſome luminous animal; and their opinion was confirmed by experiment (*e*). At Rio de Janeiro, in the port of which Lieutenant Cook came to an anchor on the 13th of November, he did not meet with the polite reception that, perhaps, he had too ſanguinely expected. His ſtay was ſpent in continual altercations with the Viceroy, who appeared not a little jealous of the deſigns of the Engliſh: nor were all the attempts of the Lieutenant to ſet the matter right, capable of producing any effect. The Viceroy was by no means diſtinguiſhed either by his knowledge or his love of ſcience; and the grand object of Mr. Cook's expedition was quite beyond his comprehenſion. When he was told that the Engliſh were bound to the Southward, by the order of his Britannic Majeſty, to obſerve a tranſit of the planet Venus over the ſun, an aſtronomical phænomenon of great importance to Navigation, he could form no other conception of the matter, than that it was the paſſing of the North ſtar through the South Pole. During the whole of the conteſt with the Viceroy, Lieutenant Cook behaved with equal ſpirit and diſcretion. A ſupply of water and other neceſſaries could not be refuſed him, and theſe were gotten on board by the 1ſt of December. On that day the Lieutenant ſent to the Viceroy for a pilot to carry the Endeavour to ſea; but the wind preventing the ſhip from getting out, ſhe was obliged to continue ſome time longer in the harbour. A Spaniſh packet having arrived at Rio de Janeiro on the 2d of December, with diſpatches from Buenos Ayres for Spain, the Commander, Don Antonio de Monte Negro y Velaſco, offered, with great politeneſs, to convey the letters of the Engliſh to Europe. This favour Lieutenant Cook accepted, and gave Don Antonio a packet for the Secretary of the Admiralty, containing copies of all the papers that had paſſed between himſelf and the Viceroy. He left, alſo, duplicates with the Viceroy, that he might forward them, if he thought proper, to Liſbon. On the 5th of December, it being a dead calm, our Navigators weighed anchor, and towed down the Bay; but, to their great aſtoniſhment, two ſhot were fired at them, when they had gotten abreaſt of Santa Cruz, the principal fortification of the harbour. Lieutenant Cook immediately caſt anchor, and ſent to the Fort to demand the reaſon of this conduct; the anſwer to which was, that the Commandant had received no order from the Viceroy to let the ſhip paſs; and that, without ſuch an order, no veſſel was ever ſuffered to go below the Fort. It now became neceſſary to ſend to the Viceroy, to enquire why the order had not been given; and his behaviour appeared the more extraordinary, as notice had been tranſmitted to him of the departure of the Engliſh, and he had thought proper to write a polite letter to Mr. Cook, wiſhing him a good voyage. The Lieutenant's meſſenger ſoon returned, with the information that the order had been written ſeveral days, and that its not having been ſent had ariſen from ſome unaccountable negligence. It was not till the 7th of December that the Endeavour got under ſail (*f*). In the account which Lieutenant Cook has given of Rio de Janeiro, and the country around it, one circumſtance is recorded, which cannot be otherwiſe than very painful to humanity. It is the horrid expence of life at which the gold mines are wrought. No leſs than forty thouſand negroes are annually imported for this purpoſe, on the King of Portugal's account; and the Engliſh were credibly informed, that, in the year 1766, this number fell ſo ſhort, that twenty thouſand more were drafted from the town of Rio (*g*). From Rio de Janeiro Lieutenant Cook purſued his voyage, and, on the 14th of January, 1769, entered the Streight of Le Maire, at which time the tide drove the ſhip out with ſo much violence, and raiſed ſuch a ſea off Cape St. Diego, that ſhe frequently pitched, ſo that the bowſprit was under water (*h*). On the next day, the Lieutenant anchored, firſt before a ſmall cove, which was underſtood to be Port Maurice, and afterwards in the Bay of Good Succeſs. While the Endeavour was in this ſtation, happened the memorable adventure of Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Monkhouſe the Surgeon, and Mr. Green the Aſtronomer, together with their attendants and ſervants, and two ſeamen, in aſcending a mountain to ſearch for plants. In this expedition, they were all of them expoſed to the utmoſt

(*c*) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 9.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 11, 16.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 15, 16.

(*f*) *Ibid* p. 18—27.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 34.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 41, 42.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 69.

utmoſt extremity of danger and of cold; Dr. Solander was ſeized with a torpor which had nearly proved fatal to his life; and two black ſervants actually died. When the Gentlemen had, at length, on the ſecond day of their adventure, gotten back to the ſhip, they congratulated each other on their ſafety, with a joy that can only be felt by thoſe who have experienced equal perils; and Mr. Cook was relieved from a very painful anxiety. It was a dreadful teſtimony of the ſeverity of the climate, that this event took place when it was the midſt of ſummer in that part of the world (*i*), and at the cloſe of a day the beginning of which was as mild and warm as the month of May uſually is in England. In the paſſage through the Streight of Le Maire, Lieutenant Cook and his ingenious aſſociates had an opportunity of gaining a conſiderable degree of acquaintance with the inhabitants of the adjoining country. Here it was that they ſaw human nature in its loweſt form. The natives appeared to be the moſt deſtitute and forlorn, as well as the moſt ſtupid, of the children of men. Their lives are ſpent in wandering about the dreary waſtes that ſurround them; and their dwellings are no other than wretched hovels of ſticks and graſs, which not only admit the wind, but the ſnow and the rain. They are almoſt naked; and ſo devoid are they of every convenience which is furniſhed by the rudeſt art, that they have not ſo much as an implement to dreſs their food. Nevertheleſs, they ſeemed to have no wiſh for acquiring more than they poſſeſſed; nor did any thing that was offered them by the Engliſh appear acceptable but beads, as an ornamental ſuperfluity of life. A concluſion is hence drawn by Dr. Hawkeſworth, that theſe people may be upon a level with ourſelves, in reſpect to the happineſs they enjoy (*k*). This, however, is a poſition which ought not haſtily to be admitted. It is, indeed, a beautiful circumſtance, in the order of Divine Providence, that the rudeſt inhabitants of the earth, and thoſe who are ſituated in the moſt unfavourable climates, ſhould not be ſenſible of their diſadvantages. But ſtill it muſt be allowed, that their happineſs is greatly inferior, both in kind and degree, to that intellectual, ſocial, and moral felicity which is capable of being attained in a highly-cultivated ſtate of ſociety.

(*i*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 43. 46—53.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 59.

In voyages to the South Pacific Ocean, the determination of the beſt paſſage from the Atlantic is a point of peculiar importance. It is well known what prodigious difficulties were experienced in this reſpect by former Navigators. The doubling of Cape Horn, in particular, was ſo much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it was far more eligible to paſs through the Streight of Magalhaens. Lieutenant Cook hath fully aſcertained the erroneouſneſs of this opinion. He was but three-and-thirty days in coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, from the Eaſt entrance of the Streight of Le Maire, till he had advanced about twelve degrees to the weſtward, and three and a half to the northward of the Streight of Magalhaens; and, during this time, the ſhip ſcarcely received any damage. Whereas, if he had come into the Pacific Ocean by that paſſage, he would not have been able to accompliſh it in leſs than three months; beſides which, his people would have been fatigued, and the anchors, cables, ſails, and rigging of the veſſel much injured. By the courſe he purſued, none of theſe inconveniencies were ſuffered. In ſhort, Lieutenant Cook, by his own example in doubling Cape Horn, by his accurate aſcertainment of the latitude and longitude of the places he came to, and by his inſtructions to future Voyagers, performed the moſt eſſential ſervices to this part of navigation (*l*). It was on the 26th of January that the Endeavour took her departure from Cape Horn; and it appeared, that, from that time to the 1ſt of March, during a run of ſix hundred and ſixty leagues, there was no current which affected the ſhip. Hence it was highly probable that our Navigators had been near no land of any conſiderable extent, currents being always found when land is not remote (*m*). In the proſecution of Lieutenant Cook's voyage from Cape Horn to Otaheite ſeveral Iſlands were diſcovered, to which the names were given of Lagoon Iſland, Thrumb-cap, Bow Iſland, The Groups, Bird Iſland, and Chain Iſland. It appeared that moſt of theſe Iſlands were inhabited; and the verdure, and groves of palm-trees, which were viſible upon ſome of them, gave them the aſpect of a terreſtrial paradiſe to men who, excepting the dreary hills of Terra del Fuego, had ſeen nothing for a long time but ſky and water [*A*]. On the 11th of April, the Endeavour arrived in ſight of Otaheite, and on the 13th ſhe came to an anchor in Port Royal Bay, which is called *Matavai* by the natives. As the ſtay of the Engliſh in the Iſland was not likely to be very ſhort, and much depended on the manner in which traffic ſhould be carried on with the inhabitants, Lieutenant Cook, with great good ſenſe and humanity, drew up a ſet of regulations for the behaviour of his people, and gave it in command that they ſhould punctually be obſerved [*B*]. One of the firſt things that occupied the Lieutenant's attention, after his arrival

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 67, 68.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 66. 69.

[*A*] *Had ſeen nothing for a long time but ſky and water.*] Lagoon Iſland lies in latitude 18° 47′ S. and longitude 139° 28′ W.; the Thrumb-cap, in latitude 18° 35′ S. and longitude 139° 48′ W.; Bow Iſland, in latitude 18° 23′ S. and longitude 141° 12′ W.; the ſouth-eaſternmoſt of the Groups, in latitude 18° 12′ S. and longitude 142° 42′ W.; Bird Iſland, in latitude 17° 48′ S. and longitude 143° 35′ W.; and Chain Iſland, in latitude 17° 23′ S. and longitude 145° 54′ W (1).

(1) *Ibid.* p. 72—78.

[*B*] *And gave it in command that they ſhould punctually be obſerved.*] The rules were as follows: "I. To endeavour, by every fair means, to cultivate a friendſhip with the natives; and to treat "them with all imaginable humanity. II. A proper "perſon, or perſons, will be appointed to trade with "the

arrival at Otaheite, was to prepare for the execution of his grand commiſſion. For this purpoſe, as, in an excurſion to the weſtward, he had not found any more convenient harbour than that in which the Endeavour lay, he determined to go on ſhore and fix upon ſome ſpot, commanded by the guns of the ſhip, where he might throw up a ſmall fort for defence, and get every thing ready for making the aſtronomical obſervation. Accordingly, he took a party of men, and landed, being accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Green. They ſoon fixed upon a place very proper for their deſign, and which was at a conſiderable diſtance from any habitation of the natives. While the Gentlemen were marking out the ground which they intended to occupy, and ſeeing a ſmall tent erected that belonged to Mr. Banks, a great number of the people of the country gathered gradually around them, but with no hoſtile appearance, as there was not among the Indians a ſingle weapon of any kind. Mr. Cook, however, intimated that none of them were to come within the line he had drawn, excepting one, who appeared to be a chief, and Owhaw, a native who had attached himſelf to the Engliſh, both in Captain Wallis's expedition and in the preſent voyage. The Lieutenant endeavoured to make theſe two perſons underſtand that the ground which had been marked out was only wanted to ſleep upon for a certain number of nights, and that then it would be quitted. Whether his meaning was comprehended or not, he could not certainly determine; but the people behaved with a deference and reſpect that could ſcarcely have been expected, and which were highly pleaſing. They ſat down without the circle, peaceably and uninterruptedly attending to the progreſs of the buſineſs, which was upwards of two hours in completing. This matter being finiſhed, and Mr. Cook having appointed thirteen Marines and a petty officer to guard the tent, he and the Gentlemen with him ſet out upon a little excurſion into the woods of the country. They had not, however, gone far, before they were brought back by a very diſagreeable event. One of the Indians, who remained about the tent after the Lieutenant and his friends had left it, watched an opportunity of taking the ſentry at unawares, and ſnatched away his muſquet. Upon this, the petty officer who commanded the party, and who was a Midſhipman, ordered the Marines to fire. With equal want of conſideration, and, perhaps, with equal inhumanity, the men immediately diſcharged their pieces among the thickeſt of the flying crowd, who conſiſted of more than a hundred. It being obſerved that the thief did not fall, he was purſued, and ſhot dead. From ſubſequent information it happily appeared, that none of the natives beſides were either killed or wounded. Lieutenant Cook, who was highly diſpleaſed with the conduct of the petty officer, uſed every method in his power to diſpel the terrors and apprehenſions of the Indians, but not immediately with effect. The next morning but few of the inhabitants were ſeen upon the beach, and not one of them came off to the ſhip. What added particularly to the regret of the Engliſh was, that even Owhaw, who had hitherto been ſo conſtant in his attachment, and who the day before had been remarkably active in endeavouring to renew the peace which had been broken, did not now make his appearance. In the evening, however, when the Lieutenant went on ſhore with only a boat's crew and ſome of the Gentlemen, between thirty and forty of the natives gathered around them, and trafficked with them, in a friendly manner, for cocoa-nuts and other fruit (*p*). On the 17th, Mr. Cook and Mr. Green ſet up a tent on ſhore, and ſpent the night there, in order to obſerve an Eclipſe of the firſt ſatellite of Jupiter; but they met with a diſappointment, in conſequence of the weather's becoming cloudy. The next day, the Lieutenant, with as many of his people as could poſſibly be ſpared from the ſhip, began to erect the fort. While the Engliſh were employed in this buſineſs, many of the Indians were ſo far from hindering, that they voluntarily aſſiſted them, and with great alacrity brought the pickets and faſcines from the wood where they had been cut. Indeed, ſo ſcrupulous had Mr. Cook been of invading their property, that every ſtake which was uſed was purchaſed, and not a tree was cut down till their conſent had firſt been obtained (*q*). On the 26th, the Lieutenant mounted ſix ſwivel guns upon the fort, on which occaſion he ſaw, with concern, that the natives were alarmed and terrified. Some fiſhermen, who lived upon the point, removed to a greater diſtance; and Owhaw informed the Engliſh, by ſigns, of his expectation that in four days they would fire their great guns. The Lieutenant, on the ſucceeding day, gave a ſtriking proof of his regard to juſtice, and of his care to preſerve the inhabitants from injury and violence, by the puniſhment he inflicted on the butcher of the Endeavour, who was accuſed of having threatened, or

(*p*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 89—93.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 93, 94.

" the natives for all manner of proviſions, fruit, and
" other productions of the earth; and no officer or
" ſeaman, or other perſon belonging to the ſhip, ex-
" cepting ſuch as are ſo appointed, ſhall trade, or
" offer to trade, for any ſort of proviſion, fruit, or
" other productions of the earth, unleſs they have
" leave ſo to do. III. Every perſon employed on
" ſhore on any duty whatſoever, is ſtrictly to attend
" to the ſame; and if by any neglect he loſeth any
" of his arms, or working tools, or ſuffers them to
" be ſtolen, the full value thereof will be charged
" againſt his pay, according to the cuſtom of the Navy
" in ſuch caſes, and he ſhall receive ſuch farther pu-
" niſhment as the nature of the offence may deſerve.
" IV. The ſame penalty will be inflicted on every
" perſon who is found to embezzle, trade, or offer
" to trade, with any part of the ſhip's ſtores, of what
" nature ſoever. V. No ſort of iron, or any thing
" that is made of iron, or any ſort of cloth, or other
" uſeful or neceſſary articles, are to be given in ex-
" change for any thing but proviſion.

" J. Cook (*z*)."

(*z*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 79—82.

attempted, the life of a woman that was the wife of Tubourai Tomaide, a chief remarkable for his attachment to our navigators. The butcher wanted to purchaſe of her a ſtone hatchet for a nail. To this bargain ſhe abſolutely refuſed to accede; upon which the fellow catched up the hatchet, and threw down the nail; threatening, at the ſame time, that if ſhe made any reſiſtance, he would cut her throat with a reaping-hook which he had in his hand. The charge was ſo fully proved in the preſence of Mr. Banks, and the butcher had ſo little to ſay in exculpation of himſelf, that not the leaſt doubt remained of his guilt. The affair being reported by Mr. Banks to Lieutenant Cook, he took an opportunity, when the Chief and his women, with others of the natives, were on board the ſhip, to call up the offender, and, after recapitulating the accuſation and the proof of it, to give orders for his immediate puniſhment. While the butcher was ſtripped, and tied up to the rigging, the Indians preſerved a fixed attention, and waited for the event in ſilent ſuſpenſe. But as ſoon as the firſt ſtroke was inflicted, ſuch was the humanity of theſe people, that they interfered with great agitation, and earneſtly intreated that the reſt of the puniſhment might be remitted. To this, however, the Lieutenant, for various reaſons, could not grant his conſent; and, when they found that their interceſſions were ineffectual, they manifeſted their compaſſion by tears (*r*). On the firſt of May, the obſervatory was ſet up, and the aſtronomical quadrant, together with ſome other inſtruments, was taken on ſhore. When, on the next morning, Mr. Cook and Mr. Green landed for the purpoſe of fixing the quadrant in a ſituation for uſe, to their inexpreſſible ſurprize and concern it was not to be found. It had been depoſited in a tent reſerved for the Lieutenant's uſe, where no one had ſlept: it had never been taken out of the packing-caſe, and the whole was of conſiderable weight: none of the other inſtruments were miſſing; and a centinel had been poſted the whole night within five yards of the tent. Theſe circumſtances induced a ſuſpicion that the robbery might have been committed by ſome of our own people, who having ſeen a deal box, and not knowing the contents, might imagine that it contained nails, or other articles for traffic with the natives. The moſt diligent ſearch, therefore, was made, and a large reward was offered for the finding of the quadrant, but with no degree of ſucceſs. In this exigency, Mr. Banks was of eminent ſervice. As this Gentleman had more influence over the Indians than any other perſon on board the Endeavour, and as there could now be little doubt of the quadrant's having been conveyed away by ſome of the natives, he determined to go in ſearch of it into the woods; and it was recovered in conſequence of his judicious and ſpirited exertions. The pleaſure with which it was brought back was equal to the importance of the event; for the grand object of the voyage could not otherwiſe have been accompliſhed (*s*). Another embarraſſment, though not of ſo ſerious a nature, was occaſioned, on the very ſame day, by one of our officers having inadvertently taken into cuſtody Tootahah, a chief who had connected himſelf in the moſt friendly manner with the Engliſh. Lieutenant Cook, who had given expreſs orders that none of the Indians ſhould be confined, and who, therefore, was equally ſurprized and concerned at this tranſaction, inſtantly ſet Tootahah at liberty. So ſtrongly had this Indian been poſſeſſed with the notion that it was intended to put him to death, that he could not be perſuaded to the contrary till he was led out of the fort. His joy at his deliverance was ſo great, that it diſplayed itſelf in a liberality which our people were very unwilling to partake of, from a conſcioufneſs that on this occaſion they had no claim to the reception of favours. The impreſſion, however, of the confinement of the chief operated with ſuch force upon the minds of the natives, that few of them appeared; and the market was ſo ill ſupplied, that the Engliſh were in want of neceſſaries. At length, by the prudent exertions of Lieutenant Cook, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, the friendſhip of Tootahah was completely recovered, and the reconciliation worked upon the Indians like a charm; for it was no ſooner known that he had gone voluntarily on board the Endeavour, than bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other proviſions, were brought to the fort in great plenty (*t*). The Lieutenant and the reſt of the Gentlemen had hitherto, with a laudable diſcretion, bartered only beads for the articles of food now mentioned. But the market becoming ſlack, they were obliged for the firſt time, on the eighth of May, to bring out their nails; and ſuch was the effect of this new commodity, that one of the ſmalleſt ſize, which was about four inches long, procured twenty cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit in proportion (*u*). It was not till the tenth of the month that our voyagers learned that the Indian name of the Iſland was OTAHEITE, by which name it hath ſince been always diſtinguiſhed (*w*). On Sunday the fourteenth, an inſtance was exhibited of the inattention of the natives to our modes of religion. The Lieutenant had directed that divine ſervice ſhould be performed at the fort; and he was deſirous that ſome of the principal Indians ſhould be preſent. Mr. Banks ſecured the attendance of Tubourai Tomaide and his wife Tomio, hoping that it would give occaſion to ſome enquiries on their part, and to ſome inſtruction in return. During the whole ſervice, they very attentively obſerved Mr. Banks's behaviour, and ſtood, ſat, or kneeled, as they ſaw him do; and they appeared to be ſenſible that it was a ſerious and important employment in which the Engliſh were engaged. But when the worſhip was ended, neither of them aſked any queſtions, nor would they attend to any explanations which were attempted to

(*r*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 102, 103.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 112—114.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 114—121.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 122.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 123.

be given of what had been performed (x). As the day approached for executing the grand purpoſe of the voyage, Lieutenant Cook determined, in conſequence of ſome hints which he had received from the Earl of Morton, to ſend out two parties, to obſerve the tranſit of Venus from other ſituations. By this means he hoped that the ſucceſs of the obſervation would be ſecured, if there ſhould happen to be any failure at Otaheite. Accordingly, on Thurſday the firſt of June, he diſpatched Mr. Gore in the long-boat to Eimeo, a neighbouring iſland, together with Mr. Monkhouſe, and Mr. Sporing, a Gentleman belonging to Mr. Banks. They were furniſhed by Mr. Green with proper inſtruments. Mr. Banks himſelf choſe to go upon this expedition, in which he was accompanied by Tubourai Tomaide and Tomio, and by others of the natives. Early the next morning, the Lieutenant ſent Mr. Hicks, in the pinnace, with Mr. Clerke and Mr. Pickerſgill, and Mr. Saunders, one of the midſhipmen, ordering them to fix upon ſome convenient ſpot to the eaſtward, at a diſtance from the principal obſervatory, where they alſo might employ the inſtruments they were provided with for obſerving the tranſit. The anxiety for ſuch weather as would be favourable to the ſucceſs of the experiment, was powerfully felt by all the parties concerned. They could not ſleep in peace the preceding night: but their apprehenſions were happily removed by the ſun's riſing, on the morning of the third of June, without a cloud. The weather continued with equal clearneſs through the whole of the day; ſo that the obſervation was ſucceſsfully made in every quarter. At the fort, where Lieutenant Cook, Mr. Green, and Dr. Solander were ſtationed, the whole paſſage of the planet Venus over the ſun's diſk was obſerved with great advantage. The magnifying power of Dr. Solander's teleſcope was ſuperior to that of thoſe which belonged to the Lieutenant and to Mr. Green. They all ſaw an atmoſphere or duſky cloud round the body of the planet; which much diſturbed the times of contact, and eſpecially of the internal ones; and, in their accounts of theſe times, they differed from each other in a greater degree than might have been expected. According to Mr. Green,

(x) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 127.

Morning.	h.	min.	ſec.
The firſt external contact, or firſt appearance of Venus on the ſun, was	9	25	42
The firſt internal contact, or total immerſion, was - -	9	44	4
Afternoon.			
The ſecond internal contact, or beginning of the emerſion, was -	3	14	8
The ſecond external contact, or total emerſion, was - -	3	32	10

The latitude of the obſervatory was found to be 17° 29′ 15″; and the longitude 149° 32′ 30″ weſt of Greenwich.

A more particular account of this great aſtronomical event, the providing for the accurate obſervation of which reflects ſo much honour on his Majeſty's munificent patronage of ſcience, may be ſeen in the ſixty-firſt volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions (y).

(y) *Ibid.* p. 137. Tranſactions, vol. lxi. p. 397.

The pleaſure which Lieutenant Cook and his friends derived from having thus ſucceſsfully accompliſhed the firſt grand object of the voyage, was not a little abated by the conduct of ſome of the ſhip's company, who, while the attention of the officers was engroſſed by the tranſit of Venus, broke into one of the ſtore-rooms, and ſtole a quantity of ſpike nails, amounting to no leſs than an hundred weight. This was an evil of a public and ſerious nature; for theſe nails, if injudiciouſly circulated among the Indians, would be productive of irreparable injury to the Engliſh, by reducing the value of iron, their ſtaple commodity. One of the thieves, from whom only ſeven nails were recovered, was detected; but, though the puniſhment of two dozen laſhes was inflicted upon him, he would not impeach any of his accomplices (z). Upon account of the abſence of the two parties who had been ſent out to obſerve the tranſit, the King's birth-day was celebrated on the fifth, inſtead of the fourth of June (a); and the feſtivity of the day muſt have been greatly heightened by the happy ſucceſs with which his Majeſty's liberality had been crowned. On the twelfth, Lieutenant Cook was again reduced to the neceſſity of exerciſing the ſeverity of diſcipline. Complaint having been made to him, by certain of the natives, that two of the ſeamen had taken from them ſeveral bows and arrows, and ſome ſtrings of plaited hair, and the charge being fully ſupported, he puniſhed each of the criminals with two dozen of laſhes. On the ſame day it was diſcovered, that Otaheite, like other countries in a certain period of ſociety, has its bards and its minſtrels. Mr. Banks, in his morning's walk, had met with a number of natives, who appeared, upon enquiry, to be travelling muſicians; and having learned where they were to be at night, all the Gentlemen of the Endeavour repaired to the place. The band conſiſted of two flutes and three drums; and the drummers accompanied the muſic with their voices. To the ſurprize of the Engliſh Gentlemen, they found that themſelves were generally the ſubject of the ſong, which was unpremeditated. Theſe minſtrels were continually going about from place to place; and they were rewarded, by the maſter of the houſe and the audience, with ſuch things as they wanted. The repeated thefts which were committed by the inhabitants of Otaheite brought our voyagers into frequent difficulties, and it required all the wiſdom of Lieutenant Cook to conduct himſelf in a proper manner. His ſentiments

(z) *Ibid.* p. 141.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 142.

(b) Hawkeſworth's Voy vol. ii. p. 1 150.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 169.

on

on the ſubject diſplayed the liberality of his mind. He thought it of conſequence, to put an end, if poſſible, to thieviſh practices at once, by doing ſomething that ſhould engage the natives in general to prevent them, from a regard to their common intereſt. Strict orders had been given by him, that they ſhould not be fired upon, even when they were detected in attempting to ſteal any of the Engliſh property. For this the Lieutenant had many reaſons. The common centinels were in no degree fit to be entruſted with a power of life and death; neither did Mr. Cook think that the thefts committed by the Otaheitans deſerved ſo ſevere a puniſhment. They were not born under the law of England; nor was it one of the conditions under which they claimed the benefits of civil ſociety, that their lives ſhould be forfeited, unleſs they abſtained from theft. As the Lieutenant was not willing that the natives ſhould be expoſed to fire-arms loaded with ſhot, neither did he approve of firing only with powder, which, if repeatedly found to be harmleſs, would at length be deſpiſed. At a time when a conſiderable robbery had been committed, an accident furniſhed him with what he hoped would be a happy expedient for preventing future attempts of the ſame kind. Above twenty of the ſailing canoes of the inhabitants came in with a ſupply of fiſh. Upon theſe Lieutenant Cook immediately ſeized, and, having brought them into the river behind the fort, gave notice, that unleſs the things which had been ſtolen were returned, the canoes ſhould be burnt. This menace, without deſigning to put it into execution, he ventured to publiſh, from a full conviction that, as reſtitution was thus made a common cauſe, the ſtolen goods would all of them ſpeedily be brought back. In this, however, he was miſtaken. An iron coal-rake, indeed, was reſtored; upon which great ſolicitation was made for the releaſe of the canoes; but he ſtill inſiſted on his original condition. When the next day came, he was much ſurprized to find that nothing farther had been returned; and, as the people were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for the fiſh, which would in a ſhort time be ſpoilt, he was reduced to the diſagreeable alternative, either of releaſing the canoes, contrary to what he had ſolemnly and publicly declared, or of detaining them, to the great damage of thoſe who were innocent. As a temporary expedient, he permitted the natives to take the fiſh, but ſtill detained the canoes. So far was this meaſure from being attended with advantage, that it was productive of new confuſion and injury; for as it was not eaſy at once to diſtinguiſh to what particular perſons the ſeveral lots of fiſh belonged, the canoes were plundered by thoſe who had no right to any part of their cargo. At length, moſt preſſing inſtances being ſtill made for the reſtoration of the canoes, and Lieutenant Cook having reaſon to believe, either that the things for which he detained them were not in the Iſland, or that thoſe who ſuffered by their detention were abſolutely incapable of prevailing upon the thieves to relinquiſh their booty, he determined, though not immediately, to comply with the ſolicitations of the natives. Our commander was, however, not a little mortified at the ill ſucceſs of his project (*b*). About the ſame time, another accident occurred, which, notwithſtanding all the caution of our principal voyagers, was very near embroiling them with the Indians. The Lieutenant having ſent a boat on ſhore to get ballaſt for the ſhip, the officer, not immediately finding ſtones ſuitable to the purpoſe, began to pull down ſome part of an incloſure in which the inhabitants had depoſited the bones of their dead. This action a number of the natives violently oppoſed; and a meſſenger came down to the tents, to acquaint the Gentlemen that no ſuch thing would be ſuffered. Mr. Banks directly repaired to the place, and ſoon put an amicable end to the conteſt, by ſending the boat's crew to the river, where a ſufficient quantity of ſtones might be gathered without a poſſibility of giving offence. Theſe Indians appeared to be much more alarmed at any injury which they apprehended to be done to the dead than to the living. This was the only meaſure in which they ventured to oppoſe the Engliſh: and the only inſult that was ever offered to any individual belonging to the Endeavour was upon a ſimilar occaſion (*c*). It ſhould undoubtedly be the concern of all voyagers, to abſtain from wantonly offending the religious prejudices of the people among whom they come. To extend the knowledge of navigation and the ſphere of diſcovery, objects which we need not ſay that Lieutenant Cook kept always ſteadily in view, he ſet out, in the pinnace, on the twenty-ſixth of June, accompanied by Mr. Banks, to make the circuit of the Iſland. The particulars of this circuit, in which the Lieutenant and his companions were once thrown into great alarm by the apprehended loſs of the boat, are fully related in Dr. Hawkeſworth's Narrative. By this expedition Mr. Cook obtained an acquaintance with the ſeveral diſtricts of Otaheite, the chiefs who preſided over them, and a variety of curious circumſtances reſpecting the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants. On the firſt of July, he got back to the fort at Matavai, having found the circuit of the iſland, including the two peninſulas of which it conſiſted, to be about thirty leagues (*d*). The circumnavigation of Otaheite was followed by an expedition of Mr. Banks's to trace the river up the valley from which it iſſues, and examine how far its banks were inhabited. During this excurſion, he diſcerned many traces of ſubterraneous fire. The ſtones, like thoſe of Madeira, diſplayed evident tokens of having been burnt; and the very clay upon the hills had the ſame appearance. Another valuable employment of Mr. Banks was the planting of a great quantity of the ſeeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and other plants and trees which he had collected

(*b*) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 147—150.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 150, 151.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 155—169.

collected at Rio de Janeiro. For theſe he prepared ground on each ſide of the fort, and ſelected as many varieties of ſoil as could be found. He gave, alſo, liberally of theſe ſeeds to the natives, and planted many of them in the woods (*e*). Lieutenant Cook now began to prepare for his departure. On the ſeventh of July, the carpenters were employed in taking down the gates and palliſadoes of the fortification; and it was continued to be diſmantled during the two following days. Our Commander and the reſt of the Gentlemen were in hopes that they ſhould quit Otaheite without giving or receiving any farther offence; but in this reſpect they were unfortunately diſappointed. The Lieutenant had prudently overlooked a diſpute of a ſmaller nature between a couple of foreign ſeamen and ſome of the Indians, when he was immediately involved in a quarrel which he greatly regretted, and which yet it was totally out of his power to avoid. In the middle of the night, between the eighth and the ninth, Clement Webb and Samuel Gibſon, two of the marines, went privately from the fort. As they were not to be found in the morning, Mr. Cook was apprehenſive that they intended to ſtay behind; but, being unwilling to endanger the harmony and good-will which at preſent ſubſiſted between our people and the natives, he determined to wait a day for the chance of the men's return. As, to the great concern of the Lieutenant, the marines were not come back on the morning of the tenth, enquiry was made after them of the Indians, who acknowledged that each of them had taken a wife, and had reſolved to become inhabitants of the country. After ſome deliberation, two of the natives undertook to conduct ſuch perſons to the place of the deſerters' retreat as Mr. Cook ſhould think proper to ſend; and accordingly he diſpatched with the guides a petty officer, and the corporal of the marines. As it was of the utmoſt importance to recover the men, and to do it ſpeedily, it was intimated to ſeveral of the Chiefs who were in the fort with the women, among whom were Tubourai Tomaide, Tomio, and Oberea, that they would not be permitted to leave it till the fugitives were returned; and the Lieutenant had the pleaſure of obſerving that they received the intimation with very little indications of alarm, and with aſſurances that his people ſhould be ſecured and ſent back as ſoon as poſſible. While this tranſaction took place at the fort, our Commander ſent Mr. Hicks in the pinnace to fetch Tootahah on board the ſhip. Mr. Cook had reaſon to expect, if the Indian guides proved faithful, that the deſerters, and thoſe who went in ſearch of them, would return before the evening. Being diſappointed, his ſuſpicions increaſed, and thinking it not ſafe, when the night approached, to let the perſons whom he had detained as hoſtages to continue at the fort, he ordered Tubourai Tomaide, Oberea, and ſome others, to be taken on board the Endeavour; a circumſtance which excited ſo general an alarm, that ſeveral of them, and eſpecially the women, expreſſed their apprehenſions with great emotions and many tears. Webb, about nine o'clock, was brought back by ſome of the natives, who declared that Gibſon, and the petty officer and corporal, would not be reſtored till Tootahah ſhould be ſet at liberty. Lieutenant Cook now found that the tables were turned upon him; but, having proceeded too far to retreat, he immediately diſpatched Mr. Hicks in the long-boat, with a ſtrong party of men, to reſcue the priſoners. Tootahah was, at the ſame time, informed, that it behoved him to ſend ſome of his people with them, for the purpoſe of affording them effectual aſſiſtance. With this injunction he readily complied, and the priſoners were reſtored without the leaſt oppoſition. On the next day they were brought back to the ſhip, upon which the chiefs were releaſed from their confinement. Thus ended an affair which had given the Lieutenant a great deal of trouble and concern. It appears, however, that the meaſure which he purſued was the reſult of an abſolute neceſſity; ſince it was only by the ſeizure of the Chiefs that he could have recovered his men. Love was the ſeducer of the two marines. So ſtrong was the attachment which they had formed to a couple of girls, that it was their deſign to conceal themſelves till the ſhip had ſailed, and to take up their reſidence in the Iſland (*f*). Tupia was one of the natives who had ſo particularly devoted himſelf to the Engliſh, that he had ſcarcely ever been abſent from them during the whole of their ſtay at Otaheite. He had been Oberea's firſt Miniſter, while ſhe was in the height of her power; and he was alſo Chief Prieſt of the country. To his knowledge of the religious principles and ceremonies of the Indians, he added great experience in navigation, and a particular acquaintance with the number and ſituation of the neighbouring Iſlands. This man had often expreſſed a deſire to go with our Navigators, and when they were ready to depart, he came on board, with a boy about thirteen years of age, and intreated that he might be permitted to proceed with them on their voyage. To have ſuch a perſon in the Endeavour, was deſirable on many accounts; and, therefore, Lieutenant Cook gladly acceded to his propoſal. On the thirteenth of July, the Engliſh weighed anchor; and as ſoon as the ſhip was under ſail, the Indians on board took their leaves, and wept, with a decent and ſilent ſorrow, in which there was ſomething very ſtriking and tender. Tupia ſuſtained himſelf in this ſcene with a truly admirable firmneſs and reſolution; for, though he wept, the effort he made to conceal his tears concurred, with them, to do him honour. The ſtay of our voyagers at Otaheite was three months, the greater part of which time was ſpent in the moſt cordial friendſhip with the inhabitants, and a perpetual reciprocation of good offices. That any differences ſhould happen, was greatly regretted

(*e*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 172—175.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 175—180.

on the part of Lieutenant Cook and his friends, who were ſtudious to avoid them as much as poſſible. The principal cauſes of them reſulted from the peculiar ſituation and circumſtances of the Engliſh and the Indians, and eſpecially from the diſpoſition of the latter to theft. The effects of this diſpoſition could not always be ſubmitted to or prevented. It was happy, however, that there was only a ſingle inſtance in which the differences that aroſe were attended with any fatal conſequence; and by that accident the Lieutenant was inſtructed to take the moſt effectual meaſures for the future prevention of ſimilar events. He had nothing ſo much at heart, as that in no caſe the intercourſe of his people with the natives ſhould be productive of bloodſhed. The traffic with the inhabitants for proviſions and refreſhments, which was chiefly under the management of Mr. Banks, was carried on with as much order as in any well-regulated market in Europe. Axes, hatchets, ſpikes, large nails, looking-glaſſes, knives, and beads, were found to be the beſt articles to deal in; and for ſome of theſe, every thing which the inhabitants poſſeſſed might be procured. They were, indeed, fond of fine linen cloth, whether white or printed; but an axe, worth half a crown, would fetch more than a piece of cloth of the value of twenty ſhillings (*g*). It would deviate from the plan of this narrative, to enter into a minute account of the nature, productions, inhabitants, cuſtoms, and manners of the countries which were diſcovered or viſited by Mr. Cook; or to give a particular detail of every nautical, geographical, and aſtronomical obſervation. Theſe things muſt be ſought for in the voyages at large which have been publiſhed by authority. It will be ſufficient here to take notice, that our Commander did not depart from Otaheite without accumulating a ſtore of information and inſtruction for the enlargement of knowledge and the benefit of navigation.

(g) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 180—183.

While the Endeavour proceeded on her voyage under an eaſy ſail, Tupia informed Lieutenant Cook, that, at four of the neighbouring Iſlands, which he diſtinguiſhed by the names of HUAHEINE, ULIETEA, OTAHA, and BOLABOLA, hogs, fowls, and other refreſhments, which had latterly been ſparingly ſupplied at Otaheite, might be procured in great plenty. The Lieutenant, however, was deſirous of firſt examining an Iſland that lay to the northward, and was called TETHUROA. Accordingly, he came near it; but having found it to be only a ſmall low Iſland, and being told, at the ſame time, that it had no ſettled inhabitants, he determined to drop any farther examination of it, and to go in ſearch of Huaheine and Ulietea, which were deſcribed to be well peopled, and as large as Otaheite. On the fifteenth of July, the weather being hazy, with light breezes and calms ſucceeding each other, ſo that no land could be ſeen, and little way was made, Tupia afforded an amuſing proof that, in the exerciſe of his prieſtly character, he knew how to unite ſome degree of art with his ſuperſtition. He often prayed for a wind to his god Tane, and as often boaſted of his ſucceſs. This, indeed, he took a moſt effectual method to ſecure; for he never began his addreſs to his Divinity, till he perceived the breeze to be ſo near, that he knew it muſt approach the ſhip before his ſupplications could well be brought to a concluſion (*b*). The Endeavour, on the ſixteenth, being cloſe in with the north-weſt part of Huaheine, ſome canoes ſoon came off, in one of which was the King of the Iſland and his wife. At firſt the people ſeemed afraid; but, upon ſeeing Tupia, their apprehenſions were in part diſperſed, and, at length, in conſequence of frequent and earneſtly-repeated aſſurances of friendſhip, their Majeſties and ſeveral others ventured on board the ſhip. Their aſtoniſhment at every thing which was ſhewn them was very great; and yet their curioſity did not extend to any objects but what were particularly pointed out to their notice. When they had become more familiar, Mr. Cook was given to underſtand, that the King was called OREE, and that he propoſed, as a mark of amity, their making an exchange of their names. To this our Commander readily conſented; and, during the remainder of their being together, the Lieutenant was Oree, and his Majeſty was Cookee. In the afternoon, the Endeavour having come to an anchor, in a ſmall but excellent harbour on the Weſt ſide of the Iſland, the name of which was OWHARRE, Mr. Cook, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Monkhouſe, Tupia, and the natives who had been on board ever ſince the morning, immediately went on ſhore. The Engliſh Gentlemen repeated their excurſions on the two following days; in the courſe of which they found that the people of Huaheine had a very near reſemblance to thoſe of Otaheite, in perſon, dreſs, language, and every other circumſtance; and that the productions of the country were exactly ſimilar. In trafficking with our people, the inhabitants of Huaheine diſplayed a caution and heſitation which rendered the dealing with them ſlow and tedious. On the nineteenth, therefore, the Engliſh were obliged to bring out ſome hatchets, which it was at firſt hoped there would be no occaſion for, in an Iſland that had never before been viſited by any European. Theſe procured three very large hogs; and as it was propoſed to ſail in the afternoon, Oree and ſeveral others came on board to take their leave. To the King Mr. Cook gave a ſmall pewter plate, on which was ſtamped this inſcription; "His Britannic Majeſty's ſhip Endeavour, Lieutenant James Cook Commander, "16th July 1769, Huaheine." Among other preſents made to Oree, were ſome medals or counters, reſembling the coin of England, and ſtruck in the year 1761; all of which, and particularly the plate, he promiſed carefully and violably to preſerve. This the Lieutenant thought to be as laſting a teſtimony as any he could well provide, that the

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 249, 250.

Engliſh had firſt diſcovered the Iſland; and having diſmiſſed his viſiters, who were highly pleaſed with the treatment they had met with, he ſailed for Ulietea, in a good harbour of which he anchored the next day [C]. Tupia had expreſſed his apprehenſion that our Navigators, if they landed upon the Iſland, would be expoſed to the attacks of the men of Bolabola, whom he repreſented as having lately conquered it, and of whom he entertained a very formidable idea. This, however, did not deter Mr. Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the other Gentlemen, from going immediately on ſhore. Tupia, who was of the party, introduced them, by performing ſome ceremonies which he had practiſed before at Huaheine. After this, the Lieutenant hoiſted an Engliſh jack, and, in the name of his Britannic Majeſty, took poſſeſſion of Ulietea, and the three neighbouring Iſlands, Huaheine, Otaha, and Bolabola, all of which were in ſight. On the twenty-firſt, the Maſter was diſpatched in the long-boat, to examine the coaſt of the South part of the Iſland; and one of the Mates was ſent in the yawl, to ſound the harbour where the Endeavour lay [D]. At the ſame time, Lieutenant Cook went himſelf in the pinnace, to ſurvey that part of Ulietea which lies to the North. Mr. Banks, likewiſe, and the Gentlemen again went on ſhore, and employed themſelves in trading with the natives, and in examining the productions and curioſities of the country; but they ſaw nothing worthy of notice, excepting ſome human jaw-bones, which, like ſcalps among the Indians of North America, were trophies of war, and had probably been hung up, by the warriors of Bolabola, as a memorial of their conqueſt. The weather being hazy on the twenty-ſecond and twenty-third, with ſtrong gales, the Lieutenant did not venture to put to ſea; but, on the twenty-fourth, though the wind continued to be variable, he got under ſail, and plied to the northward within the reef, purpoſing to go out at a wider opening than that by which he had entered the harbour. However, in doing this, he was in imminent danger of ſtriking on the rock. The Maſter, who by his order had kept continually ſounding in the chains, ſuddenly called out, "two fathom." Though our Commander knew that the ſhip drew at leaſt fourteen feet, and conſequently that the ſhoal could not poſſibly be under her keel, he was, nevertheleſs juſtly, alarmed. Happily, the Maſter was either miſtaken, or the Endeavour went along the edge of a coral rock, many of which, in the neighbourhood of theſe Iſlands, are as ſteep as a wall (*i*). After a tedious navigation of ſome days, during which ſeveral ſmall Iſlands were ſeen, and the long-boat landed at Otaha, Lieutenant Cook returned to Ulietea, but to a different part of it from that which he had viſited before. In a harbour, belonging to the Weſt ſide of the Iſland, he came to an anchor on the firſt of Auguſt. This meaſure was neceſſary, in order to ſtop a leak which the ſhip had ſprung in the powder-room, and to take in more ballaſt, as ſhe was found too light to carry ſail upon a wind. The place where the Endeavour was ſecured was conveniently ſituated for the Lieutenant's purpoſe of obtaining ballaſt and water. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the Gentlemen who went on ſhore this day, ſpent their time much to their ſatisfaction. The reception they met was reſpectful in the higheſt degree, and the behaviour of the Indians to the Engliſh indicated a fear of them, mixed with a confidence that they had no propenſity to commit any kind of injury. In an intercourſe which the Lieutenant and his friends carried on, for ſeveral days, with the inhabitants of this part of the Iſland, it appeared that the terrors which Tupia had expreſſed of the Bolabola conquerors were wholly groundleſs. Even Opoony, the formidable King of Bolabola, treated our Navigators with reſpect. Being at Ulietea on the fifth of Auguſt, he ſent Mr. Cook a preſent of three hogs, ſome fowls, and ſeveral pieces of cloth, of uncommon length, together with a conſiderable quantity of plantains, cocoa-nuts, and other refreſhments. This preſent was accompanied with a meſſage, that, on the next day, he intended to pay our Commander a viſit. Accordingly, on the ſixth, the Lieutenant and the reſt of the Gentlemen all ſtaid at home, in expectation of this important viſiter; who did not, however, make his appearance, but ſent three very pretty girls as his meſſengers, to demand ſomething in return for his preſent. In the afternoon, as the great King would not go to the Engliſh, the Engliſh determined to go to the great King. From the account which had been given of him, as lord of the Bolabola men, who were the conquerors of Ulietea, and the terror of all the other Iſlands, Lieutenant Cook and his companions expected to ſee a young and vigorous Chief, with an intelligent countenance, and the marks of an enterprizing ſpirit; inſtead of which, they found a feeble wretch, withered and decrepit, half blind with age, and ſo ſluggiſh and ſtupid that he ſcarcely appeared to be poſſeſſed even of a common degree of underſtanding. Otaha being the principal place of Opoony's reſidence, he went with our Navigators to that Iſland on the next day; and they were in hopes of deriving ſome advantage from his influence, in obtaining ſuch proviſion as they wanted. In this reſpect, however, they were diſappointed; for, though

(*i*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 256—258.

[C] *In a good harbour of which he anchored the next day.*] Huaheine is ſituated in the latitude of 16° 43′ S. and longitude 150° 52′ W. from Greenwich. Its diſtance from Otaheite is about thirty-one leagues, in the direction of N. 58 W. and it is about ſeven leagues in compaſs (3).

(3) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 150—156.

[D] *To ſound the harbour where the Endeavour lay.*] This harbour or bay is called by the natives OOPOA, and extends almoſt the whole length of the eaſt ſide of the Iſland. In its greateſt extent it is capable of holding any number of ſhipping.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 2
279.

they

they had preſented him with an axe, as an inducement to him to encourage his ſubjects in dealing with them, they were obliged to leave him without having procured a ſingle article. The time which the Carpenters had taken up in ſtopping the leak of the ſhip, having detained our Voyagers longer at Ulietea than they would otherwiſe have ſtaid, Lieutenant Cook determined to give up the deſign of going on ſhore at Bolabola, eſpecially as it appeared to be difficult of acceſs. The principal Iſlands, about which the Engliſh had now ſpent ſomewhat more than three weeks, were ſix in number; Ulietea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tubai, and Maurua [*E*]. As they lie contiguous to each other, the Lieutenant gave them the general appellation of SOCIETY ISLANDS; but did not think proper to diſtinguiſh them ſeparately by any other names than thoſe by which they were called by the natives. On the ninth of Auguſt, the leak of the veſſel having been ſtopped, and the freſh ſtock that had been purchaſed being brought on board, our Commander took the opportunity of a breeze which ſprang up at Eaſt, and ſailed out of the harbour. As he was ſailing away, Tupia ſtrongly urged him to fire a ſhot towards Bolabola; and, though that Iſland was at ſeven leagues diſtance, the Lieutenant obliged him by complying with his requeſt. Tupia's views probably were, to diſplay a mark of his reſentment, and to ſhew the power of his new allies (*k*). Our Voyagers purſued their courſe, without meeting with any event worthy of notice, till the thirteenth, when land was diſcovered bearing South-eaſt, and which Tupia informed them to be an Iſland called OHETEROA. On the next day, Mr. Cook ſent Mr. Gore, one of his Lieutenants, in the pinnace, with orders that he ſhould endeavour to get on ſhore, and learn from the natives whether there was anchorage in a bay then in ſight, and what land lay farther to the Southward. Mr. Gore was accompanied in this expedition by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, who uſed every method, but in vain, to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants, and to engage them in a friendly intercourſe. As, upon making the circuit of the Iſland, neither harbour nor anchorage could be found upon it, and, at the ſame time, the diſpoſition of the people was ſo hoſtile, that landing would be rendered impracticable without bloodſhed, Mr. Cook determined, with equal wiſdom and humanity, not to attempt it, having no motive that could juſtify the riſk of life [*F*]. From Tupia our Navigators learned that there were various Iſlands lying at different diſtances and in different directions from Oheteroa, between the South and the North-weſt; and that to the North-eaſt there was an Iſland called Manua, Bird Iſland. This he repreſented as being at the diſtance of three days ſail; but he ſeemed moſt deſirous that Lieutenant Cook ſhould proceed to the Weſtward, and deſcribed ſeveral Iſlands in that ſituation, which he ſaid he had viſited. It appeared, from his deſcription of them, that theſe were probably Boſcawen and Keppel's Iſlands, which were diſcovered by Captain Wallis. The fartheſt Iſland that Tupia knew of to the Southward, lay, he ſaid, at the diſtance of about two days ſail from Oheteroa, and was called MOUTOU. But he added, that his father had informed him of there being Iſlands ſtill more to the South. Upon the whole, our Commander determined to ſtand Southward in ſearch of a Continent, and to loſe no time in attempting to diſcover any other Iſlands than ſuch as he might happen to fall in with during his courſe (*l*).

(*k*) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 258—270.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 272—279.

On the fifteenth of Auguſt, our Voyagers ſailed from Oheteroa; and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month was celebrated the anniverſary of their departure from England. The comet was ſeen on the thirtieth. It was a little above the horizon, in the eaſtern part of the heavens, at one in the morning; and at about half an hour after four it paſſed the meridian, and its tail ſubtended an angle of forty-two degrees (*m*). Tupia, who was among others that obſerved the comet, inſtantly cried out, that as ſoon as it ſhould be ſeen by the people of Bolabola, they would attack the inhabitants of Ulietea, who would be obliged to endeavour to preſerve their lives by fleeing with the utmoſt precipitation to the mountains. On the ſixth of October land was diſcovered, which appeared to be large. When, on the next day, it was more diſtinctly viſible, it aſſumed a ſtill larger appearance, and diſplayed four or five ranges of hills, riſing one over the other, above all which was a chain of mountains of an enormous height. This land naturally became the ſubject of much eager converſation; and the general opinion of the Gentlemen on board the Endeavour was, that they had found the *Terra auſtralis incognita*. In fact, it was a part of New Zealand, where the firſt adventures the Engliſh met with were very unpleaſant, on account of the hoſtile diſpoſition of the inhabitants. Lieutenant Cook, having anchored, on the eighth, in a bay, at the entrance of a ſmall river, went on ſhore in

(*m*) The latitude of the ſhip was 38° 20′ ſouth, and the longitude, by log, 147° 6′ weſt.

[*E*] *Ulietea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tubai, and Maurua.*] Theſe Iſlands are ſituated between the latitude of 16° 10′ and 16° 55′ ſouth, and between the longitude of 150° 57′ and 152° Weſt from the meridian of Greenwich. The ſmaller Iſlands diſcovered, or ſeen, in the neighbourhood of Otaheite and the Society Iſles, were Tethuroa, Eimeo, Tapoamanao, Oatara, Opururu, Tamou, Toahoutu, and Whennuaia.

[*F*] *Having no motive that could juſtify the riſk of life.*] Oheteroa is ſituated in the latitude of 22° 27′ South, and in the longitude of 150° 47′ Weſt from the meridian of Greenwich. It is thirteen miles in circuit, and rather high than low; but it did not appear to be equal, either in populouſneſs or fertility, to the other iſlands which had been ſeen in theſe ſeas.

the evening, with the pinnace and yawl, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and attended with a party of men. Being desirous of conversing with some natives whom he had observed on the opposite side of the river from that on which he had landed, he ordered the yawl in, to carry himself and his companions over, and left the pinnace at the entrance. When they came near the place where the Indians were assembled, the latter all ran away; and the Gentlemen, having left four boys to take care of the yawl, walked up to several huts which were about two or three hundred yards from the water-side. They had not gone very far, when four men, armed with long lances, rushed out of the woods, and running up to attack the boat would certainly have cut her off, if they had not been discovered by the people in the pinnace, who called to the boys to drop down the stream. The boys instantly obeyed; but being closely pursued by the natives, the cock-swain of the pinnace, to whom the charge of the boat was committed, fired a musquet over their heads. At this they stopped and looked around them; but their alarm speedily subsiding, they brandished their lances in a threatening manner, and in a few minutes renewed the pursuit. The firing of a second musquet over their heads did not draw from them any kind of notice. At last, one of them having lifted up his spear to dart it at the boat, another piece was fired, by which he was shot dead. At the fall of their associate, the three remaining Indians stood for a while motionless, and seemed petrified with astonishment. No sooner had they recovered themselves, than they went back, dragging after them the dead body, which, however, they were obliged to leave, that it might not retard their flight. Lieutenant Cook and his friends, who had straggled to a little distance from each other, were drawn together upon the report of the first musquet, and returned speedily to the boat, in which having crossed the river, they soon beheld the Indian lying dead upon the ground. After their return to the ship, they could hear the people on shore talking with great earnestness, and in a very loud tone of voice (*n*). Notwithstanding this disaster, the Lieutenant, being desirous of establishing an intercourse with the natives, ordered, on the following day, three boats to be manned with seamen and marines, and proceeded towards the shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, the other Gentlemen, and Tupia. About fifty of the inhabitants seemed to wait for their landing, having seated themselves upon the ground, on the opposite side of the river. This being regarded as a sign of fear, Mr. Cook, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, advanced towards them; but they had not gone many paces before all the Indians started up, and every man produced either a long pike, or a small weapon of green talk. Though Tupia called to them in the language of Otaheite, they only answered by flourishing their weapons, and making signs for the Gentlemen to depart. On a musquet's being fired wide of them, they desisted from their threats, and our Commander, who had prudently retreated till the marines could be landed, again advanced towards them, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, to whom were now added Mr. Green and Mr. Monkhouse. Tupia was a second time directed to speak to them, and it was perceived with great pleasure that he was perfectly understood, his and their language being the same, excepting only in a diversity of dialect. He informed them that our Voyagers only wanted provision and water, in exchange for iron, the properties of which he explained as far as he was able. Though the natives seemed willing to trade, Tupia was sensible, during the course of his conversation with them, that their intentions were unfriendly; and of this he repeatedly warned the English Gentlemen. At length, twenty or thirty of the Indians were induced to cross the river, upon which presents were made them of iron and beads. On these they appeared to set little value, and particularly on the iron, not having the least conception of its use, so that nothing was obtained in return excepting a few feathers. Their arms, indeed, they offered to exchange for those of our Voyagers, and this being refused, they made various attempts to snatch them out of their hands. Tupia was now instructed to acquaint the Indians, that our Gentlemen would be obliged to kill them, if they proceeded to any farther violence; notwithstanding which, one of them, while Mr. Green happened to turn about, seized his hanger, and retired to a little distance, with a shout of exultation. The others, at the same time, began to be extremely insolent, and more of the natives were seen coming to join them from the opposite side of the river. It being, therefore, necessary to repress them, Mr. Banks fired, with small shot, at the distance of about fifteen yards, upon the man who had taken the hanger. Though he was struck, he did not return the hanger, but continued to wave it round his head, while he slowly made his retreat. Mr. Monkhouse then fired at him with ball, and he instantly dropped. So far, however, were the Indians from being sufficiently terrified, that the main body of them, who, upon the first discharge, had retired to a rock in the middle of the river, began to return, and it was with no small difficulty that Mr. Monkhouse secured the hanger. The whole number of them continuing to advance, three of the English party discharged their pieces at them, loaded only with small shot, upon which they swam back for the shore, and it appeared, upon their landing, that two or three of them were wounded. While they retired slowly up the country, Lieutenant Cook and his companions reimbarked in their boats. As the Lieutenant had unhappily experienced that nothing, at this place, could be done with these people, and found that the water in the

(*n*) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 280—286.

(*p*) *Ibid.*

river was ſalt, he proceeded in the boats, round the head of the bay, in ſearch of freſh water. Beſide this, he had formed a deſign of ſurprizing ſome of the natives, and taking them on board, that, by kind treatment and preſents, he might obtain their friendſhip, and render them the inſtruments of eſtabliſhing for him an amicable intercourſe with their countrymen. While, upon account of a dangerous ſurf which every where beat upon the ſhore, the boats were prevented from landing, our Commander ſaw two canoes coming in from the ſea, one under ſail, and the other worked with paddles. This he thought to be a favourable opportunity for executing his purpoſe. Accordingly, the boats were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as appeared moſt likely to be ſucceſsful in intercepting the canoes. Notwithſtanding this, the Indians, in the canoe which was paddled, exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, at the firſt apprehenſion of danger, that they eſcaped to the neareſt land. The other canoe ſailed on without diſcerning the Engliſh, till ſhe was in the midſt of them; but no ſooner had ſhe diſcovered them than the people on board ſtruck their ſail, and plied their paddles ſo briſkly as to outrun the boat by which they were purſued. Being within hearing, Tupia called to them to come alongſide, with aſſurances that they ſhould not in any degree be hurt or injured. They truſted, however, more to their own paddles, than to Tupia's promiſes, and continued to flee from our Navigators with all their power. Mr. Cook, as the leaſt exceptionable expedient of accompliſhing his deſign, ordered a muſquet to be fired over their heads. This, he hoped, would either make them ſurrender or leap into the water, but it produced a contrary effect. The Indians, who were ſeven in number, immediately formed a reſolution not to fly, but to fight. When, therefore, the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with ſtones and other offenſive weapons; and they carried it on with ſo much vigour and violence, that the Engliſh thought themſelves obliged to fire upon them in their own defence; the conſequence of which was, that four were unhappily killed. The other three, who were boys, the eldeſt about nineteen, and the youngeſt about eleven, inſtantly leaped into the water, and endeavoured to make their eſcape; but being with ſome difficulty overpowered by our people, they were brought into the boat (*o*). It is impoſſible to reflect upon this part of Lieutenant Cook's conduct with any degree of ſatisfaction. He, himſelf, upon a calm review, did not approve of it; and he was ſenſible that it would be cenſured by the feelings of every reader of humanity. It is probable that his mind was ſo far irritated by the diſagreeable preceding events of this unfortunate day, and by the unexpected violence of the Indians in the canoe, as to loſe ſomewhat of that ſelf-poſſeſſion by which his character in general was eminently diſtinguiſhed. Candour, however, requires that I ſhould relate what he hath offered in extenuation, not in defence, of the tranſaction; and this ſhall be done in his own words, as they are given us by Dr. Hawkeſworth. "Theſe "people certainly did not deſerve death for not chooſing to confide in my promiſes, or "not conſenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger. "But the nature of my ſervice required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, "which I could no otherwiſe effect than by forcing my way into it in a hoſtile manner, "or gaining admiſſion through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had "already tried the power of preſents without effect; and I was now prompted, by my "deſire to avoid farther hoſtilities, to get ſome of them on board, as the only method left of "convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute "to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not "criminal; and though in the conteſt, which I had not the leaſt reaſon to expect, our "victory might have been complete without ſo great an expence of life; yet in ſuch ſitu-"ations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can reſtrain its exceſs, or "preſcribe its effect (*p*)."

(*o*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 286—290.

(*p*) *Ibid.*

Our Voyagers were ſucceſsful in conciliating the minds of the three boys; to which Tupia particularly contributed. When their fears were allayed, and their chearfulneſs returned, they ſang a ſong with a degree of taſte that ſurprized the Engliſh Gentlemen. The tune, like thoſe of our pſalms, was ſolemn and ſlow, containing many notes and ſemitones. Some farther attempts were made to eſtabliſh an intercourſe with the natives, and Mr. Cook and his friends, on the tenth, went on ſhore for this purpoſe; but being unſucceſsful in their endeavours, they reſolved to re-imbark, leſt their ſtay ſhould embroil them in another quarrel, and coſt more of the Indians their lives. On the next day, the Lieutenant weighed anchor, and ſtood away from this unfortunate and inhoſpitable place. As it had not afforded a ſingle article that was wanted, excepting wood, he gave it the name of Poverty Bay. By the inhabitants it is called Taoneroa, or Long Sand (*q*). I ſhall not regularly purſue the courſe of our Commander round New Zealand. In this courſe he ſpent nearly ſix months, and made large additions to the knowledge of navigation and geography. By making almoſt the whole circuit of New Zealand, he aſcertained it to be two Iſlands, with a ſtrength of evidence which no prejudice could gainſay or reſiſt. He obtained, likewiſe, a full acquaintance with the inhabitants of the different parts of the country, with regard to whom it was clearly proved, that they are eaters of human fleſh. Referring to the voyage at large for a more particular diſplay of a great number of circumſtances, I ſhall only ſelect a few things which mark Mr. Cook's perſonal conduct, and

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 290, 291. 293. 296. Taoneroa lies in latitude 38° 42′ ſouth, and longitude 181° 36′ weſt.

relate to his intercourſe with the natives. The good uſage the three boys had met with, and the friendly and generous manner in which they were diſmiſſed to their own homes, had ſome effect in ſoftening the diſpoſitions of the neighbouring Indians. Several of them, who had come on board while the ſhip lay becalmed in the afternoon, manifeſted every ſign of friendſhip, and cordially invited the Engliſh to go back to their old bay, or to a cove which was not quite ſo far off. But Lieutenant Cook choſe rather to proſecute his diſcoveries, having reaſon to hope that he ſhould find a better harbour than any he had yet ſeen. While the ſhip was hauling round to the South end of a ſmall Iſland, which the Lieutenant had named Portland (*r*), from its very great reſemblance to Portland in the Britiſh Channel, ſhe ſuddenly fell into ſhoal water and broken ground. The ſoundings were never twice the ſame, jumping at once from ſeven fathom to eleven. However, they were always ſeven fathom or more; and in a ſhort time the Endeavour got clear of danger, and again ſailed in deep water. While the ſhip was in apparent diſtreſs, the inhabitants of the Iſland, who, in vaſt numbers, ſat on its white cliffs, and could not avoid perceiving ſome appearance of confuſion on board, and ſome irregularity in the working of the veſſel, were deſirous of taking advantage of her critical ſituation. Accordingly, five canoes, full of men, and well armed, were put off with the utmoſt expedition; and they came ſo near, and ſhewed ſo hoſtile a diſpoſition, by ſhouting, brandiſhing their lances, and uſing threatening geſtures, that the Lieutenant was in pain for his ſmall boat, which was ſtill employed in ſounding. By a muſquet, which he ordered to be fired over them, they were rather provoked than intimidated. The firing of a four-pounder, loaded with grape-ſhot, though purpoſely diſcharged wide of them, produced a better effect. Upon the report of the piece, the Indians all roſe up and ſhouted; but, inſtead of continuing the chace, they collected themſelves together, and, after a ſhort conſultation, went quietly away. On the fourteenth of October, Lieutenant Cook having hoiſted out his pinnace and long-boat to ſearch for water, juſt as they were about to ſet off, ſeveral boats, full of the New Zealand people, were ſeen coming from the ſhore. After ſome time, five of theſe boats, having on board between eighty and ninety men, made towards the ſhip; and four more followed at no great diſtance, as if to ſuſtain the attack. When the firſt five had gotten within about a hundred yards of the Endeavour, they began to ſing their war ſong, and brandiſhing their pikes, prepared for an engagement. As the Lieutenant was extremely deſirous of avoiding the unhappy neceſſity of uſing fire-arms againſt the natives, Tupia was ordered to acquaint them, that our Voyagers had weapons which, like thunder, would deſtroy them in a moment; that they would immediately convince them of their power by directing their effect ſo that they ſhould not be hurt; but that if they perſiſted in any hoſtile attempt, they would be expoſed to the direct attack of theſe formidable weapons. A four-pounder, loaded with grape-ſhot, was then fired wide of them; and this expedient was fortunately attended with ſucceſs. The report, the flaſh, and, above all, the ſhot, which ſpread very far in the water, terrified the Indians to ſuch a degree, that they began to paddle away with all their might. At the inſtance, however, of Tupia, the people of one of the boats were induced to lay aſide their arms, and to come under the ſtern of the Endeavour; in conſequence of which they received a variety of preſents. On the next day a circumſtance occurred, which ſhewed how ready one of the inhabitants of New Zealand was to take an advantage of our Navigators. In a large armed canoe, which came boldly alongſide of the ſhip, was a man who had a black ſkin thrown over him, ſomewhat like that of a bear. Mr. Cook being deſirous of knowing to what animal it originally belonged, offered the Indian for it a piece of red baize. With this bargain he ſeemed to be greatly pleaſed, immediately pulling off the ſkin, and holding it up in the boat. He would not, however, part with it till he had the cloth in his poſſeſſion; and as there could be no transfer of property, if equal caution ſhould be exerciſed on both ſides, the Lieutenant ordered the baize to be delivered into his hands. Upon this, inſtead of ſending up the ſkin, he began, with amazing coolneſs, to pack up both that and the cloth, which he had received as the purchaſe of it, in a baſket: nor did he pay the leaſt regard to Mr. Cook's demand or remonſtrances, but ſoon after put off from the Engliſh veſſel. Our Commander was too generous to revenge this inſult by any act of ſeverity. During the courſe of a traffic which was carrying on for ſome fiſh, little Tayeto, Tupia's boy, was placed among others over the ſhip's ſide, to hand up what was purchaſed. While he was thus employed, one of the New Zealanders, watching his opportunity, ſuddenly ſeized him, and dragged him into a canoe. Two of the natives then held him down in the fore part of it, and the others, with great activity, paddled her off with all poſſible celerity. An action ſo violent rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary that the marines, who were in arms upon the deck, ſhould be ordered to fire. Though the ſhot was directed to that part of the canoe which was fartheſt from the boy, and ſomewhat wide of her, it being thought preferable rather to miſs the rowers than to run the hazard of hurting Tayeto, it happened that one man dropped. This occaſioned the Indians to quit their hold of the youth, who inſtantly leaped into the water, and ſwam towards the ſhip. In the mean while, the largeſt of the canoes pulled round and followed him; and till ſome muſquets and a great gun were fired at her, did not deſiſt from the purſuit. The ſhip being brought to, a boat was lowered, and the poor boy was taken

(*r*) The natives call it TEAHOW BAY.

taken up unhurt. Some of the Gentlemen, who with their glaſſes traced the canoes to ſhore, agreed in aſſerting, that they ſaw three men carried up the beach, who appeared to be either dead or wholly diſabled by their wounds [*G*]. While, on the eighteenth, the Endeavour lay a-breaſt of a peninſula within Portland Iſland, called TERAKAKO, two of the natives, who were judged to be Chiefs, placed an extraordinary degree of confidence in Mr. Cook. They were ſo well pleaſed with the kindneſs which had been ſhewn them in a viſit to the ſhip, that they determined not to go on ſhore till the next morning. This was a circumſtance by no means agreeable to the Lieutenant, and he remonſtrated againſt it; but as they perſiſted in their reſolution, he agreed to comply with it, provided their ſervants alſo were taken on board, and their canoe hoiſted into the ſhip. The countenance of one of theſe two Chiefs was the moſt open and ingenuous that our Commander had ever ſeen, ſo that he ſoon gave up every ſuſpicion of his entertaining any ſiniſter deſign. When the gueſts were put on ſhore the next morning, they expreſſed ſome ſurprize at ſeeing themſelves ſo far from their habitations. On Monday the twenty-third, while the ſhip was in Tegadoo Bay, Lieutenant Cook went on ſhore to examine the watering-place, and found every thing agreeable to his wiſhes. The boat landed in the cove, without the leaſt ſurf; the water was excellent, and conveniently ſituated; there was plenty of wood cloſe to the high water mark; and the diſpoſition of the people was as favourable in all reſpects as could be deſired [*H*]. Early the next morning, our Commander ſent Lieutenant Gore to ſuperintend the cutting of wood and filling of water, with a ſufficient number of men for both purpoſes, and all the marines as a guard. Soon after, he went on ſhore himſelf, and continued there during the whole day. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who had landed on the ſame day, found in their walks ſeveral things worthy of notice. As they were advancing in one of the valleys, the hills on each ſide of which were very ſteep, they were ſuddenly ſtruck with the ſight of an extraordinary natural curioſity. "It was a rock, perforated through its whole ſubſtance, ſo as to form a rude but ſtupen- "dous arch or cavern, opening directly to the ſea. This aperture was ſeventy-five feet "long, twenty-ſeven broad, and five and forty feet high, commanding a view of the bay "and the hills on the other ſide, which were ſeen through it; and, opening at once upon "the view, produced an effect far ſuperior to any of the contrivances of art (*s*)." When, on the twenty-eighth, the Gentlemen of the Endeavour went on ſhore upon an Iſland which lies to the left hand of the entrance of Tolaga Bay, they ſaw there the largeſt canoe they had yet met with; her length being ſixty-eight feet and a half, her breadth five feet, and her height three feet ſix inches. In the ſame Iſland was a larger houſe than any they had hitherto ſeen; but it was in an unfiniſhed ſtate, and full of chips [*I*]. While the ſhip was in Hicks's Bay, the inhabitants of the adjoining coaſt were found to be very hoſtile. This gave much uneaſineſs to our Navigators, and was, indeed, contrary to their expectation; for they had hoped, that the report of their power and clemency had ſpread to a greater extent. At day-break, on the firſt of November, they counted no leſs than five and forty canoes that were coming from the ſhore towards the Endeavour; and theſe were followed by ſeveral more from another place. Some of the Indians traded fairly; but others of them took what was handed down to them without making any return, and added deriſion to fraud. The inſolence of one of them was very remarkable. Some linen hanging over the ſhip's ſide to dry, this man, without any ceremony, untied it, and put it up in his bundle. Being immediately called to, and required to return it, inſtead of doing ſo, he let his canoe drop a-ſtern, and laughed at the Engliſh. A muſquet which was fired over his head did not put a ſtop to his mirth. From a ſecond muſquet, which was loaded with ſmall ſhot, he ſhrunk a little, when the ſhot ſtruck him upon his back; but he regarded it no more than one of our men would have done the ſtroke of a rattan, and continued with great compoſure to pack up the linen which he had ſtolen. All the canoes now dropped a-ſtern, and ſet up their ſong of defiance, which laſted till they were at about four hundred yards diſtance from the ſhip. As they did not appear to have a deſign of attacking our Voyagers, Lieutenant Cook was unwilling to do them any hurt; and yet he thought that their going off in a bravado might have a bad effect when it ſhould be reported on ſhore. To convince them, therefore, that they were ſtill in his power, though far beyond the reach of any miſſile weapon with which they were acquainted, he

(*s*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 308, 309. 317, 318.

[*G*] *Who appeared to be either dead or wholly diſabled by their wounds.*] To the cape off which this unhappy tranſaction happened, Mr. Cook gave the name of CAPE KIDNAPPERS. It lies in latitude 39° 43′, and longitude 182° 24′ weſt. Its diſtance from the Iſle of Portland is thirteen leagues ſouth weſt and weſt. Between them is the bay of which it is the ſouth point, and which, in honour of Sir Edward Hawke, the Lieutenant called Hawke's Bay (4).

(4) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 298—306.

[*H*] *And the diſpoſition of the people was as favourable in all reſpects as could be deſired.*] Mr. Cook, with Mr. Green, having taken ſeveral obſervations of the ſun and moon, the mean reſult of them gave 180° 47′ weſt longitude; but, as all the obſervations made before exceeded theſe, the Lieutenant laid down the coaſt from the mean of the whole. At noon, this day, he took the ſun's meridian altitude with an aſtronomical quadrant which was ſet up at the watering-place, and found the latitude to be 38° 22′ 24″.

[*I*] *But it was in an unfiniſhed ſtate, and full of chips.*] Among other trifling curioſities, which Dr. Solander purchaſed of the Indians, was a boy's top, ſhaped exactly like thoſe which children play with in England; and the natives ſhewed, by ſigns, that it was to be whipped in order to make it ſpin (5).

(5) *Ibid.* p. 118—120.

ordered a four-pounder to be fired in ſuch a manner as to paſs near them. As the ſhot happened to ſtrike the water, and to riſe ſeveral times at a great diſtance beyond the canoes, the Indians were ſo much terrified, that, without once looking behind them, they paddled away as faſt as they were able. In ſtanding weſtward from a ſmall Iſland called Mowtohora, the Endeavour ſuddenly ſhoaled her water from ſeventeen to ten fathom. As the Lieutenant knew that ſhe was not far from ſome ſmall iſlands and rocks which had been ſeen before it was dark, and which he had intended to have paſſed that evening, he thought it more prudent to tack, and to ſpend the night under Mowtohora, where he was certain that there was no danger. It was happy for himſelf and for all our Voyagers that he formed this reſolution. In the morning they diſcovered, a-head of them, ſeveral rocks, ſome of which were level with the ſurface of the water, and ſome below it; and the ſtriking againſt which could not in the hour of darkneſs have been avoided. In paſſing between theſe rocks and the main, the ſhip had only from ten to ſeven fathom water (*t*). While Mr. Cook was near an Iſland which he called the MAYOR, the inhabitants of the neighbouring coaſt diſplayed many inſtances of hoſtility, and, in their traffic with our Navigators, committed various acts of fraud and robbery. As the Lieutenant intended to continue in the place five or ſix days, in order to make an obſervation of the tranſit of Mercury, it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the prevention of future miſchief, to convince theſe people that the Engliſh were not to be ill-treated with impunity. Accordingly, ſome ſmall ſhot were fired at a thief of uncommon inſolence, and a muſquet-ball was diſcharged through the bottom of his boat. Upon this it was paddled to about a hundred yards diſtance; and, to the ſurprize of Mr. Cook and his friends, the Indians in the other canoes took not the leaſt notice of their wounded companion, though he bled very much, but returned to the ſhip, and continued to trade with the moſt perfect indifference and unconcern. For a conſiderable time they dealt fairly. At laſt, however, one of them thought fit to move off with two different pieces of cloth which had been given for the ſame weapon. When he had gotten to ſuch a diſtance that he thought himſelf ſecure of his prizes, a muſquet was fired after him, which fortunately ſtruck the boat juſt at the water's edge, and made two holes in her ſide. This excited ſuch an alarm, that not only the people who were ſhot at, but all the reſt of the canoes, made off with the utmoſt expedition. As the laſt proof of ſuperiority, our Commander ordered a round ſhot to be fired over them, and not a boat ſtopped till they got to land. After an early breakfaſt on the ninth of November, Lieutenant Cook went on ſhore, with Mr. Green, and proper inſtruments, to obſerve the tranſit of Mercury. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were of the party. The weather had for ſome time been very thick, with much rain; but this day proved ſo favourable, that not a cloud intervened during the whole tranſit. The obſervation of the ingreſs was made by Mr. Green alone, Mr. Cook being employed in taking the ſun's altitude to aſcertain the time [*K*]. While the Gentlemen were thus engaged on ſhore, they were alarmed by the firing of a great gun from the ſhip; and on their return received the following account of the tranſaction from Mr. Gore, the ſecond Lieutenant, who had been left commanding officer on board. During the carrying on of a trade with ſome ſmall canoes, two very large ones came up, full of men. In one of the canoes were forty-ſeven perſons, all of whom were armed with pikes, ſtones, and darts, and aſſumed the appearance of a hoſtile intention. However, after a little time, they began to traffic, ſome of them offering their arms, and one of them a ſquare piece of cloth, which makes a part of their dreſs, called a *Haahow*. Mr. Gore having agreed for it, ſent down the price, which was a piece of Britiſh cloth, and expected his purchaſe. But as ſoon as the Indian had gotten Mr. Gore's cloth in his poſſeſſion, he refuſed to part with his own, and put off his canoe. Upon being threatened for his fraud, he and his companions began to ſing their war ſong in defiance, and ſhook their paddles. Though their inſolence did not proceed to an attack, and only defied Mr. Gore to take any remedy in his power, he was ſo provoked, that he levelled a muſquet loaded with ball at the offender, while he was holding the cloth in his hand, and ſhot him dead. When the Indian fell, all the canoes put off to ſome diſtance, but continued to keep together in ſuch a manner that it was apprehended they might ſtill meditate an attack. To ſecure, therefore, a ſafe paſſage for the boat of the Endeavour, which was wanted on ſhore, a round ſhot was fired with ſo much effect over their heads, as to make them all flee with the utmoſt precipitation. It was matter of regret to Lieutenant Cook that Mr. Gore had not, in the caſe of the offending Indian, tried the experiment of a few ſmall ſhot, which had been ſucceſsful in former inſtances of robbery.

(*t*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, P. 325—327.

[*K*] *Mr. Cook being employed in taking the ſun's altitude to aſcertain the time.*] The tranſit came on at 7h. 20′ 58″ apparent time. According to Mr. Green's obſervations, the internal contact was at 12h. 8′ 58″, the external at 12h. 9′ 55″ P. M. According to Mr. Cook's, the internal contact was at 12h. 8′ 54″, and the external 12h. 9′ 48″. The latitude of the place of obſervation was 36° 48′ 5½″. The latitude obſerved at noon was 36° 48′ 28″. The mean of this and of an obſervation made the day before gave 36° 48′ 28″ ſouth, the latitude of the place of obſervation. The variation of the compaſs was 11° 9′ eaſt.

On the preceding day, the Lieutenant had obſerved the ſun's meridional zenith diſtance by an aſtronomical quadrant, which gave the latitude 36° 47′ 43″ within the ſouth entrance of Mercury Bay.

On Friday the tenth, our Commander, accompanied by Mr. Banks and the other Gentlemen, went with two boats, to examine a large river that empties itſelf into the head of Mercury Bay. As the ſituation they were now in abounded with conveniencies, the Lieutenant has taken care to point them out for the benefit of future navigators. If any occaſion ſhould ever render it neceſſary for a ſhip either to winter here, or to ſtay for a conſiderable length of time, tents might be built on a high point or peninſula in this place, upon ground ſufficiently ſpacious for the purpoſe; and they might eaſily be made impregnable to the whole force of the country. Indeed, the moſt ſkilful engineer in Europe could not chooſe a ſituation better adapted to enable a ſmall number to defend themſelves againſt a greater. Among other accommodations which the Endeavour's company met with in Mercury Bay, they derived an agreeable refreſhment from ſome oyſter beds, which they had fortunately diſcovered. The oyſters, which were as good as ever came from Colcheſter, and about the ſame ſize, were ſo plentiful, that not the boat only, but the ſhip itſelf, might have been loaded in one tide (*t*). On Wedneſday, the fifteenth, Lieutenant Cook ſailed out of MERCURY BAY. This name had been given to it on account of the obſervation which had there been made of the tranſit of that planet over the ſun (*u*). The river where oyſters had been ſo plentifully found, he called OYSTER RIVER. There is another river, at the head of the bay, which is the beſt and ſafeſt place for a ſhip that wants to ſtay any length of time. From the number of mangroves about it, the Lieutenant named it MANGROVE RIVER. In ſeveral parts of Mercury Bay, our Voyagers ſaw, thrown upon the ſhore, great quantities of iron ſand, which is brought down by every little rivulet of freſh water that finds its way from the country. This is a demonſtration that there is ore of that metal not far inland; and yet none of the inhabitants of New Zealand who had yet been ſeen knew the uſe of iron, or ſet upon it the leaſt degree of value. They had all of them preferred the moſt worthleſs and uſeleſs trifle, not only to a nail, but to any tool of that metal. Before the Endeavour left the bay, the ſhip's name and that of the Commander were cut upon one of the trees near the watering place, together with the date of the year and month when our Navigators were there. Beſides this, Mr. Cook, after diſplaying the Engliſh colours, took formal poſſeſſion of the place in the name of his Britannic Majeſty, King George the Third (*w*). In the range from Mercury Bay, ſeveral canoes, on the eighteenth, put off from different places, and advanced towards the Endeavour. When two of them, in which there might be about ſixty men, came within reach of the human voice, the Indians ſang their war ſong; but ſeeing that little notice was taken of them, they threw a few ſtones at the Engliſh, and then rowed off towards the ſhore. In a ſhort time, however, they returned, as if with a fixed reſolution to provoke our Voyagers to a battle, animating themſelves by their ſong as they had done before. Tupia, without any directions from the Gentlemen of the Endeavour, began to expoſtulate with the natives, and told them that our people had weapons which could deſtroy them in a moment. Their anſwer to this expoſtulation was, in their own language, "come on ſhore, and we will kill you all." "Well, replied Tupia, but why ſhould you "moleſt us while we are at ſea? As we do not wiſh to fight, we ſhall not accept your "challenge to come on ſhore; and here there is no pretence for a quarrel, the ſea being "no more your property than the ſhip." This eloquence, which greatly ſurprized Lieutenant Cook and his friends, as they had not ſuggeſted to Tupia any of the arguments he made uſe of, produced no effect upon the minds of the Indians, who ſoon renewed their attack. The oratory of a muſquet, which was fired through one of their boats, quelled their courage, and ſent them inſtantly away. While our Commander was in the Bay of Iſlands, he had a favourable opportunity of examining the interior part of the country and its produce. At day break, therefore, on the twentieth of the month, he ſet out in the pinnace and long-boat, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, and found the inlet at which they entered end in a river, about nine miles above the ſhip. Up this river, to which was given the name of the Thames, they proceeded till near noon, when they were fourteen miles within its entrance. As the Gentlemen then found the face of the country to continue nearly the ſame, without any alteration in the courſe of the ſtream, and had no hope of tracing it to its ſource, they landed on the Weſt ſide, to take a view of the lofty trees which every where adorned its banks. The trees were of a kind which they had ſeen before, both in Poverty Bay and Hawke's Bay, though only at a diſtance. They had not walked a hundred yards into the woods, when they met with one of the trees, which, at the height of ſix feet above the ground, was nineteen feet eight inches in the girt. Lieutenant Cook, having a quadrant with him, meaſured its height from the root to the firſt branch, and found it to be eighty-nine feet. It was as ſtrait as an arrow, and tapered but very little in proportion to its height; ſo that, in the Lieutenant's judgment, there muſt have been three hundred and fifty-ſix feet of ſolid timber in it, excluſive of the branches. As the party advanced, they ſaw many other trees, which were ſtill larger. A young one they cut down, the wood of which was heavy and ſolid, not fit for maſts, but ſuch as would make the fineſt plank in the world. The Carpenter of the ſhip, who was with the party, ſaid that the timber reſembled that of the pitch-pine, which is lightened by tapping. If it ſhould appear that ſome ſuch method would be ſuc-

(*t*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 331—341.

(*u*) Mercury Bay lies in latitude 36° 47′ South; and in the longitude of 184° 4′ Weſt.

(*w*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 346—348.

ceſsful in lightening theſe trees, they would then furniſh maſts ſuperior to thoſe of any country in Europe. As the wood was ſwampy, the Gentlemen could not range far; but they found many ſtout trees of other kinds, with which they were totally unacquainted, and ſpecimens of which they brought away. On the twenty-ſecond, another inſtance occurred, in which the commanding officer left on board did not know how to exerciſe his power with the good ſenſe and moderation of Mr. Cook. While ſome of the natives were in the ſhip below with Mr. Banks, a young man who was upon the deck ſtole a half-minute glaſs, and was detected juſt as he was carrying it off. Mr. Hicks, in his indignation againſt the offender, was pleaſed to order that he ſhould be puniſhed, by giving him twelve laſhes with a cat-o'nine tails. When the other Indians who were on board ſaw him ſeized for this purpoſe, they attempted to reſcue him; and being reſiſted, they called for their arms, which were handed from the canoes. At the ſame time, the people of one of the canoes attempted to come up the ſide of the Endeavour. The tumult having called up Mr. Banks and Tupia, the natives ran to the latter, and ſolicited his interpoſition. All, however, which he could do, as Mr. Hicks continued inexorable, was to aſſure them that nothing was intended againſt the life of their companion, and that it was neceſſary that he ſhould ſuffer ſome puniſhment for his offence. With this explanation they appeared to be ſatisfied; and when the puniſhment had been inflicted, an old man among the ſpectators, who was ſuppoſed to be the criminal's father, gave him a ſevere beating, and ſent him down into his canoe. Notwithſtanding this, the Indians were far from being reconciled to the treatment which their countryman had received. Their chearful confidence was gone; and though they promiſed, at their departure, to return with ſome fiſh, the Engliſh ſaw them no more (*x*). On the twenty-ninth of November, Lieutenant Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and others with them, were in a ſituation ſomewhat critical and alarming. Having landed upon an Iſland in the neighbourhood of Cape Bret, they were in a few minutes ſurrounded by two or three hundred people. Though the Indians were all armed, they came on in ſo confuſed and ſtraggling a manner, that it did not appear that any injury was intended by them; and the Engliſh Gentlemen were determined that hoſtilities ſhould not begin on their part. At firſt the natives continued quiet; but their weapons were held ready to ſtrike, and they ſeemed to be rather irreſolute than peaceable. While the Lieutenant and his friends remained in this ſtate of ſuſpence, another party of Indians came up; and the boldneſs of the whole body being increaſed by the augmentation of their numbers, they began the dance and ſong, which are their preludes to a battle. An attempt that was made by a number of them, to ſeize the two boats which had brought our Voyagers to land, appeared to be the ſignal for a general attack. It now became neceſſary for Mr. Cook to exert himſelf with vigour. Accordingly, he diſcharged his muſquet, which was loaded with ſmall ſhot, at one of the foremoſt of the aſſailants, and Mr. Banks and two of our men fired immediately afterwards. Though this made the natives fall back in ſome confuſion, nevertheleſs, one of the Chiefs, who was at the diſtance of about twenty yards, had the courage to rally them, and, calling loudly to his companions, led them on to the charge. Dr. Solander inſtantly diſcharged his piece at this champion, who, upon feeling the ſhot, ſtopped ſhort, and then ran away with the reſt of his countrymen. Still, however, they did not diſperſe, but got upon riſing ground, and ſeemed only to want ſome leader of reſolution to renew their aſſault. As they were now gotten beyond the reach of ſmall ſhot, the Engliſh fired with ball, none of which taking place, the Indians continued together in a body. While our people were in this doubtful ſituation, which laſted about a quarter of an hour, the ſhip, from which a much greater number of natives were ſeen than could be diſcovered on ſhore, brought her broadſide to bear, and entirely diſperſed them, by firing a few ſhot over their heads. In this ſkirmiſh, only two of them were hurt with the ſmall ſhot, and not a ſingle life was loſt; a caſe which would not have happened if Lieutenant Cook had not reſtrained his men, who, either from fear or the love of miſchief, ſhewed as much impatience to deſtroy the Indians as a ſportſman to kill his game. Such was the difference between the diſpoſition of the common ſeamen and marines, and that of their humane and judicious Commander (*y*). On the ſame day Mr. Cook diſplayed a very exemplary act of diſcipline. Some of the ſhip's people, who, when the natives were to be puniſhed for a fraud, aſſumed the inexorable juſtice of a Lycurgus, thought fit to break into one of their plantations, and to dig up a quantity of potatoes. For this the Lieutenant ordered each of them to receive twelve laſhes, after which two of them were diſcharged. But the third, in a ſingular ſtrain of morality, inſiſted upon it that it was no crime in an Engliſhman to plunder an Indian plantation. The method taken by our Commander to refute his caſuiſtry, was to ſend him back to his confinement, and not to permit him to be releaſed till he had been puniſhed with ſix laſhes more. The Endeavour, on the fifth of December, was in the moſt imminent hazard of being wrecked. At four o'clock in the morning of that day, our Voyagers weighed, with a light breeze; but it being variable with frequent calms, they made little way. From that time till the afternoon, they kept turning out of the bay, and about ten at night were ſuddenly becalmed, ſo that the ſhip could neither wear nor exactly keep her ſtation. The tide or current ſetting ſtrong, ſhe drove toward

(*x*) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 349—355.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 361—365.

land ſo faſt, that before any meaſures could be taken for her ſecurity, ſhe was within a cable's length of the breakers. Though our people had thirteen fathom water, the ground was ſo foul, that they did not dare to drop their anchor. In this criſis, the pinnace being immediately hoiſted out to take the ſhip in tow, and the men, ſenſible of their danger, exerting themſelves to the utmoſt, a faint breeze ſprang up off the land, and our Navigators perceived with unſpeakable joy that the veſſel made headway. So near was ſhe to the ſhore, that Tupia, who was ignorant of the hair's breadth eſcape the company had experienced, was at this very time converſing with the Indians upon the beach, whoſe voices were diſtinctly heard, notwithſtanding the roar of the breakers. Mr. Cook and his friends now thought that all danger was over; but about an hour afterwards, juſt as the man in the chains had cried "ſeventeen fathom," the ſhip ſtruck. The ſhock threw them into the utmoſt conſternation; and almoſt inſtantly the man in the chain cried out "five fathom." By this time, the rock on which the ſhip had ſtruck being to the windward, ſhe went off without having received the leaſt damage; and the water very ſoon deepening to twenty fathom, ſhe again ſailed in ſecurity. The inhabitants in the Bay of Iſlands were found to be far more numerous than in any other part of New Zealand which Lieutenant Cook had hitherto viſited. It did not appear that they were united under one head; and, though their towns were fortified, they ſeemed to live together in perfect amity. The Endeavour, on the ninth of December, lying becalmed in DOUBTLESS BAY, an opportunity was taken to enquire of the natives concerning their country; and our Navigators learned from them, by the help of Tupia, that at the diſtance of three days rowing in their canoes, at a place called MOORE-WHENNUA, the land would take a ſhort turn to the ſouthward, and thence extend no more to the Weſt. This place the Engliſh Gentlemen concluded to be the land diſcovered by Taſman, and which had been named by him CAPE MARIA VAN DIEMEN. The Lieutenant, finding the inhabitants ſo intelligent, enquired farther, if they knew of any country beſides their own. To this they anſwered, that they had never viſited any other; but that their anceſtors had told them that there was a country of great extent, to the North-weſt by North, or North North Weſt, called ULIMAROA, to which ſome people had ſailed in a very large canoe; and that only a part of them had returned, who reported, that after a paſſage of a month, they had ſeen a country where the people eat hogs. On the thirtieth of December, our Navigators ſaw the land, which they judged to be Cape Maria van Diemen, and which correſponded with the account that had been given of it by the Indians. The next day, from the appearance of Mount Camel, they had a demonſtration that, where they now were, the breadth of New Zealand could not be more than two or three miles from ſea to ſea. During this part of the navigation, two particulars occurred which are very remarkable. In latitude 35° South, and in the midſt of ſummer, Lieutenant Cook met with a gale of wind, which, from its ſtrength and continuance, was ſuch as he had ſcarcely ever been in before; and he was three weeks in getting ten leagues to the weſtward, and five weeks in getting fifty leagues; for at this time, being the firſt of January, 1770, it was ſo long ſince he had paſſed Cape Bret. While the gale laſted, our Voyagers were happily at a conſiderable diſtance from the land; ſince otherwiſe it was highly probable that they would never have returned to relate their adventures (z). The ſhore at Queen Charlotte's Sound, where the Engliſh had arrived on the fourteenth of January, ſeemed to form ſeveral bays, into one of which the Lieutenant propoſed to carry the ſhip, which was now become very foul, in order to careen her, to repair ſome defects, and to obtain a recruit of wood and water. At day-break the next morning, he ſtood in for an inlet, and at eight got within the entrance. At nine o'clock, there being little wind, and what there was being variable, the Endeavour was carried by the tide or current within two cables' length of the North-weſt ſhore, where ſhe had fifty-four fathom water. By the help of the boats ſhe was gotten clear; and about two our people anchored in a very ſafe and convenient cove. Soon after, Mr. Cook, with moſt of the Gentlemen, landed upon the coaſt, where they found a fine ſtream of excellent water, and wood in the greateſt plenty. Indeed the land, in this part of the country, was one foreſt, of vaſt extent. As the Gentlemen had brought the ſeine with them, it was hauled once or twice; and with ſuch ſucceſs, that different ſorts of fiſh were caught, amounting nearly to three hundred weight. The equal diſtribution of theſe among the ſhip's company, furniſhed them with a very agreeable refreſhment. When Lieutenant Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and ſome others, landed on the ſixteenth, they met with an Indian family, among whom they found horrid and indiſputable proofs of the cuſtom of eating human fleſh. Not to reſume ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, it may here be obſerved once for all, that evidences of the ſame cuſtom appeared on various occaſions. On the next day a delightful object engaged the attention of our Voyagers. The ſhip lying at the diſtance of ſomewhat leſs than a quarter of a mile from the ſhore, they were awakened by the ſinging of an incredible number of birds, who ſeemed to ſtrain their throats in emulation of each other. This wild melody was infinitely ſuperior to any they had ever heard of the ſame kind, and ſeemed to be like ſmall bells, moſt exquiſitely tuned. It is probable that the diſtance, and the water between, might be of no ſmall advantage to the ſound. Upon enquiry, the Gentlemen were informed that the birds here always began to ſing about

(z) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 366. 368, 369, 370. 372. 378, 379.

about two hours after midnight; and that, continuing their muſic till ſun-riſe, they were ſilent the reſt of the day. In this laſt reſpect, they reſemble the nightingales of our own country. On the eighteenth, Lieutenant Cook went out in the pinnace to take a view of the bay in which the ſhip was now at anchor; and found it to be of great extent, conſiſting of numberleſs ſmall harbours and coves, in every direction. The Lieutenant confined his excurſion to the weſtern ſide, and the coaſt where he landed being an impenetrable foreſt, nothing could be ſeen worthy of notice. As our Commander and his friends were returning, they ſaw a ſingle man in a canoe fiſhing: rowing up to him, to their great ſurprize he took not the leaſt notice of them; and even when they were alongſide of him, continued to follow his occupation, without adverting to them any more than if they had been inviſible. This behaviour was not, however, the reſult either of ſullenneſs or ſtupidity; for upon being requeſted to draw up his net, that it might be examined, he readily complied. He ſhewed, likewiſe, to our people his mode of fiſhing, which was ſimple and ingenious. When, on the nineteenth, the armourer's forge was ſet up, and all hands on board were buſy in careening, and in other neceſſary operations about the veſſel, ſome Indians, who had brought plenty of fiſh, exchanged them for nails, of which they had now begun to perceive the uſe and value. This may be conſidered as one inſtance in which they were enlightened and benefited by their intercourſe with our Navigators. While, on the twenty-ſecond, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander employed themſelves in botanizing near the beach, our Commander, taking a ſeaman with him, aſcended one of the hills of the country. Upon reaching its ſummit, he found the view of the inlet, the head of which he had a little before in vain attempted to diſcover in the pinnace, intercepted by hills ſtill higher than that on which he ſtood, and which were rendered inacceſſible by impenetrable woods. He was, however, amply rewarded for his labour; for he ſaw the ſea on the eaſtern ſide of the country, and a paſſage leading from it to that on the Weſt, a little to the eaſtward of the entrance of the inlet where the ſhip lay. The main land, which was on the South-eaſt ſide of this inlet, appeared to be a narrow ridge of very high hills, and to form part of the South-weſt ſide of the ſtreight. On the oppoſite ſide, the land trended away Eaſt as far as the eye could reach; and to the South-eaſt there was diſcerned an opening to the ſea, which waſhed the eaſtern coaſt. The Lieutenant ſaw, alſo, on the Eaſt ſide of the inlet, ſome Iſlands which he had before taken to be part of the main land. In returning to the ſhip, he examined the harbours and coves that lie behind the Iſlands which he had ſeen from the hills. The next day was employed by him in farther ſurveys and diſcoveries. During a viſit to the Indians, on the twenty-fourth, Tupia being of the party, they were obſerved to be continually talking of guns and ſhooting people. For this ſubject of their converſation, the Engliſh Gentlemen could not at all account. But, after perplexing themſelves with various conjectures, they at length learned, that, on the twenty-firſt, one of our officers, under the pretence of going out to fiſh, had rowed up to a hippah, or village, on the coaſt. When he had done ſo, two or three canoes coming off towards his boat, his fears ſuggeſted that an attack was intended, in conſequence of which three muſquets were fired, one with ſmall ſhot, and two with ball, at the Indians, who retired with the utmoſt precipitation. It is highly probable that they had come out with friendly intentions; for ſuch intentions were expreſſed by their behaviour, both before and afterwards. This action of the officer exhibited a freſh inſtance how little ſome of the people under Lieutenant Cook had imbibed of the wiſe, diſcreet, and humane ſpirit of their Commander. On the morning of the twenty-ſixth, the Lieutenant went again out in the boat, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and entered one of the bays, which lie on the Eaſt ſide of the inlet, in order to obtain another ſight of the ſtreight which paſſed between the eaſtern and weſtern ſeas. Having landed, for this purpoſe, at a convenient place, they climbed a hill of very conſiderable height, from which they had a full view of the ſtreight, with the land on the oppoſite ſhore, which they judged to be about four leagues diſtant. As it was hazy in the horizon, they could not ſee far to the South-eaſt; but Mr. Cook ſaw enough to determine him to ſearch the paſſage with the ſhip, as ſoon as he ſhould put to ſea. The Gentlemen found, on the top of the hill, a parcel of looſe ſtones, with which they erected a pyramid, and left in it ſome muſquet balls, ſmall ſhot, beads, and ſuch other things, which they happened to have about them, as were likely to ſtand the teſt of time. Theſe, not being of Indian workmanſhip, would convince any European who ſhould come to the place and pull it down, that natives of Europe had been there before. After this, the Lieutenant and his friends went to a town of which the Indians had informed them, and which, like one they had already ſeen, was built upon a ſmall Iſland or rock, ſo difficult of acceſs, that they gratified their curioſity at the riſk of their lives. Here, as had been the caſe in former viſits to the inhabitants of that part of the country near which the ſhip now lay, they were received with open arms, carried through the whole of the place, and ſhewn all that it contained. The town conſiſted of between eighty and a hundred houſes, and had only one fighting-ſtage. Mr. Cook, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, happened to have with them a few nails and ribbands, and ſome paper, with which the people were ſo highly gratified, that when the Gentlemen went away, they filled the Engliſh boat with dried fiſh, of which it appeared

that

that they had laid up large quantities. A report was ſpread that one of the men that had been ſo raſhly fired upon by the officer who had viſited the hippah, under the pretence of fiſhing, was dead of his wounds. But, on the twenty-ninth, the Lieutenant had the great conſolation of diſcovering that this report was groundleſs. On the ſame day he went again on ſhore, upon the weſtern point of the inlet, and, from a hill of conſiderable height, had a view of the coaſt to the North weſt. The fartheſt land he could ſee in that quarter, was an Iſland at the diſtance of about ten leagues, lying not far from the main. Between this Iſland and the place where he ſtood, he diſcovered, cloſe under the ſhore, ſeveral other Iſlands, forming many bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage for ſhipping. After he had ſet off the different points for his ſurvey, he erected another pile of ſtones, in which he left a piece of ſilver coin, with ſome muſquet-balls and beads, and a fragment of an old pendant flying at the top. On the thirtieth of January, the ceremony was performed of giving name to the inlet where our Voyagers now lay, and of erecting a memorial of the viſit which they had made to this place. The carpenter having prepared two poſts for the purpoſe, our Commander ordered them to be inſcribed with the ſhip's name, and the dates of the year and the month. One of theſe he ſet up at the watering-place, hoiſting the union-flag upon the top of it; and the other he carried over to the Iſland that lies neareſt the ſea, and which is called by the natives MOTUARA. He went firſt, accompanied by Mr. Monkhouſe and Tupia, to the neighbouring village or hippah, where he met with an old man, who had maintained a friendly intercourſe with the Engliſh. To this old man, and ſeveral Indians beſides, the Lieutenant, by means of Tupia, explained his deſign, which he informed them was to erect a mark upon the Iſland, in order to ſhew to any other ſhip which ſhould happen to come thither, that our Navigators had been there before. To this the inhabitants readily conſented, and promiſed that they would never pull it down. He then gave ſomething to every one preſent, and to the old man a ſilver three-pence, and ſome ſpike-nails, with the King's broad arrow cut deep upon them. Theſe were things which Mr. Cook thought were the moſt likely to be long preſerved. After this he conveyed the poſt to the higheſt part of the Iſland; and, having fixed it firmly in the ground, hoiſted upon it the union-flag, and honoured the inlet with the name of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND. At the ſame time, he took formal poſſeſſion of this and the adjacent country, in the name and for the uſe of his Majeſty King George the Third. The ceremony was concluded by the Gentlemens drinking a bottle of wine to her Majeſty's health; and the bottle being given to the old man who had attended them up the hill, he was highly delighted with his preſent (*a*). A philoſopher, perhaps, might enquire, on what ground Lieutenant Cook could take formal poſſeſſion of this part of New Zealand, in the name and *for the uſe* of the King of Great Britain, when the country was already inhabited, and of courſe belonged to thoſe by whom it was occupied, and whoſe anceſtors might have reſided in it for many preceding ages. To this the beſt anſwer ſeems to be, that the Lieutenant, in the ceremony performed by him, had no reference to the original inhabitants, or any intention to deprive them of their natural rights, but only to preclude the claims of future European Navigators, who, under the auſpices, and for the benefit of, their reſpective ſtates or kingdoms, might form pretenſions to which they were not entitled by prior diſcovery.

(*a*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 385—400.

On the thirty-firſt, our Voyagers having compleated their wooding, and filled their water-caſks, Mr. Cook ſent out two parties, one to cut and make brooms, and another to catch fiſh. In the evening there was a ſtrong gale from the North-weſt, with ſuch a heavy rain that the little wild muſicians on ſhore ſuſpended their ſong, which till now had been conſtantly heard during the night, with a pleaſure that it was impoſſible to loſe without regret. The gale, on the firſt of February, encreaſed to a ſtorm, with heavy guſts from the high land, one of which broke the hawſer that had been faſtened to the ſhore, and induced the neceſſity of letting go another anchor. Though, towards midnight, the gale became more moderate, the rain continued with ſo much violence that the brook which ſupplied the ſhip with water overflowed its banks; in conſequence of which ten ſmall caſks, that had been filled the day before, were carried away, and notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch for them, could not be recovered. The Endeavour, on Monday the fifth, got under ſail; but the wind ſoon failing, our Commander was obliged again to come to an anchor, a little above Motuara. As he was deſirous of making ſtill farther enquiries whether any memory of Taſman had been preſerved in New Zealand, he directed Tupia to aſk of the old man before mentioned, who had come on board to take his leave of the Engliſh Gentlemen, whether he had ever heard that ſuch a veſſel as theirs had before viſited the country. To this he replied in the negative; but ſaid that his anceſtors had told him that there once had arrived a ſmall veſſel from a diſtant land, called ULIMAROA, in which were four men, who upon their reaching the ſhore were all killed. On being aſked where this country lay, he pointed to the northward. Of Ulimaroa Lieutenant Cook had heard ſomething before, from the people about the Bay of Iſlands, who ſaid that it had been viſited by their anceſtors. Tupia had alſo ſome confuſed traditionary notions concerning it; but no certain concluſion could be drawn either from his account or that of the old Indian. Soon after the ſhip came to anchor the ſecond time, Mr. Banks,

and Dr. Solander, who had gone on ſhore to ſee if any gleanings of natural knowledge remained, fell in, by accident, with the moſt agreeable Indian family they had yet ſeen, and which afforded them a better opportunity of remarking the perſonal ſubordination among the natives than had before offered. The whole behaviour of this family was affable, obliging, and unſuſpicious. It was matter of ſincere regret to the two Gentlemen that they had not ſooner met with theſe people, as a better acquaintance with the manners and diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the country might hence have been obtained in a day, than had been acquired during the whole ſtay of the Engliſh upon the coaſt. When, on the ſixth of February, Lieutenant Cook had gotten out of the ſound, he ſtood over to the eaſtward, in order to get the ſtreight well open before the tide of ebb approached. At ſeven in the evening, two ſmall Iſlands which lie off Cape Koamaroo, at the South-eaſt head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, bore Eaſt, at the diſtance of about four miles. It was nearly calm, and the tide of ebb ſetting out, the Endeavour, in a very ſhort time, was carried by the rapidity of the ſtream cloſe upon one of the Iſlands, which was a rock riſing almoſt perpendicularly out of the ſea. The danger encreaſed every moment, and there was but one expedient to prevent the ſhip's being daſhed to pieces, the ſucceſs of which a few moments would determine. She was now within little more than a cable's length of the rock, and had above ſeventy-five fathom water. But, upon dropping an anchor, and veering about one hundred and fifty fathom of cable, ſhe was happily brought up. This, however, would not have ſaved our Navigators, if the tide, which ſet South by Eaſt, had not, upon meeting with the Iſland, changed its direction to South-eaſt, and carried them beyond the firſt point. In this ſituation they were not above two cable's length from the rocks; and here they remained in the ſtrength of the tide, which ſet to the South-eaſt after the rate of at leaſt five miles an hour, from a little after ſeven till midnight, when the tide abated, and the veſſel began to heave. By three in the morning, a light breeze at north-weſt having ſprung up, our Voyagers ſailed for the eaſtern ſhore; though they made but little way, in conſequence of the tide being againſt them. The wind, however, having afterwards freſhened, and come to North and North-eaſt, with this, and the tide of ebb, they were in a ſhort time hurried through the narroweſt part of the ſtreight, and then ſtood away for the ſouthernmoſt land they had in proſpect. There appeared over this land a mountain of ſtupendous height, which was covered with ſnow. The narroweſt part of the ſtreight, through which the Endeavour had been driven with ſuch rapidity, lies between Cape Tierawitte, on the coaſt of Eaheinomauwe, and Cape Koamaroo; the diſtance between which our Commander judged to be four or five leagues. Notwithſtanding the difficulties ariſing from this tide, now its ſtrength is known, the ſtreight may be paſſed without danger. Some of the officers ſtarted a notion that Eaheinomauwe was not an Iſland, and that the land might ſtretch away to the South-eaſt, from between Cape Turnagain and Cape Palliſer, there being a ſpace of between twelve and fifteen leagues which had not yet been ſeen. Though Lieutenant Cook, from what he had obſerved the firſt time he diſcovered the ſtreight, and from many other concurrent circumſtances, had the ſtrongeſt conviction that they were miſtaken, he, nevertheleſs, reſolved to leave no poſſibility of doubt with reſpect to an object of ſo much importance. For this purpoſe he gave ſuch a direction to the navigation of the ſhip as would moſt effectually tend to determine the matter. After a courſe of two days, he called the officers upon deck, and aſked them, whether they were not now ſatisfied that Eaheinomauwe was an Iſland? To this queſtion they readily anſwered in the affirmative; and all doubts being removed, the Lieutenant proceeded to farther reſearches (*b*). During Mr. Cook's long and minute examination of the coaſt of New Zealand, he gave names to the bays, capes, promontories, iſlands, and rivers, and other places which were ſeen or viſited by him; excepting in thoſe caſes where their original appellations were learned from the natives. The names he fixed upon were either derived from certain characteriſtic or adventitious circumſtances, or were conferred in honour of his friends and acquaintance, chiefly thoſe of the naval line. Such of the readers of the preſent work as deſire to be particularly informed concerning them, will naturally have recourſe to the hiſtory of the Voyage at large, or, at leaſt, to the indications of them in the ſeveral maps on which they are deſcribed. The aſcertaining of New Zealand to be an iſland did not conclude Lieutenant Cook's examination of the nature, ſituation, and extent of the country. After this, he completed his circum-navigation, by ranging from Cape Turnagain ſouthward along the eaſtern coaſt of Poenammoo, round Cape South, and back to the weſtern entrance of the ſtreight he had paſſed, and which was very properly named Cook's Streight. This range, which commenced on the ninth of February, I ſhall not minutely and regularly purſue; but content myſelf, as in the former courſe, with mentioning ſuch circumſtances as are more directly adapted to my immediate deſign. In the afternoon of the fourteenth, when Mr. Banks was out in the boat a-ſhooting, our Voyagers ſaw, with their glaſſes, four double canoes put off from the ſhore towards him, having on board fifty-ſeven men. The Lieutenant, being alarmed for the ſafety of his friend, immediately ordered ſignals to be made for his return; but he was prevented from ſeeing them by the ſituation of the ſun with regard to the ſhip. However, it was ſoon with pleaſure obſerved that his boat was in motion; and he was taken

(*b*) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 401—410.

on

on board before the Indians, who perhaps had not diſcerned him, came up. Their attention ſeemed to be wholly fixed upon the ſhip. They came within about a ſtone's caſt of her, and then ſtopped, gazing at the Engliſh with a look of vacant aſtoniſhment. Tupia in vain exerted his eloquence to prevail upon them to make a nearer approach. After ſurveying our Navigators ſome time, they left them, and made towards the ſhore. The Gentlemen could not help remarking, on this occaſion, the different diſpoſitions and behaviour of the different inhabitants of the country, at the firſt ſight of the Endeavour. The people now ſeen kept aloof with a mixture of timidity and wonder; others had immediately commenced hoſtilities; the man who was found fiſhing alone in his canoe appeared to regard our Voyagers as totally unworthy of notice; and ſome had come on board almoſt without invitation, and with an air of perfect confidence and good-will. From the conduct of the laſt viſiters, Lieutenant Cook gave the land from which they had put off, and which had the appearance of an Iſland, the name of LOOKERS-ON. When an Iſland, which lies about five leagues from the coaſt of Tovy-Poenammoo, and which was named Banks's Iſland, was firſt diſcovered in the direction of South by Weſt, ſome perſons on board were of opinion that they ſaw land bearing South-ſouth-eaſt, and South-eaſt by Eaſt. Our Commander, who was himſelf upon the deck at the time, told them, that in his judgment it was no more than a cloud, which as the ſun roſe would diſſipate and vaniſh. Being however determined to leave no ſubject for diſputation which experiment could remove, he ordered the ſhip to ſteer in the direction which the ſuppoſed country was ſaid to bear. Having gone in this direction eight and twenty miles, without diſcovering any ſigns of land, the Endeavour reſumed her intended courſe to the ſouthward, it being the particular view of the Lieutenant to aſcertain whether Poenammoo was an Iſland or a continent (*c*). In paſſing ſome rocks on the ninth of March, in the night, it appeared in the morning that the ſhip had been in the moſt imminent danger. Her eſcape was indeed critical in the higheſt degree. To theſe rocks, therefore, which, from their ſituation, are ſo well adapted to catch unwary ſtrangers, Mr. Cook gave the name of the TRAPS. On the ſame day he reached a point of land which he called the SOUTH CAPE, and which he ſuppoſed, as proved in fact to be the caſe, the ſouthern extremity of the country (*d*). In ſailing, on Wedneſday the fourteenth, the Endeavour paſſed a ſmall narrow opening in the land, where there ſeemed to be a very ſafe and convenient harbour, formed by an Iſland, which lay eaſtward in the middle of the opening. On the land behind the opening are mountains, the ſummits of which were covered with ſnow, that appeared to have recently fallen. Indeed our Voyagers, for two days paſt, had found the weather extremely cold. On each ſide the entrance of the opening, the land riſes almoſt perpendicularly from the ſea to a ſtupendous height. For this reaſon Lieutenant Cook did not chooſe to carry the ſhip into the harbour. He was ſenſible that no wind could blow there but right in or right out; and he did not think it by any means adviſable to put into a place whence he could not have gotten out but with a wind which experience had taught him did not blow more than one day in a month. Sagacious as this determination of our Commander was, it did not give univerſal ſatisfaction. He acted in it contrary to the opinion of ſome perſons on board, who expreſſed in ſtrong terms their deſire of coming to harbour; not ſufficiently conſidering, that preſent convenience ought not to be purchaſed at the expence of incurring great future diſadvantages (*e*). By the twenty-ſeventh of March, Mr. Cook had circumnavigated the whole country of Tovy-Poenammoo, and arrived within ſight of the Iſland formerly mentioned, which lies at the diſtance of nine leagues from the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Having at this time thirty tons of empty water-caſks on board, it was neceſſary to fill them before he finally proceeded on his voyage. For this purpoſe he hauled round the Iſland and entered a bay, ſituated between that and Queen Charlotte's Sound, and to which the name was given of ADMIRALTY BAY. The buſineſs of wooding and watering having been completed on the thirtieth, and the ſhip being ready for the ſea, the point now to be determined was, what route ſhould be purſued in returning home that would be of moſt advantage to the public ſervice. Upon this ſubject the Lieutenant thought proper to take the opinion of his officers. He had himſelf a ſtrong deſire to return by Cape Horn, becauſe that would have enabled him to determine, whether there is or is not a ſouthern continent. But againſt this ſcheme it was a ſufficient objection, that our Navigators muſt have kept in a high ſouthern latitude, in the very depth of winter, and in a veſſel which was not thought to be in a condition fit for the undertaking. The ſame reaſon was urged, with ſtill greater force, againſt their proceeding directly for the Cape of Good Hope, becauſe no diſcovery of moment could be expected in that route. It was, therefore, reſolved that they ſhould return by the Eaſt Indies; and that with this view they ſhould ſteer weſtward, till they ſhould fall in with the Eaſt coaſt of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coaſt to the northward, till they ſhould arrive at its northern extremity. If that ſhould be found impracticable, it was farther reſolved that they ſhould endeavour to fall in with the land, or Iſlands, ſaid to have been diſcovered by Quiros (*f*). In the ſix months which Lieutenant Cook had ſpent in the examination of New Zealand, he made very large additions to the knowledge of geography and navigation. That country was firſt diſcovered in the year 1642, by Abel

(*c*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 413, 414, 415, 418—419.

(*d*) South Cape lies in latitude 47° 19′ South, and in longitude 192° 12′ Weſt.

(*e*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 422. 425, 426.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 431—433.

Abel Janſen Taſman, a Dutch navigator. He traverſed the eaſtern coaſt from latitude 34° 43′, and entered the ſtreight now called Cook's Streight; but being attacked by the natives ſoon after he came to an anchor, in the place which he named Murderer's Bay, he never went on ſhore. Nevertheleſs, he aſſumed a kind of claim to the country, by calling it STAATEN LAND, or the Land of the States, in honour of the States-General. It is now uſually diſtinguiſhed in maps and charts by the name of NEW ZEALAND. The whole of the country, excepting that part of the coaſt which was ſeen by Taſman from on board his ſhip, continued from his time, to the voyage of the Endeavour, altogether unknown. By many perſons it has been ſuppoſed to conſtitute a part of a ſouthern continent; but it was now aſcertained by Mr. Cook to conſiſt of two large Iſlands, divided from each other by a ſtreight or paſſage, which is about four or five leagues broad. Theſe Iſlands are ſituated between the latitudes of 34° and 48° South, and between the longitudes of 181° and 194° Weſt; a matter which Mr. Green determined with uncommon exactneſs, from innumerable obſervations of the ſun and moon, and one of the tranſits of Mercury. The northernmoſt of theſe Iſlands is called by the natives Eaheinomauwe, and the ſouthernmoſt Tovy, or Tavai Poenammoo. It is not, however, certain, whether the whole ſouthern Iſland, or only part of it, is comprehended under the latter name. Tovy Poenammoo is principally a mountainous, and to all appearance a barren country. The only inhabitants, and ſigns of inhabitants, that were diſcovered upon all the Iſland, were the people whom our Voyagers ſaw in Queen Charlotte's Sound, ſome that came off to them under the ſnowy mountains, and ſeveral fires which were diſcerned to the Weſt of Cape Saunders. Eaheinomauwe has a much better appearance. Though it is not only hilly but mountainous, even the hills and mountains are covered with wood, and every valley has a rivulet of water. The ſoil in theſe vallies, and in the plains, many of which are not overgrown with wood, is in general light, but fertile. It was the opinion of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, as well as of the other Gentlemen on board, that all kinds of European grain, plants, and fruit, would flouriſh here in the utmoſt luxuriance. There is reaſon to conclude, from the vegetables which our Navigators found in Eaheinomauwe, that the winters are milder than thoſe in England; and the ſummer was experienced not to be hotter, though it was more equally warm. If this country, therefore, ſhould be ſettled by people from Europe, they might, with a little induſtry, very ſoon be ſupplied, in great abundance, not merely with the neceſſaries, but even with the luxuries of life. In Eaheinomauwe there are no quadrupeds but dogs and rats. At leaſt, no other were ſeen by our Voyagers; and the rats are ſo ſcarce, that they wholly eſcaped the notice of many on board. Of birds the ſpecies are not numerous; and of theſe no one kind, excepting perhaps the gannet, is exactly the ſame with thoſe of Europe. Inſects are not in greater plenty than birds. The ſea makes abundant recompence for this ſcarcity of animals upon the land. Every creek ſwarms with fiſh, which are not only wholeſome, but equally delicious with thoſe in our part of the world. The Endeavour ſeldom anchored in any ſtation, or with a light gale paſſed any place, that did not afford enough, with hook and line, to ſerve the whole ſhip's company. If the ſeine was made uſe of, it ſeldom failed of producing a ſtill more ample ſupply. The higheſt luxury of this kind, with which the Engliſh were gratified, was the lobſter, or ſea cray-fiſh. Among the vegetable productions of the country, the trees claim a principal place; there being foreſts of vaſt extent, full of the ſtraiteſt, the cleaneſt, and the largeſt timber Mr. Cook and his friends had ever ſeen. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were gratified by the novelty, if not by the variety, of the plants. Out of about four hundred ſpecies, there were not many which had hitherto been deſcribed by botaniſts. There is one plant that ſerves the natives inſtead of hemp and flax, and which excels all that are applied to the ſame purpoſes in other countries. If the ſettling of New Zealand ſhould ever be deemed an object deſerving the attention of Great Britain, our Commander thought that the beſt place for eſtabliſhing a colony would either be on the banks of the Thames, or in the territory adjoining to the Bay of Iſlands. Each of theſe places poſſeſſes the advantage of an excellent harbour. By means of the river, ſettlements might be extended, and a communication eſtabliſhed with the inland parts of the country. Veſſels might, likewiſe, be built of the fine timber which is every were to be met with, at very little trouble and expence (*g*). But I am in danger of forgetting myſelf, and of running into a detail, which may be thought rather to exceed the intentions of the preſent narrative. It is difficult to reſtrain the pen, when ſuch a variety of curious and entertaining matter lies before it; and I muſt entreat the indulgence of my readers while I mention two or three farther particulars. One circumſtance peculiarly worthy of notice, is the perfect and uninterrupted health of the inhabitants of New Zealand. In all the viſits made to their towns, where old and young, men and women, crouded about our Voyagers, they never obſerved a ſingle perſon who appeared to have any bodily complaint; nor among the numbers that were ſeen naked, was once perceived the ſlighteſt eruption upon the ſkin, or the leaſt mark which indicated that ſuch an eruption had formerly exiſted. Another proof of the health of theſe people is the facility with which the wounds they at any time receive are healed. In the man who had been ſhot with a muſquet-ball through the fleſhy part of his arm, the wound ſeemed to be

(*g*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 435—444.

ſo well digeſted, and in ſo fair a way of being perfectly healed, that if Mr. Cook had not known that no application had been made to it, he declared that he ſhould certainly have enquired, with a very intereſted curioſity, after the vulnerary herbs and ſurgical art of the country. An additional evidence of human nature's being untainted with diſeaſe in New Zealand, is the great number of old men with whom it abounds. Many of them, by the loſs of their hair and teeth, appeared to be very ancient, and yet none of them were decrepid. Although they were not equal to the young in muſcular ſtrength, they did not come in the leaſt behind them with regard to chearfulneſs and vivacity. Water, as far as our Navigators could diſcover, is the univerſal and only liquor of the New Zealanders (*g*). It is greatly to be wiſhed, that their happineſs in this reſpect may never be deſtroyed by ſuch a connection with the European nations, as ſhall introduce that fondneſs for ſpirituous liquors which hath been ſo fatal to the Indians of North America. From the obſervations which Lieutenant Cook and his friends made on the people of New Zealand, and from the ſimilitude which was diſcerned between them and the inhabitants of the South Sea Iſlands, a ſtrong proof aroſe that both of them had one common origin; and this proof was rendered indubitable by the conformity of their language. When Tupia addreſſed himſelf to the natives of Eaheinomomauwe and Poenammoo, he was perfectly underſtood. Indeed, it did not appear that the language of Otaheite differed more from that of New Zealand, than the language of the two Iſlands, into which it is divided, did from each other (*h*). Hitherto the navigation of Lieutenant Cook had been unfavourable to the notion of a ſouthern continent; having ſwept away at leaſt three-fourths of the poſitions upon which that notion had been founded. The track of the Endeavour had demonſtrated that the land ſeen by Taſman, Juan Fernandes, Hermite, the commander of a Dutch ſquadron, Quiros, and Roggewein, was not, as they had ſuppoſed, part of ſuch a continent. It had alſo totally deſtroyed the theoretical arguments in favour of a ſouthern continent, which had been drawn from the neceſſity of it to preſerve an equilibrium between the two hemiſpheres. As, however, Mr. Cook's diſcoveries, ſo far as he had already proceeded, extended only to the northward of forty degrees, South latitude, he could not, therefore, give an opinion concerning what land might lie farther to the ſouthward. This was a matter, therefore, which he earneſtly wiſhed to be examined (*i*); and to him was, at length, reſerved the honour, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, of putting a final end to the queſtion.

(*g*) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 460, 461.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 473—476.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 477—479.

On Saturday the thirty-firſt of March, our Commander ſailed from Cape Farewell in New Zealand (*k*) and purſued his voyage to the weſtward. New Holland, or as it is now called, New South Wales, came in ſight on the nineteenth of April; and on the twenty-eighth of that month the ſhip anchored in Botany Bay. On the preceding day, in conſequence of its falling calm when the veſſel was not more than a mile and a half from the ſhore, and within ſome breakers, our Navigators had been in a very diſagreeable ſituation; but happily a light breeze had ſprang from the land, and carried them out of danger. In the afternoon the boats were manned; and Lieutenant Cook and his friends, having Tupia of their party, ſet out from the Endeavour. They intended to land where they had ſeen ſome Indians, and began to hope, that as theſe Indians had paid no regard to the ſhip when ſhe came into the bay, they would be as inattentive to the advances of the Engliſh towards the ſhore. In this, however, the Gentlemen were diſappointed; for as ſoon as they approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to diſpute their landing, and the reſt ran away. Theſe champions, who were armed with lances about ten feet long, called to our Navigators, in a very loud tone, and in a harſh diſſonant language, of which even Tupia did not underſtand a ſingle word. At the ſame time, they brandiſhed their weapons, and ſeemed reſolved to defend their coaſt to the uttermoſt, though they were but two to forty. The Lieutenant, who could not but admire their courage, and who was unwilling that hoſtilities ſhould commence with ſuch inequality of force on their ſide, ordered his boat to lie upon her oars. He and the other Gentlemen then parlied with them by ſigns; and, to obtain their good-will, he threw them nails, beads, and ſeveral trifles beſides, with which they appeared to be well pleaſed. After this our Commander endeavoured to make them underſtand that he wanted water, and attempted to convince them, by all the methods in his power, that he had no injurious deſign againſt them. Being willing to interpret the waving of their hands as an invitation to proceed, the boat put in to the ſhore; but no ſooner was this perceived, than it was oppoſed by the two Indians, one of whom ſeemed to be a youth about nineteen or twenty years old, and the other a man of middle age. The only reſource now left for Mr. Cook was to fire a muſquet between them, which being done, the youngeſt of them dropped a bundle of lances on the rock, but recollecting himſelf in an inſtant, he ſnatched them up again in great haſte. A ſtone was then thrown at the Engliſh, upon which the Lieutenant ordered a muſquet to be fired with ſmall-ſhot. This ſtruck the eldeſt upon the legs, and he immediately ran to one of the houſes, which was about a hundred yards diſtance. Mr. Cook, who now hoped that the conteſt was over, inſtantly landed with his party; but they had ſcarcely quitted the boat when the Indian returned, having only left the rock to fetch a ſhield or target for his defence. As ſoon as he came up, he and his comrade

(*k*) Cape Farewell lies in latitude 40° 33′ South, and longitude 186° Weſt.

threw each of them a lance in the midſt of our people, but happily without hurting a ſingle perſon. At the firing of a third muſquet, one of the two men darted another lance, and then both of them ran away. After this the Gentlemen repaired to the huts, and threw into the houſe where the children were, ſome beads, ribbons, pieces of cloth, and other preſents. Theſe they hoped would procure them the good will of the inhabitants. When, however, the Lieutenant and his companions returned the next day, they had the mortification of finding that the beads and ribbons which they had left the night before, had not been removed from their places, and that not an Indian was to been ſeen (*l*). Several of the natives of the country came in ſight on the thirtieth, but they could not be engaged to begin an intercourſe with our people. They approached within a certain diſtance of them, and after ſhouting ſeveral times went back into the woods. Having done this once more, Mr. Cook followed them himſelf, alone and unarmed, a conſiderable way along the ſhore, but without prevailing upon them to ſtop [*L*]. On the firſt of May, he reſolved to make an excurſion into the country. Accordingly, our Commander, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and ſeven others, all of them properly accoutred for the expedition, ſet out, and repaired firſt to the huts near the watering-place, whither ſome of the Indians continued every day to reſort. Though the little preſents which had been left there before had not yet been taken away, our Gentlemen added others of ſtill greater value, conſiſting of cloth, beads, combs, and looking glaſſes. After this they went up into the country, the face of which is finely diverſified by wood and lawn. The ſoil they found to be either ſwamp or light ſand [*M*]. In cultivating the ground there would be no obſtruction from the trees, which are tall, ſtrait, and without underwood, and ſtand at a ſufficient diſtance from each other. Between the trees, the land is abundantly covered with graſs. Our Voyagers ſaw many houſes of the inhabitants, but met with only one of the people, who ran away as ſoon as he diſcovered the Engliſh. At every place where they went they left preſents, hoping that at length they might procure the confidence and good will of the Indians. They perceived ſome traces of animals; and the trees over their heads abounded with birds of various kinds, among which were many of exquiſite beauty. Loriquets and cockatoos, in particular, were ſo numerous, that they flew in flocks of ſeveral ſcores together. While the Lieutenant and his friends were upon this excurſion, Mr. Gore, who had been ſent out in the morning to dredge for oyſters, having performed that ſervice, diſmiſſed his boat, and taking a midſhipman with him, ſet out to join the waterers by land. In his way he fell in with a body of two and twenty Indians, who followed him, and were often at no greater diſtance than that of twenty yards. When he perceived them ſo near, he ſtopped, and faced about, upon which they likewiſe ſtopped; and when he went on again, they continued their purſuit. But though they were all armed with lances, they did not attack Mr. Gore; ſo that he and the midſhipman got in ſafety to the watering-place. When the natives came in ſight of the main body of the Engliſh, they halted at about the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, and ſtood ſtill. By this Mr. Monkhouſe and two or three of the waterers were encouraged to march up to them; but ſeeing the Indians keep their ground, they were ſeized with a ſudden fear, which is not uncommon to the raſh and fool-hardy, and made a haſty retreat. This ſtep increaſed the danger which it was intended to avoid. Four of the Indians immediately ran forward, and diſcharged their lances at the fugitives, with ſuch force that they went beyond them. Our people, recovering their ſpirits, ſtopped to collect the lances, upon which the natives, in their turn, began to retire. At this time Mr. Cook came up, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia; and being deſirous of convincing the Indians that they were neither afraid of them, nor deſigned to do them any injury, they advanced towards them, endeavouring, by ſigns of expoſtulation and entreaty, to engage them to an intercourſe, but without effect. From the boldneſs which the natives diſcovered on the firſt landing of our Voyagers, and the terror that afterwards ſeized them at the ſight of the Engliſh, it appears that they were ſufficiently intimidated by our fire-arms. There was not, indeed, the leaſt reaſon to believe that any of them had been much hurt by the ſmall ſhot which had been fired at them when they attacked our people on their coming out of the boat. Nevertheleſs, they had probably ſeen, from their lurking places, the effects which the muſquets had upon birds. Tupia, who was become a good markſman, frequently ſtrayed abroad to ſhoot parrots; and while he was thus employed, he once met with nine Indians, who, as ſoon as they perceived that he ſaw them, ran from him, in great alarm and confuſion. While, on the third of May, Mr. Banks was gathering plants near the watering-place, Lieutenant Cook went with Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouſe to the head of the bay, for the purpoſe of examining that part of the country, and of making farther attempts to form ſome connections with the natives. In this excurſion they acquired additional knowledge concerning the nature of the ſoil, and its capacities for cultivation, but had no ſucceſs in their endeavours to en-

(*l*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 481. 483. 494—495.

[*L*] *But without prevailing upon them to ſtop.*] This day Mr. Green took the ſun's meridian altitude a little within the South entrance of the bay, which gave the latitude 34° South.

[*M*] *The ſoil they found to be either ſwamp or light ſand.*] In a part of the country that was afterwards examined, the ſoil was found to be much richer; being a deep black mold, which the Lieutenant thought very fit for the production of grain of any kind.

gage

gage the inhabitants in coming to a friendly intercourſe. Several parties that were ſent into the country, on the next day, with the ſame view, were equally unſucceſsful. In the afternoon our Commander himſelf, with a number of attendants, made an excurſion to the north ſhore, which he found to be without wood, and to reſemble, in ſome degree, our moors in England. The ſurface of the ground was, however, covered with a thin bruſh of plants, riſing to about the height of the knee. Near the coaſt the hills are low, but there are others behind them, which gradually aſcend to a conſiderable diſtance, and are interſected with marſhes and moraſſes. Among the articles of fiſh which, at different times, were caught, were large ſtingrays. One of them, when his entrails were taken out, weighed three hundred and thirty-ſix pounds. It was upon account of the great quantity of plants which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place, that Lieutenant Cook was induced to give it the name of BOTANY BAY. It is ſituated in the latitude of 34° South, and in the longitude of 208° 37′ Weſt; and affords a capacious, ſafe, and convenient ſhelter for ſhipping. The Endeavour anchored near the South ſhore, about a mile within the entrance, for the convenience of ſailing with a ſoutherly wind, and becauſe the Lieutenant thought it the beſt ſituation for watering. But afterwards he found a very fine ſtream on the North ſhore, where was a ſandy cove, in which a ſhip might lie almoſt land-locked, and procure wood and water in the greateſt abundance. Though wood is every where plentiful, our Commander ſaw only two ſpecies of it that could be conſidered as timber. Not only the inhabitants who were firſt diſcovered, but all who afterwards came in ſight, were entirely naked. Of their mode of life our Voyagers could know but little, as not the leaſt connection could be formed with them; but it did not appear that they were numerous, or that they lived in ſocieties. They ſeemed, like other animals, to be ſcattered about along the coaſt, and in the woods. Not a ſingle article was touched by them of all that were left at their huts, or at the places which they frequented; ſo little ſenſe had they of thoſe ſmall conveniencies and ornaments which are generally very alluring to the uncivilized tribes of the globe. During Mr. Cook's ſtay at this place, he cauſed the Engliſh colours to be diſplayed every day on ſhore, and took care that the ſhip's name, and the date of the year, ſhould be inſcribed upon one of the trees near the watering-place (*m*). At day-break, on Sunday the ſixth of May, our Navigators ſailed from Botany Bay; and as they proceeded on their voyage the Lieutenant gave the names that are indicated upon the map to the bays, capes, points, and remarkable hills which ſucceſſively appeared in ſight. On the fourteenth, as the Endeavour advanced to the northward, being then in latitude 30° 22′ South, and longitude 206° 39′ Weſt, the land gradually increaſed in height, ſo that it may be called a hilly country. Between this latitude and Botany Bay, it exhibits a pleaſing variety of ridges, hills, valleys, and plains, all clothed with wood, of the ſame appearance with that which has been mentioned before. The land near the ſhore is in general low and ſandy, excepting the points, which are rocky, and over many of which are high hills, that, at their firſt riſing out of the water, have the ſemblance of Iſlands. On the next day, the veſſel being about a league from the ſhore, our Voyagers diſcovered ſmoke in many places, and having recourſe to their glaſſes, they ſaw about twenty of the natives, who had each of them a large bundle upon his back. The bundles our people conjectured to be palm leaves for covering the houſes of the Indians, and continued to obſerve them above an hour, during which they walked upon the beach, and up a path that led over a hill of gentle aſcent. It was remarkable, that not one of them was ſeen to ſtop and look towards the Endeavour. They marched along without the leaſt apparent emotion either of curioſity or ſurprize, though it was impoſſible that they ſhould not have diſcerned the ſhip by ſome caſual glance as they went along the ſhore, and though ſhe muſt have been the moſt ſtupendous and unaccountable object they had ever beheld (*n*). While, on the ſeventeenth, our Navigators were in a bay, to which Lieutenant Cook had given the name of Moreton's Bay (*o*), and at a place where the land was not at that time viſible, ſome on board, having obſerved that the ſea looked paler than uſual, were of opinion that the bottom of the bay opened into a river. The Lieutenant was ſenſible that there was no real ground for this ſuppoſition. As the Endeavour had here thirty-four fathom water, and a fine ſandy bottom, theſe circumſtances alone were ſufficient to produce the change which had been noticed in the colour of the ſea. Nor was it by any means neceſſary to ſuppoſe a river, in order to account for the land at the bottom of the bay not being viſible. If the land there was as low as it had been experienced to be in a hundred other parts of the coaſt, it would be impoſſible to ſee it from the ſtation of the ſhip. Our Commander would, however, have brought the matter to the teſt of experiment, if the wind had been favourable to ſuch a purpoſe. Should any future Navigator be diſpoſed to determine the queſtion, whether there is or is not a river in this place, Mr. Cook has taken care to leave the beſt directions for finding its ſituation. On the twenty-ſecond, as our Voyagers were purſuing their courſe from HARVEY'S BAY, they diſcovered with their glaſſes that the land was covered with palm-nut trees, which they had not ſeen from the time of their leaving the Iſlands within the tropic. They ſaw alſo two men walking along the ſhore, who paid them as little attention as they had met with on former occaſions. At eight o'clock in the evening of this day, the ſhip came to

(*m*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 496—506.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 507—511, 512.

(*o*) The latitude of Moreton's Bay is 26° 56′ South, and its longitude 206° 28′ Weſt.

an anchor in five fathom, with a fine ſandy bottom. Early in the morning of the next day, the Lieutenant, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, the other Gentlemen, Tupia, and a party of men, went on ſhore, in order to examine the country. The wind blew freſh, and the weather was ſo cold, that, being at a conſiderable diſtance from land, they took their cloaks as a neceſſary equipment for the voyage. When they landed, they found a channel leading into a large lagoon. Both the channel and the lagoon were examined by our Commander with his uſual accuracy. There is in the place a ſmall river of freſh water, and room for a few ſhips to lie in great ſecurity. Near the lagoon grows the true mangrove, ſuch as exiſts in the Weſt India Iſlands, and the firſt of the kind that had been yet met with by our Navigators. Among the ſhoals and ſand banks of the coaſt, they ſaw many large birds, and ſome in particular of the ſame kind which they had ſeen in Botany Bay. Theſe they judged to be pelicans, but they were ſo ſhy as never to come within reach of a muſquet. On the ſhore was found a ſpecies of the buſtard, one of which was ſhot that was equal in ſize to a turkey, weighing ſeventeen pounds and a half. All the Gentlemen agreed that this was the beſt bird they had eaten ſince they left England; and in honour of it they called the inlet BUSTARD BAY (*p*). Upon the mud banks, and under the mangroves, were innumerable oyſters of various kinds, and among others the hammer oyſter, with a large proportion of ſmall pearl oyſters. If in deeper water there ſhould be equal plenty of ſuch oyſters at their full growth, Mr. Cook was of opinion that a pearl fiſhery might be eſtabliſhed here to very great advantage (*q*). The people who were left on board the ſhip aſſerted, that, while the Gentlemen were in the woods, about twenty of the natives came down to the beach, a-breaſt of the Endeavour, and after having looked at her for ſome time, went away. Not a ſingle Indian was ſeen by the Gentlemen themſelves, though they found various proofs, in ſmoak, fires, and the fragments of recent meals, that the country was inhabited. The place ſeemed to be much trodden, and yet not a houſe, or the remains of a houſe, could be diſcerned. Hence the Lieutenant and his friends were diſpoſed to believe that the people were deſtitute of dwellings, as well as of clothes; and that, like the other commoners of nature, they ſpent their nights in the open air. Tupia himſelf was ſtruck with their apparently unhappy condition; and ſhaking his head, with an air of ſuperiority and compaſſion, ſaid that they were *Taata Enos*, "poor wretches [*N*]." On the twenty-fifth, our Voyagers, at the diſtance of one mile from the land, were a-breaſt of a point which Mr. Cook found to lie directly under the tropic of Capricorn; and for this reaſon he called it CAPE CAPRICORN (*r*). In the night of the next day, when the ſhip had anchored at a place which was diſtant four leagues from Cape Capricorn, the tide roſe and fell near ſeven feet; and the flood ſet to the weſtward, and the ebb to the eaſtward. This circumſtance was juſt the reverſe of what had been experienced when the Endeavour was at anchor to the eaſtward of Buſtard Bay. While our people were under ſail, on the twenty-ſixth, and were ſurrounded with Iſlands, which lay at different diſtances from the main land, they ſuddenly fell into three fathom of water. Upon this the Lieutenant anchored, and ſent away the Maſter to ſound a channel which lay between the northernmoſt Iſland and the main. Though the channel appeared to have a conſiderable breadth, our Commander ſuſpected it to be ſhallow, and ſuch was in fact the caſe. The Maſter reported, at his return, that he had only two fathom and a half in many places; and where the veſſel lay at anchor ſhe had only ſixteen feet, which was not two feet more than ſhe drew. Mr. Banks, who, while the Maſter was ſounding the channel, tried to fiſh from the cabin window with hook and line, was ſucceſsful in catching two ſorts of crabs, both of them ſuch as our Navigators had not ſeen before. One of them was adorned with a moſt beautiful blue, in every reſpect equal to the ultramarine. With this blue all his claws and joints were deeply tinged; while the under part of him was white, and ſo exquiſitely poliſhed, that in colour and brightneſs it bore an exact reſemblance to the white of old china. The other crab was alſo marked, though ſomewhat more ſparingly, with the ultramarine on his joints and his toes; and on his back were three brown ſpots of a ſingular appearance. Early the next morning, Lieutenant Cook, having found a paſſage between the Iſlands, ſailed to the northward, and on the evening of the ſucceeding day anchored at about two miles diſtance from the main. At this time a great number of Iſlands, lying a long way without the ſhip, were in ſight. On the twenty-ninth, the Lieutenant ſent away the Maſter with two boats to ſound the entrance of an inlet which lay to the Weſt, and into which he intended to go with the veſſel, that he might wait a few days for the moon's encreaſe, and have an opportunity of examining the country. As the tide was obſerved to ebb and flow conſiderably, when the Endeavour had anchored within the inlet, our Commander judged it to be a river that might run pretty far up into land. Thinking that this might afford a commodious ſituation for laying the ſhip aſhore, and cleaning her bottom, he landed with the Maſter, in ſearch of a proper place for the purpoſe. He was accompanied in the excurſion by Mr.

(*p*) Buſtard Bay lies in latitude 24° 4′ South, and longitude 208° 18′ Weſt.

(*q*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 514. 516. 519—521.

(*r*) Its latitude is 208° 58′ Weſt.

[*N*] *Poor wretches.*] From meaſuring the perpendicular height of the laſt tide, and aſcertaining the time of low-water this day, the Lieutenant found that it muſt be high-water, at the full and change of the moon, at eight o'clock.

Banks

Banks and Dr. Solander; and they found walking exceedingly troublesome, in consequence of the ground's being covered with a kind of grass, the seeds of which were very sharp and bearded. Whenever these seeds stuck into their clothes, which happened at every step, they worked forwards by means of the beard, till they got at the flesh. Another disagreeable circumstance was, that the Gentlemen were incessantly tormented with the stings of a cloud of musquitos. They soon met with several places where the ship might conveniently be laid ashore; but were much disappointed in not being able to find any fresh water. In proceeding up the country, they found gum trees, the gum upon which existed only in very small quantities. Gum trees of a similar kind, and as little productive, had occurred in other parts of the Coast of New South Wales. Upon the branches of the trees were ants nests, made of clay, as big as a bushel. The ants themselves, by which the nests were inhabited, were small, and their bodies white. Upon another species of the gum tree, was found a small black ant, which perforated all the twigs, and, having worked out the pith, occupied the pipe in which it had been contained. Notwithstanding this, the parts in which these insects, to an amazing number, had formed a lodgment, bore leaves and flowers, and appeared to be entirely in a flourishing state. Butterflies were found in such multitudes that the account of them seems almost to be incredible. The air was so crowded with them, for the space of three or four acres, that millions might be seen in every direction; and the branches and twigs of the trees were at the same time covered with others that were not upon the wing. A small fish of a singular kind was likewise met with in this place. Its size was about that of a minnow, and it had two very strong breast-fins. It was found in places which were quite dry, and where it might be supposed that it had been left by the tide; and yet it did not appear to have become languid from that circumstance: for when it was approached, it leaped away as nimbly as a frog. Indeed it did not seem to prefer water to land. Though the curiosity of Mr. Cook and his friends were gratified by the sight of these various objects, they were disappointed in the attainment of their main purpose, the discovery of fresh water; and a second excursion, which was made by them on the afternoon of the same day, was equally unsuccessful. This failure of the Lieutenant's hopes determined him to make but a short stay in the place. Having, however, observed from an eminence that the inlet penetrated a considerable way into the country, he formed a resolution of tracing it in the morning. Accordingly, at sun-rise, on Wednesday the thirtieth of May, he went on shore, and took a view of the coast and the Islands that lie off it, with their bearings. For this purpose he had with him an azimuth compass; but he found that the needle differed very considerably in its position, even to thirty degrees; the variation being in some places more, in others less. Once the needle varied from itself no less than two points in the distance of fourteen feet. Mr. Cook having taken up some of the loose stones which lay upon the ground, applied them to the needle, but they produced no effect; whence he concluded that in the hills there was iron ore, traces of which he had remarked both here and in the neighbouring parts. After he had made his observations upon the hill, he proceeded with Dr. Solander up the inlet. He set out with the first of the flood, and had advanced above eight leagues long before it was high water. The breadth of the inlet thus far was from two to five miles, upon a direction South-west by South; but here it opened every way, and formed a large lake, which to the North-west communicated with the sea. Our Commander not only saw the sea in this direction, but found the tide of flood coming strongly in from that point. He observed, also, an arm of this lake extending to the eastward. Hence he thought it not improbable that it might communicate with the sea in the bottom of the bay, which lies to the westward of the cape that on the Chart is designated by the name of CAPE TOWNSHEND. On the South side of the lake is a ridge of hills which the Lieutenant was very desirous of climbing. As, however, it was high-water, and the day was far spent; and as the weather, in particular, was dark and rainy, he was afraid of being bewildered among the shoals in the night, and therefore was obliged to give up his inclination, and to make the best of his way to the ship. Two people only were seen by him, who followed the boat along the shore a good way at some distance; but he could not prudently wait for them, as the tide ran strongly in his favour. Several fires in one direction, and smoke in another, exhibited farther proofs of the country's being in a certain degree inhabited. While Mr. Cook, with Dr. Solander, was tracing the inlet, Mr. Banks and a party with him engaged in a separate excursion, in which they had not proceeded far within land, before their course was obstructed by a swamp, covered with mangroves. This, however, they determined to pass; and having done it with great difficulty, they came up to a place where there had been four small fires, near to which lay some shells and bones of fish that had been roasted. Heaps of grass were also found lying together, on which four or five people appeared to have slept. Mr. Gore, in another place, observed the track of a large animal. Some bustards were likewise seen, but not any other bird, excepting a few beautiful loriquets, of the same kind with those which had been noticed in Botany Bay. The country in general, in this part of New South Wales, appeared sandy and barren, and destitute of the accommodations which could fit it for being possessed by settled inhabitants. From the ill success that attended the searching for fresh water,

Lieutenant Cook called the inlet in which the ſhip lay THIRSTY SOUND (*s*). No refreſhment of any other ſort was here procured by our Voyagers (*t*). Our Commander, not having a ſingle inducement to ſtay longer in this place, weighed anchor in the morning of the thirty-firſt, and put to ſea. In the proſecution of the voyage, when the Endeavour was cloſe under CAPE UPSTART, the variation of the needle, at ſun-ſet, on the fourth of June, was 9° Eaſt, and at ſun-riſe the next day, it was no more than 5° 35′. Hence the Lieutenant concluded that it had been influenced by iron ore, or by ſome other magnetical matter contained under the ſurface of the earth. In the afternoon of the ſeventh, our Navigators ſaw upon one of the Iſlands what had the appearance of cocoa-nut trees; and as a few nuts would at this time have been very acceptable, Mr. Cook ſent Lieutenant Hicks aſhore, to ſee if he could procure any refreſhment. He was accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander; and in the evening the Gentlemen returned, with an account that what had been taken for cocoa-nut trees were a ſmall kind of cabbage palm, and that, excepting about fourteen or fifteen plants, nothing could be obtained which was worth bringing away. On the eighth, when the Endeavour was in the midſt of a cluſter of ſmall Iſlands our Voyagers diſcerned, with their glaſſes, upon one of the neareſt of theſe Iſlands, about thirty of the natives, men, women, and children, all ſtanding together, and looking with great attention at the ſhip. This was the firſt inſtance of curioſity that had been obſerved among the people of the country. The preſent Indian ſpectators were entirely naked. Their hair was ſhort, and their complexion the ſame with that of ſuch of the inhabitants as had been ſeen before (*u*).

(*s*) Thirſty Sound lies in latitude 22° 10′ South, and longitude 210° 18′ Weſt.

(*t*) Hawkeſworth, vol. iii. p. 521—532.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 532. 538. 541.

In navigating the coaſt of New South Wales, where the ſea in all parts conceals ſhoals which ſuddenly project from the ſhore, and rocks that riſe abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom, our Commander had hitherto conducted his veſſel in ſafety, for an extent of two and twenty degrees of latitude, being more than one thouſand three hundred miles. But, on the tenth of June, as he was purſuing his courſe from a bay to which he had given the name of TRINITY BAY, the Endeavour fell into a ſituation as critical and dangerous as any that is recorded in the hiſtory of navigation; a hiſtory which abounds with perilous adventures, and almoſt miraculous eſcapes. Our Voyagers were now near the latitude aſſigned to the Iſlands that were diſcovered by Quiros, and which, without ſufficient reaſon, ſome geographers have thought proper to join to this land. The ſhip had the advantage of a fine breeze, and a clear moonlight night; and in ſtanding off from ſix till near nine o'clock, ſhe had deepened her water from fourteen to twenty-one fathom. But while our Navigators were at ſupper it ſuddenly ſhoaled, and they fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathom, within the compaſs of a few minutes. Mr. Cook immediately ordered every man to his ſtation, and all was ready to put about and come to an anchor; when deep water being met with again at the next caſt of the lead, it was concluded that the veſſel had gone over the tail of the ſhoals which had been ſeen at ſun-ſet, and that the danger was now over. This idea of ſecurity was confirmed by the water's continuing to deepen to twenty and twenty-one fathom, ſo that the Gentlemen left the deck in great tranquillity, and went to bed. However, a little before eleven, the water ſhoaled at once from twenty to ſeventeen fathom, and before the lead could be caſt again, the ſhip ſtruck, and remained immoveable, excepting ſo far as ſhe was influenced by the heaving of the ſurge, that beat her againſt the crags of the rock upon which ſhe lay. A few moments brought every perſon upon deck, with countenances ſuited to the horrors of the ſituation. As our people knew, from the breeze which they had in the evening, that they could not be very near the ſhore, there was too much reaſon to conclude that they were upon a rock of coral, which, on account of the ſharpneſs of its points, and the roughneſs of its ſurface, is more fatal than any other. On examining the depth of water round the ſhip, it was ſpeedily diſcovered that the misfortune of our Voyagers was equal to their apprehenſions. The veſſel had been lifted over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it, in ſome places of which hollow there were from three to four fathom, and in others not ſo many feet of water. To complete the ſcene of diſtreſs, it appeared, from the light of the moon, that the ſheathing boards from the bottom of the ſhip were floating away all round her, and at laſt her falſe keel; ſo that every moment was making way for the whole company's being ſwallowed up by the ruſhing in of the ſea. There was now no chance but to lighten her, and the opportunity had unhappily been loſt of doing it to the beſt advantage, for as the Endeavour had gone aſhore juſt at high-water, and by this time it had conſiderably fallen, ſhe would, when lightened, be but in the ſame ſituation as at firſt. The only alleviation of this circumſtance was, that as the tide ebbed, the veſſel ſettled to the rocks, and was not beaten againſt them with ſo much violence. Our people had, indeed, ſome hope from the next tide, though it was doubtful whether the ſhip would hold together ſo long, eſpecially as the rock kept grating part of her bottom with ſuch force as to be heard in the fore ſtore-room. No effort, however, was remitted from deſpair of ſucceſs. That no time might be loſt, the water was immediately ſtarted in the hold, and pumped up: ſix guns, being all that were upon the deck, a quantity of iron and ſtone ballaſt, caſks, hoop ſtaves, oil jars, decayed ſtores, and a variety of things beſides, were thrown overboard with the utmoſt expedition. Every one exerted himſelf, not only

without

without murmuring and diſcontent, but even with an alacrity which almoſt approached to chearfulneſs. So ſenſible, at the ſame time, were the men of the awefulneſs of their ſituation, that not an oath was heard among them, the deteſtable habit of profane ſwearing being inſtantly ſubdued by the dread of incurring guilt when a ſpeedy death was in view. While Lieutenant Cook and all the people about him were thus employed, the opening of the morning of the eleventh of June preſented them with a fuller proſpect of their danger. The land was ſeen by them at about eight leagues diſtance, without any Iſland in the intermediate ſpace, upon which, if the ſhip had gone to pieces, they might have been ſet a-ſhore by the boats, and carried thence by different turns to the main. Gradually, however, the wind died away, and early in the forenoon it became a dead calm; a circumſtance this, peculiarly happy in the order of Divine Providence; for if it had blown hard, the veſſel muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed. High-water being expected at eleven in the morning, and every thing being made ready to heave her off if ſhe ſhould float; to the inexpreſſible ſurprize and concern of our Navigators, ſo much did the day-tide fall ſhort of that of the night, that though they had lightened the ſhip nearly fifty ton, ſhe did not float by a foot and a half. Hence it became neceſſary to lighten her ſtill more, and every thing was thrown overboard that could poſſibly be ſpared. Hitherto the Endeavour had not admitted much water; but as the tide fell, it ruſhed in ſo faſt, that ſhe could ſcarcely be kept free, though two pumps were inceſſantly worked. There were now no hopes but from the tide at midnight; to prepare for taking the advantage of which the moſt vigorous efforts were exerted. About five o'clock in the afternoon the tide began to riſe, but, at the ſame time, the leak increaſed to a moſt alarming degree. Two more pumps, therefore, were manned, one of which unhappily would not work. Three pumps, however, were kept going, and at nine o'clock the ſhip righted. Nevertheleſs, the leak had gained ſo conſiderably upon her, that it was imagined that ſhe muſt go to the bottom as ſoon as ſhe ceaſed to be ſupported by the rock. It was, indeed, a dreadful circumſtance to our Commander and his people, that they were obliged to anticipate the floating of the veſſel not as an earneſt of their deliverance, but as an event which probably would precipitate their deſtruction. They knew that their boats were not capable of carrying the whole of them on ſhore, and that when the dreadful criſis ſhould arrive, all command and ſubordination being at an end, a conteſt for preference might be expected, which would increaſe even the horrors of ſhipwreck, and turn their rage againſt each other. Some of them were ſenſible that if they ſhould eſcape to the main land, they were likely to ſuffer more upon the whole than thoſe who would be left on board to periſh in the waves. The latter would only be expoſed to inſtant death; whereas the former, when they got on ſhore, would have no laſting or effectual defence againſt the natives, in a part of the country where even nets and fire-arms could ſcarcely furniſh them with food. But ſuppoſing that they ſhould find the means of ſubſiſtence; how horrible muſt be their ſtate, to be condemned to languiſh out the remainder of their lives in a deſolate wilderneſs, without the poſſeſſion or hope of domeſtic comfort; and to be cut off from all commerce with mankind, excepting that of the naked ſavages who prowl the deſert, and who perhaps are ſome of the moſt rude and uncivilized inhabitants of the earth! The dreadful moment which was to determine the fate of our Voyagers now drew on; and every one ſaw, in the countenances of his companions, the picture of his own ſenſations. Not, however, giving way to deſpair, the Lieutenant ordered the capſtan and windlace to be manned with as many hands as could be ſpared from the pumps; and the ſhip having floated about twenty minutes after ten o'clock, the grand effort was made, and ſhe was heaved into deep water. It was no ſmall conſolation to find that ſhe did not now admit of more water than ſhe had done when upon the rock. By the gaining, indeed, of the leak upon the pumps, three feet and nine inches of water were in the hold; notwithſtanding which, the men did not relinquiſh their labour. Thus they held the water as it were at bay: but having endured exceſſive fatigue of body, and agitation of mind, for more than twenty-four hours, and all this being attended with little hope of final ſucceſs, they began, at length, to flag. None of them could work at the pump above five or ſix minutes together, after which, being totally exhauſted, they threw themſelves down upon the deck, though a ſtream of water, between three or four inches deep, was running over it from the pumps. When thoſe who ſucceeded them had worked their time, and in their turn were exhauſted, they threw themſelves down in the ſame manner, and the others ſtarted up again, to renew their labour. While thus they were employed in relieving each other, an accident was very nearly putting an immediate end to all their efforts. The planking which lines the ſhip's bottom is called the cieling, between which and the outſide planking there is a ſpace of about eighteen inches. From this cieling only, the man who had hitherto attended the well had taken the depth of the water, and had given the meaſure accordingly. But, upon his being relieved, the perſon who came in his room reckoned the depth to the outſide planking, which had the appearance of the leak's having gained upon the pumps eighteen inches in a few minutes. The miſtake, however, was ſoon detected; and the accident, which in its commencement was very formidable to them, became, in fact, highly advantageous. Such was the joy which every man felt at finding his ſituation better

better than his fears had ſuggeſted, that it operated with wonderful energy, and ſeemed to poſſeſs him with a ſtrong perſuaſion that ſcarcely any real danger remained. New confidence and new hope inſpired freſh vigour; and the efforts of the men were exerted with ſo much alacrity and ſpirit, that before eight o'clock in the morning the pumps had gained conſiderably upon the leak. All the converſation now turned upon carrying the ſhip into ſome harbour, as a thing not to be doubted; and as hands could be ſpared from the pumps, they were employed in getting up the anchors. It being found impoſſible to ſave the little bower anchor, it was cut away at a whole cable, and the cable of the ſtream anchor was loſt among the rocks; but in the ſituation of our people theſe were trifles which ſcarcely attracted their notice. The fore-topmaſt and fore-yard were next erected, and there being a breeze from the ſea, the Endeavour, at eleven o'clock, got once more under ſail, and ſtood for the land. Notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances, our Voyagers were ſtill very far from being in a ſtate of ſafety. It was not poſſible long to continue the labour by which the pumps had been made to gain upon the leak; and as the exact place of it could not be diſcovered, there was no hope of ſtopping it within. At this criſis, Mr. Monkhouſe, one of the midſhipmen, came to Lieutenant Cook, and propoſed an expedient he had once ſeen uſed on board a merchant ſhip which had ſprung a leak that admitted more than four feet water in an hour, and which by this means had been ſafely brought from Virginia to London. To Mr. Monkhouſe, therefore, the care of the expedient, which is called fothering the ſhip, was, with proper aſſiſtance, committed; and his method of proceeding was as follows. He took a lower ſtudding ſail, and having mixed together a large quantity of oakham and wool, he ſtitched it down, as lightly as poſſible, in handfuls upon the ſail, and ſpread over it the dung of the ſheep of the veſſel, and other filth. The ſail being thus prepared, it was hauled under the ſhip's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended. When it came under the leak, the ſuction that carried in the water, carried in with it the oakham and wool from the ſurface of the ſail. In other parts the water was not ſufficiently agitated to waſh off the oakham and the wool. The ſucceſs of the expedient was anſwerable to the warmeſt expectations; for hereby the leak was ſo far reduced, that, inſtead of gaining upon three pumps, it was eaſily kept under with one. Here was ſuch a new ſource of confidence and comfort, that our people could ſcarcely have expreſſed more joy if they had been already in port. It had lately been the utmoſt object of their hope, to run the ſhip a-ſhore in ſome harbour, either of an Iſland or the main, and to build a veſſel out of her materials, to carry them to the Eaſt Indies. Nothing, however, was now thought of but to range along the coaſt in ſearch of a convenient place to repair the damage the Endeavour had ſuſtained, and then to proſecute the voyage upon the ſame plan, as if no impediment happened. In juſtice and gratitude to the ſhip's company, and the Gentlemen on board, Mr. Cook has recorded, that although in the midſt of their diſtreſs all of them ſeemed to have a juſt ſenſe of their danger, no man gave way to paſſionate exclamations, or frantic geſtures. "Every one appeared to have "the perfect poſſeſſion of his mind, and every one exerted himſelf to the uttermoſt, with "a quiet and patient perſeverance, equally diſtant from the tumultuous violence of terror, "and the gloomy inactivity of deſpair (*w*)." Though the Lieutenant hath ſaid nothing of himſelf, it is well known that his own compoſure, fortitude, and activity were equal to the greatneſs of the occaſion. To complete the hiſtory of this wonderful preſervation, it is neceſſary to bring forward a circumſtance, which could not be diſcovered till the ſhip was laid down to be repaired. It was then found that one of her holes, which was large enough to have ſunk our Navigators, if they had had eight pumps inſtead of four, and had been able to keep them inceſſantly going, was in a great meaſure filled up by a fragment of the rock, upon which the Endeavour had ſtruck. To this ſingular event, therefore, it was owing, that the water did not pour in with a violence which muſt ſpeedily have involved the Endeavour and all her company in inevitable deſtruction (*x*). Hitherto none of the names, by which our Commander had diſtinguiſhed the ſeveral parts of the country ſeen by him, were memorials of diſtreſs. But the anxiety and danger which he and his people had now experienced, induced him to call a point in ſight, which lay to the Northward, CAPE TRIBULATION (*y*). The next object after this event was to look out for a harbour where the defects of the ſhip might be repaired, and the veſſel put into proper order for future navigation. On the fourteenth, a ſmall harbour was happily diſcovered, which was excellently adapted to the purpoſe. It was, indeed, remarkable, that, during the whole courſe of the voyage, our people had ſeen no place which, in their preſent circumſtances, could have afforded them the ſame relief. They could not, however, immediately get into it; and in the midſt of all their joy for their unexpected deliverance, they had not forgotten that there was nothing but a lock of wool between them and deſtruction.

(*w*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 544—552.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 550.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 544. Cape Tribulation lies in latitude 16° 6′ South; and longitude 214° 39 Weſt.

At this time, the ſcurvy, with many formidable ſymptoms, began to make its appearance among our Navigators. Tupia, in particular, was ſo grievouſly affected with the diſeaſe, that all the remedies preſcribed by the Surgeon could not retard it progreſs. Mr. Green, the Aſtronomer, was alſo upon the decline. Theſe and other circumſtances embittered the delay which prevented our Commander and his companions from getting on

ſhore. In the morning of the ſeventeenth, though the wind was ſtill freſh, the Lieutenant ventured to weigh, and to put in for the harbour, the entrance into which was by a very narrow channel. In making the attempt the ſhip was twice run aground. At the firſt time ſhe went off without any trouble, but the ſecond time ſhe ſtuck faſt. Nevertheleſs, by proper exertions, in conjunction with the riſing of the tide, ſhe floated about one o'clock in the afternoon, and was ſoon warped into the harbour. The ſucceeding day was employed in erecting two tents, in landing the proviſions and ſtores, and in making every preparation for repairing the damages which the Endeavour had ſuſtained. In the mean while, Mr. Cook, who had aſcended one of the higheſt hills that overlooked the harbour, was by no means entertained with a comfortable proſpect; the low land near the river being wholly over-run with mangroves, among which the ſalt-water flows at every tide, and the high land appearing to be altogether ſtoney and barren. Mr. Banks alſo took a walk up the country, and met with the frames of ſeveral old Indian houſes, and places where the natives, though not recently, had dreſſed ſhell-fiſh. The boat, which had this day been diſpatched to haul the ſeine, with a view of procuring ſome fiſh for the refreſhment of the ſick, returned without ſucceſs. Tupia was more fortunate. Having employed himſelf in angling, and lived entirely upon what he caught, he recovered in a ſurprizing degree. Mr. Green, to the regret of his friends, exhibited no ſymptoms of returning health. On the nineteenth, Mr. Banks croſſed the river to take a farther view of of the country; which he found to conſiſt principally of ſand-hills. Some Indian houſes were ſeen by him, that appeared to have been very lately inhabited; and in his walk he met with large flocks of pigeons and crows. The pigeons were exceedingly beautiful. Of theſe he ſhot ſeveral; but the crows, which were exactly like thoſe in England, were ſo ſhy that they never came within the reach of his gun. It was not till the twenty-ſecond that the tide ſo far left the Endeavour, as to give our people an opportunity of examining her leak. In the place where it was found, the rocks had made their way through four planks, and even into the timbers. Three more planks were greatly damaged, and there was ſomething very extraordinary in the appearances of the breaches. Not a ſplinter was to be ſeen, but all was as ſmooth as if the whole had been cut away by an inſtrument. It was a peculiarly happy circumſtance that the timbers were here very cloſe, ſince otherwiſe the ſhip could not poſſibly have been ſaved. Now alſo it was that the fragment of the rock was diſcovered, which, by ſticking in the leak of the veſſel, had been ſuch a providential inſtrument of her preſervation. On the ſame day, ſome of the people who had been ſent to ſhoot pigeons for the ſick, and who had diſcovered many Indian houſes, and a fine ſtream of freſh water, reported at their return, that they had ſeen an animal as large as a greyhound, of a ſlender make, of a mouſe colour, and extremely ſwift. As the Lieutenant was walking, on the morning of the twenty-fourth, at a little diſtance from the ſhip, he had an opportunity of ſeeing an animal of the ſame kind. From the deſcription he gave of it, and from an imperfect view which occurred to Mr. Banks, the latter Gentleman was of opinion that its ſpecies was hitherto unknown. The poſition of the veſſel, while ſhe was refitting for ſea, was very near depriving the world of that botanical knowledge, which Mr. Banks had procured at the expence of ſo much labour, and ſuch various perils. For the greater ſecurity of the curious collection of plants which he had made during the whole voyage, he had removed them into the bread room. This room is in the after part of the ſhip, the head of which, for the purpoſe of repairing her, was laid much higher than the ſtern. No one having thought of the danger to which this circumſtance might expoſe the plants, they were found to be under water. However, by the exerciſe of unremitting care and attention, the larger part of them were reſtored to a ſtate of preſervation. On the twenty-ninth of June, at two o'clock in the morning Mr. Cook, in conjunction with Mr. Green, obſerved an emerſion of Jupiter's firſt ſatellite. The time here was $2^h\ 18'\ 53''$, which gave the longitude of the place at $214^\circ\ 42'\ 30''$ Weſt: its latitude is $15^\circ\ 26'$ South. The next morning the Lieutenant ſent ſome of the young Gentlemen to take a plan of the harbour, whilſt he himſelf aſcended a hill, that he might gain a full proſpect of the ſea: and it was a proſpect which preſented him with a lively view of the difficulties of his ſituation. To his great concern he ſaw innumerable ſand banks and ſhoals, lying in every direction of the coaſt. Some of them extended as far as he could diſcern with his glaſs, and many of them did but juſt riſe above water. To the northward there was an appearance of a paſſage, and this was the only direction in which our Commander could hope to get clear, in the proſecution of his voyage; for as the wind blew conſtantly from the South-eaſt, to return by the ſouthward would have been extremely difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible. On this, and the preceding day, our people had been very ſucceſsful in hauling the ſeine. The ſupply of fiſh was ſo great, that the Lieutenant was now able to diſtribute two pounds and a half to each man. A quantity of greens having likewiſe been gathered, he ordered them to be boiled with the peas. Hence an excellent meſs was produced, which, in conjunction with the fiſh, afforded an unſpeakable refreſhment to the whole of the ſhip's company [O]. Early in the morning of the

[O] *Afforded an unſpeakable refreſhment to the whole of the ſhip's company.*] On the firſt of July, the thermometer, in the ſhade, roſe to 87°, which was higher than it had been on any day ſince our Navigators had come upon the coaſt of New South Wales.

ſecond of July, Lieutenant Cook ſent the Maſter out of the harbour, in the pinnace, to ſound about the ſhoals, and to ſearch for a channel to the northward. A ſecond attempt, which was made this day to heave off the ſhip, was as unſucceſsful as a former one had been. The next day the Maſter returned, and reported that he had found a paſſage out to ſea, between the ſhoals. On one of theſe ſhoals, which conſiſted of coral rocks, many of which were dry at low water, he had landed, and found there cockles of ſo enormous a ſize, that a ſingle cockle was more than two men could eat. At the ſame place, he met with a great variety of other ſhell-fiſh, and brought back with him a plentiful ſupply for the uſe of his fellow Voyagers. At high-water, this day, another effort was made to float the ſhip, which happily ſucceeded; but it being found that ſhe had ſprung a plank between decks, it became neceſſary to lay her a-ſhore a ſecond time. The Lieutenant being anxious to attain a perfect knowledge of the ſtate of the veſſel, got one of the Carpenter's crew, a man in whom he could confide, to dive, on the fifth, to her bottom, that he might examine the place where the ſheathing had been rubbed off. His report, which was, that three ſtreaks of the ſheathing, about eight feet long, were wanting, and that the main plank had been a little rubbed, was perfectly agreeable to the account that had been given before by the Maſter and others, who had made the ſame examination; and our Commander had the conſolation of finding that, in the opinion of the Carpenter, this matter would be of little conſequence. The other damage, therefore, being repaired, the ſhip was again floated at high water, and all hands were employed in taking the ſtores on board, and in putting her into a condition for proceeding on her voyage (z). To the harbour in which ſhe was refitted for the ſea, Mr. Cook gave the name of the ENDEAVOUR RIVER. On the morning of the ſixth, Mr. Banks, accompanied by Lieutenant Gore, and three men, ſet out in a ſmall boat up the river, with a view of ſpending a few days in examining the country. In this expedition nothing eſcaped his notice which related either to the natural hiſtory or the inhabitants of the places he viſited. Though he met with undoubted proofs that ſeveral of the natives were at no great diſtance, none of them came within ſight. Having found, upon the whole, that the country did not promiſe much advantage from a farther ſearch, he and his party reimbarked in their boat, and returned, on the eighth, to the ſhip. During their excurſion, they had ſlept upon the ground in perfect ſecurity, and without once reflecting upon the danger they would have incurred, if in that ſituation they had been diſcovered by the Indians. Lieutenant Cook had not been ſatisfied with the account which the Maſter had given of his having traced a paſſage, between the ſhoals, into the ſea. He ſent him out, therefore, a ſecond time, upon the ſame buſineſs; and, on his return, he made a different report. Having been ſeven leagues out to ſea, the Maſter was now of opinion that there was no ſuch paſſage as he had before imagined. His expedition, however, though in this reſpect unſucceſsful, was not wholly without its advantage. On the very rock where he had ſeen the large cockles, he met with a great number of turtle; and though he had no better an inſtrument than a boat-hook, three of them were caught, which together weighed ſeven hundred and ninety-one pounds. An attempt, which, by order of the Lieutenant, was made the next morning to obtain ſome more turtle, failed through the miſconduct of the ſame officer, who had been ſo fortunate on the preceding day. Hitherto the natives of this part of the country had eagerly avoided holding any intercourſe with our people: but at length their minds, through the good management of Mr. Cook, became more favourably diſpoſed. Four of them having appeared, on the tenth, in a ſmall canoe, and ſeeming to be buſily employed in ſtriking fiſh, ſome of the ſhip's company were for going over to them in a boat. This, however, the Lieutenant would not permit, repeated experience having convinced him that it was more likely to prevent than to procure an interview. He determined to purſue a contrary method, and to try what could be done by letting them alone, and not appearing to make them, in the leaſt degree, the objects of his notice. So ſucceſsful was this plan, that, after ſome preparatory intercourſe, they came along-ſide the ſhip, without expreſſing any fear or diſtruſt. The conference was carried on, by ſigns, with the utmoſt cordiality till dinner-time, when, being invited by our people to go with them and partake of their proviſion, they declined it, and went away in their canoe. One of theſe Indians was ſomewhat above the middle age; the three others were young. Their ſtature was of the common ſize, but their limbs were remarkably ſmall. The colour of their ſkin was a dark chocolate. Their hair was black, but not woolly; and their features were far from being diſagreeable. They had lively eyes, and their teeth were even and white. The tones of their voices were ſoft and muſical, and there was a flexibility in their organs of ſpeech, which enabled them to repeat, with great facility, many of the words pronounced by the Engliſh. On the next morning, our Voyagers had another viſit from four of the natives. Three of them were the ſame who had appeared the day before, but the fourth was a ſtranger, to whom his companions gave the name of YAPARICO. He was diſtinguiſhed by a very peculiar ornament. This was the bone of a bird, nearly as thick as a man's finger, and five or ſix inches long, which he had thruſt into a hole, made in the griſtle that divides the noſtrils. An inſtance of the like kind, and only one, had been ſeen in New Zealand. It was found, however, that among all theſe people the ſame part of the noſe

(z) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 557—568.

noſe was perforated; that they had holes in their ears; and that they had bracelets, made of plaited hair, upon the upper part of their arms. Thus the love of ornament takes place among them, though they are abſolutely deſtitute of apparel. Three Indians, on the twelfth, ventured down to Tupia's tent, and were ſo well pleaſed with their reception, that one of them went with his canoe to fetch two others, who had never been ſeen by the Engliſh. On his return, he introduced the ſtrangers by name, a ceremony which was never omitted upon ſuch occaſions. From a farther acquaintance with the natives, it was found that the colour of their ſkins was not ſo dark as had at firſt been apprehended, and that all of them were remarkably clean limbed, and extremely active and nimble. Their language appeared to be more harſh than that of the Iſlanders in the South ſea. On the fourteenth, Mr. Gore had the good fortune to kill one of the animals before-mentioned, and which had been the ſubject of much ſpeculation. It is called by the natives *Kanguroo*; and when dreſſed proved moſt excellent meat. Indeed, our Navigators might now be ſaid to fare ſumptuouſly every day; for they had turtle in great plenty, and it was agreed that theſe were far ſuperior to any which our people had ever taſted in England. This the Gentlemen juſtly imputed to their being eaten freſh from the ſea, before their natural fat had been waſted, or their juices changed, by the ſituation and diet they are expoſed to when kept in tubs. Moſt of the turtle here caught were of the kind called green turtle, and their weight was from two to three hundred pounds. In the morning of the ſixteenth, while the men were engaged in their uſual employment of getting the ſhip ready for the ſea, our Commander climbed one of the heights on the North ſide of the river, and obtained from it an extenſive view of the inland country, which he found agreeably diverſified by hills, valleys, and large plains, that in many places were richly covered with wood. This evening, the Lieutenant and Mr. Green obſerved an emerſion of the firſt ſatellite of Jupiter, which gave 214° 53′ 45″ of longitude. The obſervation taken on the twenty-ninth of June had given 214° 48′ 30″; and the mean was 214° 48′ 7½″, being the longitude of the place Weſt of Greenwich. On the ſeventeenth, Mr. Cook ſent the Maſter and one of the Mates in the pinnace, to ſearch for a channel to the northward; after which, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, he went into the woods on the other ſide of the water. In this excurſion the Gentlemen had a farther opportunity of improving their acquaintance with the Indians, who by degrees became ſo familiar, that ſeveral of them the next day ventured on board the ſhip. There the Lieutenant left them, apparently much entertained, that he might go with Mr. Banks to take a farther ſurvey of the country, and eſpecially to indulge an anxious curioſity they had of looking round about them upon the ſea; of which they earneſtly wiſhed, but ſcarcely dared to hope, that they might obtain a favourable and encouraging proſpect. When, after having walked along the ſhore ſeven or eight miles to the northward, they aſcended a very high hill, the view which preſented itſelf to them inſpired nothing but melancholy apprehenſions. In every direction, they ſaw rocks and ſhoals without number; and there appeared to be no paſſage out to ſea, but through the winding channels between them, the navigation of which could not be accompliſhed without the utmoſt degree of difficulty and danger. The ſpirits of the two Gentlemen were not raiſed by this excurſion. On the nineteenth our Voyagers were viſited by ten of the natives; and ſix or ſeven more were ſeen at a diſtance, chiefly women, who were as naked as the male inhabitants of the country. There being at that time a number of turtles on the deck of the ſhip, the Indians who came on board were determined to get one of them; and expreſſed great diſappointment and anger, when our people refuſed to comply with their wiſhes. Several attempts were made by them to ſecure what they wanted by force; but all their efforts proving unſucceſsful, they ſuddenly leaped into their canoe in a tranſport of rage, and paddled towards the ſhore. The Lieutenant, with Mr. Banks, and five or ſix of the ſhip's crew, immediately went into the boat, and got a-ſhore, where many of the Engliſh were engaged in various employments. As ſoon as the natives reached the land, they ſeized their arms, which had been laid up in a tree, and having ſnatched a brand from under a pitch-kettle that was boiling, made a circuit to the windward of the few things our people had on ſhore, and with ſurprizing quickneſs and dexterity ſet fire to the graſs in their way. The graſs, which was as dry as ſtubble, and five or ſix feet high, burnt with ſurprizing fury; and a tent of Mr. Banks's would have been deſtroyed, if that Gentleman had not immediately got ſome of the men to ſave it, by hauling it down upon the beach. Every part of the Smith's forge that would burn was conſumed. This tranſaction was followed by another of the ſame nature. In ſpite of threats and entreaties, the Indians went to a different place, where ſeveral of the Endeavour's crew were waſhing, and where the ſeine, the other nets, and a large quantity of linen were laid out to dry, and again ſet fire to the graſs. The audacity of this freſh attack rendered it neceſſary that a muſquet, loaded with ſmall ſhot, ſhould be diſcharged at one of them; who being wounded, at the diſtance of about forty yards, they all betook themſelves to flight. In the laſt inſtance the fire was extinguiſhed before it had made any conſiderable progreſs; but where it had firſt begun it ſpread far into the woods. The natives being ſtill in ſight, Mr. Cook, to convince them that they had not yet gotten out of his reach, fired a muſquet, charged with ball, a-breaſt of them among the mangroves, upon which they quickened their

their pace, and were ſoon out of view. It was now expected that they would have given our Navigators no farther trouble; but in a little time their voices were heard in the woods, and it was perceived that they came nearer and nearer. The Lieutenant, therefore, together with Mr. Banks, and three or four more perſons, ſet out to meet them; and the reſult of the interview, in conſequence of the prudent and lenient conduct of our Commander and his friends, was a complete reconciliation. Soon after the Indians went away, the woods were ſeen to be on fire at the diſtance of about two miles. This accident, if it had happened a little ſooner, might have produced dreadful effects; for the powder had been but a few days on board, and it was not many hours that the ſtore tent, with all the valuable things contained in it, had been removed. From the fury with which the graſs would burn in this hot climate, and the difficulty of extinguiſhing the fire, our Voyagers determined never to expoſe themſelves to the like danger, but to clear the ground around them, if ever again they ſhould be under a neceſſity of pitching their tents in ſuch a ſituation. In the evening of this day, when every thing was gotten on board the ſhip, and ſhe was nearly ready for ſailing, the Maſter returned with the diſagreeable account that there was no paſſage for her to the northward. The next morning the Lieutenant himſelf ſounded and buoyed the bar. At this time all the hills for many miles round were on fire, and the appearance they aſſumed at night was eminently ſtriking and ſplendid. In an excurſion which was made by Mr. Banks, on the twenty-third, to gather plants, he found the greateſt part of the cloth that had been given to the Indians lying in a heap together. This, as well as the trinkets which were beſtowed upon them, they probably regarded as uſeleſs lumber. Indeed, they ſeemed to ſet little value on any thing poſſeſſed by our people, excepting their turtle; and that was a commodity which could not be ſpared. As Lieutenant Cook was prevented by blowing weather from attempting to get out to ſea, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander ſeized another opportunity, on the twenty-fourth, of purſuing their botanical reſearches. Having traverſed the woods the greater part of the day without ſucceſs, as they were returning through a deep valley, they diſcovered lying upon the ground ſeveral marking nuts, the *Anacardium orientale*. Animated with the hope of meeting with the tree that bore them, a tree which perhaps no European botaniſt had ever ſeen, they ſought for it with great diligence and labour, but to no purpoſe. While Mr. Banks was again gleaning the country, on the twenty-ſixth, to enlarge his treaſure of natural hiſtory, he had the good fortune to take an animal of the *Opoſſum* tribe, together with two young ones. It was a female, and, though not exactly of the ſame ſpecies, much reſembled the remarkable animal which Monſ. de Buffon hath deſcribed by the name of *phalanger*. On the morning of the twenty-ninth, the weather becoming calm, and a light breeze having ſprung up by land, Lieutenant Cook ſent a boat to ſee what water was upon the bar, and all things were made ready for putting to ſea. But, on the return of the boat, the officer reported that there were only thirteen feet of water on the bar. As the ſhip drew thirteen feet ſix inches, and the ſea breeze ſet in again in the evening, all hope of ſailing on that day was given up. The weather being more moderate on the thirty-firſt, the Lieutenant had thoughts of trying to warp the veſſel out of the harbour; but upon going out himſelf in the boat, he found that the wind ſtill blew ſo freſh, that it would not be proper to make the attempt. A diſagreeable piece of intelligence occurred on the ſucceeding day. The Carpenter, who had examined the pumps, reported that they were all of them in a ſtate of decay. One of them was ſo rotten, that, when hoiſted up, it dropped to pieces, and the reſt were not in a much better condition. The chief confidence, therefore, of our Navigators was now in the ſoundneſs of the ſhip; and it was a happy circumſtance that ſhe did not admit more than one inch of water in an hour. Early on the third of Auguſt, another unſucceſsful attempt was made to warp the veſſel out of the harbour: but in the morning of the next day the efforts of our Voyagers were more proſperous, and the Endeavour got once more under ſail, with a light air from the land, which ſoon died away, and was followed by ſea breezes from South-eaſt by South. With theſe breezes the ſhip ſtood off to ſea, Eaſt by North, having the pinnace a-head, which was ordered to keep ſounding without intermiſſion. A little before noon the Lieutenant anchored in fifteen fathom water, with a ſandy bottom; the reaſon of which was, that he did not think it ſafe to run in among the ſhoals, till, by taking a view of them from the maſt-head, at low-water, he might be able to form ſome judgment which way it would be proper for him to ſteer. This was a matter of nice and arduous determination. As yet Mr. Cook was in doubt whether he ſhould beat back to the ſouthward, round all the ſhoals, or ſeek a paſſage to the eaſtward or the northward: nor was it poſſible to ſay whether each of theſe courſes might not be attended with equal difficulty and danger (*a*). The impartiality and humanity of Lieutenant Cook's conduct in the diſtribution of proviſions ought not to paſs unnoticed. Whatever turtle or other fiſh were caught, they were always equally divided among the whole ſhip's crew, the meaneſt perſon on board having the ſame ſhare with the Lieutenant himſelf. He hath juſtly obſerved, that this is a rule which every commander will find it his intereſt to follow, in any voyage of a ſimilar nature. Great difficulties occurred in the navigation from the Endeavour river. On the fifth of Auguſt, the Lieutenant had not kept his courſe long, before

(*a*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 568—588.

before the ſhoals were diſcovered in every quarter, which obliged him, as night approached, to come to an anchor. In the morning of the ſixth, there was ſo ſtrong a gale, that our Voyagers were prevented from weighing. When it was low-water, Mr. Cook, with ſeveral of his officers, kept a look-out at the maſt-head, to ſee if any paſſage could be diſcovered between the ſhoals. Nothing, however, was in view excepting breakers, which extended from the South round by the Eaſt as far as to the North-weſt, and reached out to ſea, beyond the ſight of any of the Gentlemen. It did not appear that theſe breakers were cauſed by one continued ſhoal, but by ſeveral, which lay detached from each other. On that which was fartheſt to the eaſtward the ſea broke very high, ſo that the Lieutenant was induced to think that it was the outermoſt ſhoal. He was now convinced that there was no paſſage to ſea, but through the labyrinth formed by theſe ſhoals; and, at the ſame time, he was wholly at a loſs what courſe to ſteer, when the weather ſhould permit the veſſel to ſail. The Maſter's opinion was, that our Navigators ſhould beat back the way they came; but, as the wind blew ſtrongly, and almoſt without intermiſſion, from that quarter, this would have been an endleſs labour: and yet, if a paſſage could not be found to the northward, there was no other alternative. Amidſt theſe anxious deliberations, the gale increaſed, and continued, with little remiſſion, till the morning of the tenth, when, the weather becoming more moderate, our Commander weighed, and ſtood in for the land. He had now come to a final determination of ſeeking a paſſage along the ſhore to the northward (*b*). In purſuance of this reſolution, the Endeavour proceeded in her courſe, and at noon came between the farthermoſt headland that lay in ſight, and three Iſlands which were four or five leagues to the North of it, out at ſea. Here our Navigators thought that they ſaw a clear opening before them, and began to hope that they were once more out of danger. Of this hope, however, they were ſoon deprived; on which account the Lieutenant gave to the headland the name of CAPE FLATTERY (*c*). After he had ſteered ſome time along the ſhore, for what was believed to be the open channel, the petty officer at the maſt-head cried aloud that he ſaw land a-head, which extended quite round to the three Iſlands, and that between the ſhip and them there was a large reef. Mr. Cook upon this ran up the maſt-head himſelf, and plainly diſcerned the reef, which was ſo far to the windward that it could not be weathered. As to the land which the petty officer had ſuppoſed to be the main, our Commander was of opinion that it was only a cluſter of ſmall Iſlands. The Maſter and ſome others, who went up the maſt-head after the Lieutenant, were entirely of a different opinion. All of them were poſitive that the land in ſight did not conſiſt of Iſlands, but that it was a part of the main; and they rendered their report ſtill more alarming, by adding, that they ſaw breakers around them on every ſide. In a ſituation ſo critical and doubtful, Mr. Cook thought proper to come to an anchor, under a high point, which he immediately aſcended, that he might have a farther view of the ſea and country. The proſpect he had from this place, which he called POINT LOOK-OUT, clearly confirmed him in his former opinion; the juſtneſs of which diſplayed one of the numerous inſtances wherein it was manifeſt how much he exceeded the people about him in the ſagacity of his judgment concerning matters of navigation. The Lieutenant, being anxious to diſcover more diſtinctly the ſituation of the ſhoals, and the channel between them, determined to viſit the northernmoſt and largeſt of the three Iſlands before-mentioned; which, from its height, and its lying five leagues out to ſea, was peculiarly adapted to his purpoſe. Accordingly, in company with Mr. Banks, whoſe fortitude and curioſity ſtimulated him to take a ſhare in every undertaking, he ſet out in the pinnace, on the morning of the eleventh, upon this expedition. He ſent, at the ſame time, the Maſter in the yawl, to ſound between the low Iſlands and the main land. About one o'clock, the Gentlemen reached the place of their deſtination, and immediately, with a mixture of hope and fear, proportioned to the importance of the buſineſs, and the uncertainty of the event, aſcended the higheſt hill they could find. When the Lieutenant took a ſurvey of the proſpect around him, he diſcovered, on the outſide of the Iſlands, and at the diſtance of two or three leagues from them, a reef of rocks, upon which the ſea broke in a dreadful ſurf, and which extended farther than his ſight could reach. Hence, however, he collected that there were no ſhoals beyond them; and, as he perceived ſeveral breaks or openings in the reef, and deep water between that and the Iſlands, he entertained hopes of getting without the rocks. But though he ſaw reaſon to indulge, in ſome degree, this expectation, the hazineſs of the weather prevented him from obtaining that ſatisfactory intelligence which he ardently deſired. He determined, therefore, by ſtaying all night upon the Iſland, to try whether the next day would not afford him a more diſtinct and comprehenſive proſpect. Accordingly, the Gentlemen took up their lodging under the ſhelter of a buſh which grew upon the beach. Not many hours were devoted by them to ſleep; for at three in the morning Mr. Cook mounted the hill a ſecond time, but had the mortification of finding the weather much more hazy than it had been on the preceding day. He had early ſent the pinnace, with one of the mates, to ſound between the Iſland and reefs, and to examine what appeared to be a channel through them. The mate, in conſequence of its blowing hard, did not dare to venture into the channel, which he reported to be very narrow. Nevertheleſs, our Commander, who judged from the deſcrip-

(*b*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 590—595.

(*c*) Cape Flattery lies in latitude 14° 56′ South, and in longitude 214° 43′ Weſt.

deſcription of the place that it had been ſeen to diſadvantage, was not diſcouraged by this account. While the Lieutenant was engaged in his ſurvey, Mr. Banks, always attentive to the great object of natural hiſtory, collected ſome plants which he had never met with before. No animals were perceived upon the place excepting lizards, for which reaſon the Gentlemen gave it the name of LIZARD ISLAND. In their return to the ſhip, they landed on a low ſandy Iſland that had trees upon it, and which abounded with an incredible number of birds, principally ſea-fowl. Here they found the neſt of an eagle, and the neſt of ſome other bird, of what ſpecies they could not diſtinguiſh; but it muſt certainly be one of the largeſt kinds that exiſts. This was apparent from the enormous ſize of the neſt, which was built with ſticks upon the ground, and was no leſs than ſix and twenty feet in circumference, and two feet eight inches in height [*P*]. The ſpot which the Gentlemen were now upon, they called EAGLE ISLAND.

When Lieutenant Cook got on board, he entered into a very ſerious deliberation concerning the courſe he ſhould purſue. After conſidering what he had ſeen himſelf, and the Maſter's report, he was of opinion that by keeping in with the main land, he ſhould run the riſk of being locked in by the great reef, and of being compelled at laſt to return back in ſearch of another paſſage. By the delay that would hence be occaſioned, our Navigators would almoſt certainly be prevented from getting in time to the Eaſt Indies, which was a matter of the utmoſt importance, and indeed of abſolute neceſſity; for they had now not much more than three months proviſion on board, at ſhort allowance. The judgment the Lieutenant had formed, together with the facts and appearances on which it was grounded, he ſtated to his officers, by whom it was unanimouſly agreed, that the beſt thing they could do would be to quit the coaſt entirely, till they could approach it again with leſs danger. In purſuance of this reſolution, the Endeavour, early in the morning of the thirteenth, got under ſail, and ſucceſsfully paſſed through one of the channels or openings in the outer reef, which Mr. Cook had ſeen from the Iſland. When the ſhip had gotten without the breakers, there was no ground within one hundred and fifty fathom, and our people found a large ſea rolling in upon them from the South-eaſt. This was a certain ſign that neither land nor ſhoals were near them in that direction. So happy a change in the ſituation of our Voyagers was ſenſibly felt in every breaſt, and was viſible in every countenance. They had been little leſs than three months in a ſtate that perpetually threatened them with deſtruction. Frequently had they paſſed their nights at anchor within hearing of the ſurge that broke over the ſhoals and rocks; and they knew that, if by any accident the anchors ſhould not hold againſt an almoſt continual tempeſt, they muſt in a few minutes inevitably periſh. They had ſailed three hundred and ſixty leagues, without once, even for a moment, having a man out of the chains heaving the lead. This was a circumſtance which perhaps had never happened to any other veſſel. But now, our Navigators found themſelves in an open ſea, with deep water; and the joy they experienced was proportioned to their late danger, and their preſent ſecurity. Nevertheleſs, the very waves, which proved by their ſwell that our people had no rocks or ſhoals to fear, convinced them, at the ſame time, that they could not put a confidence in the ſhip equal to what they had done before ſhe ſtruck. So far were her leaks widened by the blows ſhe received from the waves, that ſhe admitted no leſs than nine inches of water in an hour. If the company had not been lately in ſo much more imminent danger, this fact, conſidering the ſtate of the pumps, and the navigation which was ſtill in view, would have been a matter of very ſerious concern. The paſſage or channel, through which the Endeavour paſſed into the open ſea beyond the reef, lies in latitude 14° 32′ South. It may always be known by the three high Iſlands within it, to which, on account of the uſe they may be of in guiding the way of future voyagers, our Commander gave the appellation of the ISLANDS OF DIRECTION. It was not a long time that our Navigators enjoyed the ſatisfaction of being free from the alarm of danger. As they were purſuing their courſe in the night of the fifteenth, they ſounded frequently, but had no bottom with one hundred and forty fathom, nor any ground with the ſame length of line. Nevertheleſs, at four in the morning of the ſixteenth, they plainly heard the roaring of the ſurf, and at break of day ſaw it foaming to a vaſt height, at not more than the diſtance of a mile. The waves which rolled in upon the reef carried the veſſel towards it with great rapidity; and, at the ſame time, our people could reach no ground with an anchor, and had not a breath of wind for the ſail. In a ſituation ſo dreadful, there was no reſource but in the boats; and, moſt unhappily, the pinnace was under repair. By the help, however, of the long-boat and the yawl, which were ſent a-head to tow, the ſhip's head was got round to the northward, a circumſtance which might delay, if it could not prevent deſtruction. This was not effected till ſix o'clock, and our Voyagers were not then a hundred yards from the rock, upon which the ſame billow that waſhed the ſide of the veſſel broke to a tremendous height the very next time it roſe. There was only, therefore, a dreary valley between the Engliſh

[*P*] *And two feet eight inches in height.*] In the twentieth volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, (p. 361.) where there is a ſhort account of New Holland, a bird's neſt is mentioned, larger than that which is deſcribed above.

and deſtruction; a valley no wider than the baſe of one wave, while the ſea under them was unfathomable. The Carpenter, in the mean while, having haſtily patched up the pinnace, ſhe was hoiſted out, and ſent a-head to tow, in aid of the other boats. But all theſe efforts would have been ineffectual, if a light air of wind had not ſprung up, juſt at the criſis of our people's fate. It was ſo light an air, that at any other time it would not have been obſerved: but it was ſufficient to turn the ſcale in favour of our Navigators; and, in conjunction with the aſſiſtance which was afforded by the boats, it gave the ſhip a perceptible motion obliquely from the reef. The hopes of the company now revived: but in leſs than ten minutes a dead calm ſucceeded, and the veſſel was again driven towards the breakers, which were not at the diſtance of two hundred yards. However, before the ground was loſt which had already been gained, the ſame light breeze returned, and laſted ten minutes more. During this time, a ſmall opening, about a quarter of a mile diſtant, was diſcovered in the reef; upon which, Mr. Cook immediately ſent one of the Mates to examine it, who reported that its breadth was not more than the length of the ſhip, but that within it there was ſmooth water. This diſcovery preſented the proſpect of a poſſibility of eſcape, by puſhing the veſſel through the opening. Accordingly, the attempt was made, but it failed of ſucceſs; for when our people, by the joint aſſiſtance of their boats and the breeze, had reached the opening, they found that it had become high-water; and, to their great ſurprize, they met the tide of ebb running out like a mill-ſtream. In direct contrariety to their expectations, ſome advantage was gained by this event. Though it was impoſſible to go through the opening, the ſtream which prevented the Endeavour from doing it, carried her out about a quarter of a mile; and the boats were ſo much aſſiſted in towing her, by the tide of ebb, that at noon ſhe had gained the diſtance of nearly two miles. However, there was yet too much reaſon to deſpair of deliverance. For even if the breeze, which had now died away, had revived, our Navigators were ſtill embayed in the reef: and the tide of ebb being ſpent, the tide of flood, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, drove the ſhip back again into her former perilous ſituation. Happily, about this time, another opening was perceived, nearly a mile to the weſtward. Our Commander immediately ſent Mr. Hicks, the firſt Lieutenant, to examine it; and in the mean while the Endeavour ſtruggled hard with the flood, ſometimes gaining and ſometimes loſing ground. During this ſevere ſervice, every man did his duty with as much calmneſs and regularity as if no danger had been near. At length, Mr. Hicks returned with the intelligence that the opening, though narrow and hazardous, was capable of being paſſed. The bare poſſibility of paſſing it was encouragement ſufficient to make the attempt; and indeed all danger was leſs to be dreaded by our people than that of continuing in their preſent ſituation. A light breeze having fortunately ſprung up, this, in conjunction with the aid of the boats, and the very tide of flood that would otherwiſe have been their deſtruction, enabled them to enter the opening, through which they were hurried with amazing rapidity. Such was the force of the torrent by which they were carried along, that they were kept from driving againſt either ſide of the channel, which in breadth was not more than a quarter of a mile. While they were ſhooting this gulph, their ſoundings were remarkably irregular, varying from thirty to ſeven fathom, and the ground at bottom was foul. As ſoon as our Navigators had gotten within the reef, they came to an anchor; and their joy was exceedingly great at having regained a ſituation which three days before they had quitted with the utmoſt pleaſure and tranſport. Rocks and ſhoals, which are always dangerous to the mariner even when they are previouſly known and marked, are peculiarly dangerous in ſeas which have never been navigated before; and in this part of the globe they are more perilous than in any other. Here they conſiſt of reefs of coral rock, which riſe like a wall almoſt perpendicularly out of the deep, and are always overflowed at high-water. Here, too, the enormous waves of the vaſt ſouthern ocean, meeting with ſo abrupt a reſiſtance, break, with inconceivable violence, in a ſurf which cannot be produced by any rocks or ſtorms in the northern hemiſphere. A crazy ſhip, ſhortneſs of proviſion, and a want of every neceſſary, greatly increaſed the danger to our preſent Voyagers of navigating in this ocean. Nevertheleſs, ſuch is the ardour of the human mind, and ſo flattering is the diſtinction of a firſt diſcoverer, that Lieutenant Cook and his companions chearfully encountered every peril, and ſubmitted to every inconvenience. They choſe rather to incur the charge of imprudence and temerity, than to leave a country unexplored which they had diſcovered, or to afford the leaſt colour for its being ſaid, that they were deficient in perſeverance and fortitude (*d*). It ſcarcely needs to be added, that it was the high and magnanimous ſpirit of our Commander, in particular, which inſpired his people with ſo much reſolution and vigour. The Lieutenant, having now gotten within the reef, determined, whatever might be the conſequence, to keep the main land on board in his future route to the northward. His reaſon for this determination was, that, if he had gone without the reef again, he might have been carried by it ſo far from the coaſt, as to prevent his being able to aſcertain whether this country did, or did not, join to New Guinea; a queſtion which he had fixed upon reſolving, from the firſt moment that he had come within ſight of land. To the opening through which the Endeavour had paſſed, our Commander, with a proper ſenſe of

(*d*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 595—607.

of gratitude to the Supreme Being, gave the name of PROVIDENTIAL CHANNEL. In the morning of the ſeventeenth, the boats had been ſent out, to ſee what refreſhments could be procured; and returned in the afternoon with two hundred and forty pounds of the meat of ſhell-fiſh, chiefly of cockles. Some of the cockles were as much as two men could move, and contained twenty pounds of good meat. Mr. Banks, who had gone out in his little boat, accompanied by Dr. Solander, brought back a variety of curious ſhells, and many ſpecies of corals. In the proſecution of the voyage, our people, on the nineteenth, were encompaſſed on every ſide with rocks and ſhoals: but, as they had lately been expoſed to much greater danger, and theſe objects were now become familiar, they began to regard them comparatively with little concern. On the twenty-firſt, there being two points in view, between which our Navigators could ſee no land, they conceived hopes of having at laſt found a paſſage into the Indian ſea. Mr. Cook, however, that he might be able to determine the matter with greater certainty, reſolved to land upon an Iſland which lies at the South-eaſt point of the paſſage. Accordingly, he went into the boat, with a party of men, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. As they were getting to ſhore, ſome of the natives ſeemed inclined to oppoſe their landing, but ſoon walked leiſurely away. The Gentlemen immediately climbed the higheſt hill, from which no land could be ſeen between the South-weſt and Weſt-ſouth-weſt; ſo that the Lieutenant had not the leaſt doubt of finding a channel through which he could paſs to New Guinea. As he was now about to quit the coaſt of New Holland, which he had traced from latitude thirty-eight to this place, and which he was certain no European had ever ſeen before, he once more hoiſted Engliſh colours. He had, indeed, already taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral particular parts of the country, but he now took poſſeſſion of the whole eaſtern coaſt, with all the bays harbours, rivers, and Iſlands ſituated upon it, from latitude 38° to latitude 10° ½′ South, in right of His Majeſty King George the Third, and by the name of NEW SOUTH WALES. The party then fired three vollies of ſmall arms, which were anſwered by the ſame number from the ſhip. When the Gentlemen had performed this ceremony upon the Iſland, which they called POSSESSION ISLAND, they reimbarked in their boat, and, in conſequence of a rapid ebb tide, had a very difficult and tedious return to the veſſel. On the twenty-third, the wind had come round to the South-weſt; and though it was but a gentle breeze, yet it was accompanied by a ſwell from the ſame quarter, which, in conjunction with other circumſtances, confirmed Mr. Cook in his opinion that he had arrived to the northern extremity of New Holland, and that he had now an open ſea to the weſtward. Theſe circumſtances afforded him peculiar ſatisfaction, not only becauſe the dangers and fatigues of the voyage were drawing to a concluſion, but becauſe it could no longer be doubted whether New Holland and New Guinea were two ſeparate Iſlands. The North-eaſt entrance of the ſtreight lies in the latitude of 10° 39′ South, and in the longitude of 218° 36′ Weſt; and the paſſage is formed by the main land, and by a congeries of Iſlands, to the North-weſt, called by the Lieutenant the PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLANDS, and which may probably extend as far as to New Guinea. Their difference is very great both in height and circuit, and many ſeemed to be well covered with herbage and wood: nor was there any doubt of their being inhabited. Our Commander was perſuaded, that among theſe Iſlands as good paſſages might be found as that through which the veſſel came, and the acceſs to which might be leſs perilous. The determination of this matter he would not have left to future navigators, if he had been leſs harraſſed by danger and fatigue, and had poſſeſſed a ſhip in better condition for the purpoſe. To the channel through which he paſſed, he gave the name of ENDEAVOUR STREIGHTS (*e*).

(*e*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 607—619.

New Holland, or, as the eaſtern part of it was called by Lieutenant Cook, New South Wales, is the largeſt country in the known world which does not bear the name of a continent. The length of coaſt along which our people ſailed, when reduced to a ſtrait line, was no leſs than twenty-ſeven degrees of latitude, amounting nearly to two thouſand miles. In fact, the ſquare ſurface of the Iſland is much more than equal to the whole of Europe. For a particular account of the natural and animal productions of the country, and a minute deſcription of its inhabitants, we muſt refer to the voyage at large. In general, we may obſerve, with regard to the natives, that their number bears no proportion to the extent of their territory. So many as thirty of them had never been ſeen together but once, and that was at Botany Bay. Even when they appeared determined to engage the Engliſh, they could not muſter above fourteen or fifteen fighting men; and it was manifeſt that their ſheds and houſes did not lie ſo cloſe together, as to be capable of accommodating a larger party. Indeed our Navigators ſaw only the ſea-coaſt on the eaſtern ſide; between which and the weſtern ſhore there is an immenſe tract of land that is wholly unexplored. But it is evident, from the totally uncultivated ſtate of the country which was ſeen by our people, that this immenſe tract muſt either be altogether deſolate, or at leaſt more thinly inhabited than the parts which were viſited. Of traffic the natives had no idea, nor could any be communicated to them. The things which were given them they received, but did not appear to underſtand the ſigns of the Engliſh requiring a return. There was no reaſon to believe that they eat animal food raw. As they have no veſſel in which water can be boiled, they either broil their meat upon the coals, or bake it in a hole by the help

of hot ſtones, agreeably to the cuſtom of the inhabitants of the South-Sea Iſlands. Fire is produced by them with great facility, and they ſpread it in a ſurprizing manner. For producing it they take two pieces of ſoft wood, one of which is a ſtick about eight or nine inches long, while the other piece is flat. The ſtick they ſhape into an obtuſe point at one end, and preſſing it upon the flat wood, turn it nimbly by holding it between both their hands. In doing this, they often ſhift their hands up, and then move them down, with a view of increaſing the preſſure as much as poſſible. By this proceſs they obtain fire in leſs than two minutes, and from the ſmalleſt ſpark they carry it to any height or extent with great ſpeed and dexterity. It was not poſſible, conſidering the limited intercourſe which our Navigators had with the natives of New South Wales, that much could be learned with regard to their language. Nevertheleſs, as this is an object of no ſmall curioſity to the learned, and is, indeed, of peculiar importance in ſearching into the origin of the various nations that have been diſcovered, Mr. Cook and his friends took ſome pains to collect ſuch a ſpecimen of it as might, in a certain degree, anſwer the purpoſe. Our Commander did not quit the country without making ſuch obſervations, relative to the currents and tides upon the coaſt, as, while they increaſe the general knowledge of navigation, may be of ſervice to future voyagers. The irregularity of the tides is an object worthy of notice (*f*).

(*f*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 622. 631. 634. 638. 645. 647, 648.

From the coaſt of New South Wales the Lieutenant ſteered, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, for the coaſt of New Guinea, and on the twenty-fifth fell upon a dangerous ſhoal. The ſhip was in ſix fathom, but ſcarcely two were found, upon ſounding round her, at the diſtance of half a cable's length. This ſhoal was of ſuch an extent, reaching from the Eaſt round by the North and Weſt to the South-weſt, that there was no method for the veſſel to get clear of it, but by her going back the way in which ſhe came. Here was another hair's-breadth eſcape; for it was nearly high-water, and there ran a ſhort cockling ſea, which if the ſhip had ſtruck muſt very ſoon have bulged her. So dangerous was her ſituation, that if her direction had been half a cable's length more either to the right or left, ſhe muſt have ſtruck before the ſignal for the ſhoal could have been made. It had been Lieutenant Cook's intention to ſteer North-weſt till he had made the South coaſt of New Guinea, and it was his purpoſe to touch upon it, if that could be found practicable. But in conſequence of the ſhoals he met with, he altered his courſe, in the hope of finding a clearer channel, and deeper water. His hope was agreeably verified; for by noon, on the twenty-ſixth, the depth of water was gradually increaſed to ſeventeen fathom (*g*). On the twenty-eighth, our Voyagers found the ſea to be in many places covered with a brown ſcum, ſuch as the ſailors uſually call ſpawn. When the Lieutenant firſt ſaw it he was alarmed, fearing that the ſhip was again among ſhoals; but the depth of water, upon ſounding, was diſcovered to be equal to what it was in other places. The ſame appearance had been obſerved upon the coaſts of Brazil and New Holland, in which caſes it was at no great diſtance from the ſhore. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined the ſcum, but could not determine what it was, any farther than as they ſaw reaſon to ſuppoſe that it belonged to the vegetable kingdom. The ſailors, upon meeting with more of it, gave up the notion of its being ſpawn, and finding a new name for it, called it ſea-ſaw-duſt. At day-break, on the third of September, our Navigators came in ſight of New Guinea, and ſtood in for it, with a freſh gale, till nine o'clock, when they brought to, being in three fathom water, and within about three or four miles of land. Upon this the pinnace was hoiſted, and the Lieutenant ſet off from the ſhip with the boat's crew, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Banks's ſervants, being in all twelve perſons well armed. As ſoon as they came a-ſhore, they diſcovered the prints of human feet, which could not long have been impreſſed upon the ſand. Concluding, therefore, that the natives were at no great diſtance, and there being a thick wood which reached to within a hundred yards of the water, the Gentlemen thought it neceſſary to proceed with caution, leſt their retreat to the boat ſhould be cut off. When they had walked ſome way along the ſkirts of the wood, they came to a grove of cocoa-nut trees, at the fruit of which they looked very wiſhfully; but not thinking it ſafe to climb, they were obliged to leave it without taſting a ſingle nut. After they had advanced about a quarter of a mile from the boat, three Indians ruſhed out of the wood with a hideous ſhout, and as they ran towards the Engliſh, the foremoſt threw ſomething out of his hand, which flew on one ſide of him, and burned exactly like gunpowder, though without making any report. The two other natives having at the ſame inſtant diſcharged their arrows, the Lieutenant and his party were under a neceſſity of firing, firſt with ſmall ſhot, and a ſecond time with ball. Upon this, the three Indians ran away with great agility. As Mr. Cook had no diſpoſition forcibly to invade this country, either to gratify the appetites or the curioſity of his people, and was convinced that nothing was to be done upon friendly terms, he and his companions returned with all expedition towards their boat. When they were aboard, they rowed abreaſt of the natives, who had come down to the ſhore in aid of their countrymen, and whoſe number now amounted to between ſixty and a hundred. Their appearance was much the ſame as that of the New Hollanders: they nearly reſembled them in ſtature, and in having their hair ſhort and cropped. Like them, alſo, they were abſolutely

(*g*) The latitude was now 10° 10′ South, and the longitude 220° 12′ Weſt.

naked; but the colour of their ſkin did not ſeem quite ſo dark, which, however, might be owing to their being leſs dirty. While the Engliſh Gentlemen were viewing them, they were ſhouting defiance, and letting off their fires by four or five at a time. Our people could not imagine what theſe fires were, or what purpoſes they were intended to anſwer. Thoſe who diſcharged them had in their hands a ſhort piece of ſtick, which they ſwung ſideways from them, and immediately there iſſued fire and ſmoke, exactly reſembling thoſe of a muſquet, and of as ſhort a duration. The men on board the ſhip who obſerved this ſurprizing phænomenon, were ſo far deceived by it as to believe that the Indians had fire-arms. To the perſons in the boat it had the appearance of the firing of vollies, without a report. The place where this tranſaction happened lies in the latitude of 6° 15′ South, and is about ſixty-five leagues to the North-eaſt of Port Saint Auguſtine, or Walche Caep, and is near what is called in the charts C. de la Colta de St. Bonaventura. In every part of the coaſt, the land is covered with a vaſt luxuriance of wood and herbage. The cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plantain-tree, flouriſh here in the higheſt perfection; beſides which the country abounds with moſt of the trees, ſhrubs, and plants, that are common to the South Sea Iſlands, New Zealand, and New Holland (*b*).

(*b*) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 650–658.

Soon after Mr. Cook and his party had returned to the ſhip, our Voyagers made ſail to the weſtward, the Lieutenant having reſolved to ſpend no more time upon this coaſt; a reſolution which was greatly to the ſatisfaction of a very conſiderable majority of his people. Some of the officers indeed were particularly urgent that a number of men might be ſent aſhore, to cut down the cocoa-nut trees for the ſake of their fruit. This, however, our Commander abſolutely refuſed, as equally unjuſt and cruel. It was morally certain, from the preceding behaviour of the natives, that if their property had been invaded they would have made a vigorous effort to defend it; in which caſe the lives of many of them muſt have been ſacrificed; and perhaps, too, ſeveral of the Engliſh would have fallen in the conteſt. The neceſſity of a quarrel with the Indians would have been regretted by the Lieutenant, even if he had been impelled to it by a want of the neceſſaries of life; but to engage in it for the tranſient gratification that would ariſe from obtaining two or three hundred green cocoa-nuts, appeared in his view highly criminal. The ſame calamity, at leaſt with regard to the natives, would probably have occurred, if he had ſought for any other place on the coaſt, to the northward and weſtward, where the ſhip might have lain ſo near the ſhore as to cover his people with the guns when they had landed. Beſides, there was cauſe to believe, that, before ſuch a place could have been found, our Navigators would have been carried ſo far to the Weſtward as to be obliged to go to Batavia, on the North ſide of Java. This, in Mr. Cook's opinion, would not have been ſo ſafe a paſſage as that to the South of Java, through the ſtreights of Sunda. Another reaſon for his making the beſt of his way to Batavia, was the leakineſs of the veſſel, which rendered it doubtful whether it would not be neceſſary to heave her down when ſhe arrived at that port. Our Commander's reſolution was farther confirmed by the conſideration, that no diſcovery could be expected in ſeas which had already been navigated, and where the coaſt had been ſufficiently deſcribed both by Spaniſh and Dutch geographers, and eſpecially by the latter. The only merit claimed by the Lieutenant, in this part of his voyage, was the having eſtabliſhed it as a fact beyond all controverſy, that New Holland and New Guinea are two diſtinct countries. Without ſtaying, therefore, on the coaſt of New Guinea, the Endeavour, on the ſame day, directed her courſe to the weſtward, in purſuing which Mr. Cook had an opportunity of rectifying the errors of former navigators. Very early in the morning of the ſixth of September, our Voyagers paſſed a ſmall Iſland which lay to the North-north-weſt; and at day-break they diſcovered another low Iſland, extending from that quarter to North-north-eaſt. Upon the laſt Iſland, which appeared to be of conſiderable extent, the Lieutenant would have landed to examine its produce, if the wind had not blown ſo freſh as to render his deſign impracticable. Unleſs theſe two Iſlands belong to the Arrou Iſlands, they have no place in the charts; and if they do belong to the Arrou Iſlands, they are laid down at too great a diſtance from New Guinea (*i*). Some other land which was ſeen this day ought, by its diſtance from New Guinea, to have been part of the Arrou Iſlands; but if any dependence can be placed on former charts, it lies a degree farther to the South. On the ſeventh, when the ſhip was in latitude 9° 30′ South, and longitude 229° 34′ Weſt, our people ought to have been in ſight of the Weaſel Iſles, which in the charts are laid down at the diſtance of twenty or twenty-five leagues from the coaſt of New Holland. But as our Commander ſaw nothing of them, he concluded that they muſt have been placed erroneouſly. Nor will this be deemed ſurprizing, when it is conſidered that not only theſe Iſlands, but the coaſt which bounds this ſea, have been explored at different times, and by different perſons, who had not all the requiſites for keeping accurate journals which are now poſſeſſed; and whoſe various diſcoveries have been delineated upon charts by others, perhaps at the diſtance of more than a century after ſuch diſcoveries had been made. In purſuing their courſe, our Navigators paſſed the Iſlands of Timor, Timor-lavet, Rotte, and Seman. While they were near the two latter Iſlands, they obſerved about ten o'clock at night, on the ſixteenth of the month, a phænomenon in the heavens, which in many particulars reſembled

(*i*) Mr. Cook found the South part of them in latitude 7° 6′ South, and in longitude 225° Weſt.

ſembled the Aurora Borealis, though in others it was very different. It conſiſted of a dull reddiſh light, which reached about twenty degrees above the horizon; and though its extent, at times, varied much, it never comprehended leſs than eight or ten points of the compaſs. Through, and out of the general appearance, there paſſed rays of light of a brighter colour, which vaniſhed, and were renewed nearly in the ſame manner as thoſe of the Aurora Borealis, but entirely without the tremulous or vibratory motion which is ſeen in that phænomenon. The body of this light bore South-ſou[illegible]-eaſt from the ſhip, and continued, without any diminution of its brightneſs, till twelve o'clo[illegible], and probably a longer time, as the Gentlemen were prevented from obſerving it farther, by [illegible] their retiring to ſleep. By the ſixteenth, Lieutenant Cook had gotten clear of all the Iſlands w[illegible]-hich had then been laid down in the maps as ſituated between Timor and Java, and did not ex[illegible]-ect to meet with any other in that quarter. But the next morning an Iſland was ſeen bearing Weſt-ſouth-weſt, and at firſt he believed that he had made a new diſcovery. As ſoon as our Voyagers had come cloſe in with the North ſide of it, they had the pleaſing proſpect of houſes and cocoa-nut trees, and of what ſtill more agreeably ſurprized them, numerous flocks of ſheep. Many of the people on board were at this time in a bad ſtate of health, and no ſmall number of them had been diſſatisfied with the Lieutenant for not having touched at Timor. He readily embraced, therefore, the opportunity of landing at a place which appeared ſo well calculated to ſupply the neceſſities of the company, and to remove both the ſickneſs and the diſcontent which had ſpread among them (*k*). This place proved to be the Iſland of SAVU, where a ſettlement had lately been made by the Dutch. The great deſign of our Commander was to obtain proviſions, which, after ſome difficulty, and ſome jealouſy on the part of Mr. Lange, the Dutch Reſident, were procured. Theſe proviſions were nine buffaloes, ſix ſheep, three hogs, thirty dozen of fowls, many dozens of eggs, ſome cocoa nuts, a few limes, a little garlic, and ſeveral hundred gallons of palm-ſyrup. In obtaining theſe refreſhments at a reaſonable price, the Engliſh were not a little aſſiſted by an old Indian, who appeared to be a perſon of conſiderable authority under the King of the country. The Lieutenant and his friends were one day very hoſpitably entertained by the King himſelf, though the royal etiquette did not permit his Majeſty to partake of the banquet (*l*). So little, in general, had the Iſland of Savu been known, that Mr. Cook had never ſeen a map or chart in which it is clearly or accurately laid down. The middle of it lies in about the latitude of 10° 35′ South, and longitude 237° 30′ Weſt; and from the ſhip it preſented a proſpect than which nothing can be more beautiful. This proſpect, from the verdure and culture of the country, from the hills, richly clothed, which riſe in a gentle and regular aſcent, and from the ſtatelineſs and beauty of the trees, is delightful to a degree that can ſcarcely be conceived by the moſt lively imagination. With regard to the productions and natives of the Iſland, the account which our Navigators were enabled to give of them, and which is copious and entertaining, was, in a great meaſure, derived from the information of Mr. Lange. An extraordinary relation is given of the morals of the people of this Iſland, and which, if true, muſt fill every virtuous mind with pleaſure. Their characters and conduct are repreſented as irreproachable, even upon the principles of Chriſtianity. Though no man is permitted to have more than one wife, an illicit commerce between the ſexes is ſcarcely known among them. Inſtances of theft are very rare; and ſo far are they from revenging a ſuppoſed injury by murder, that when any differences ariſe between them, they immediately and implicitly refer it to the determination of their King. They will not ſo much as make it the ſubject of private debate, leſt they ſhould hence be provoked to reſentment and ill-will. Their delicacy and cleanlineſs are ſuited to the purity of their morals. From the ſpecimen which is given of the language of Savu, it appears to have ſome affinity with that of the South Sea Iſlands. Many of the words are exactly the ſame, and the terms of numbers are derived from the ſame origin (*m*).

(*k*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 659—669.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 675—680.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 687, 688. 694, 695. 697. 702, 703—Parkinſon's Journal of a voyage to the South Seas, p. 163—169.

On the twenty-firſt of September, our Navigators got under ſail, and having purſued their voyage till the firſt of October, on that day they came within ſight of the Iſland of Java. During their courſe from Savu, Lieutenant Cook allowed twenty minutes a day for the weſterly current, which he concluded muſt run ſtrong at this time, eſpecially on the coaſt of Java; and accordingly, he found that this allowance was exactly equivalent to the effect of the current upon the ſhip. Such was the ſagacity of our Commander's judgment in whatever related to navigation. On the ſecond, two Dutch ſhips being ſeen to lie off Anger Point, the Lieutenant ſent Mr. Hicks on board one of them, to enquire news concerning England, from which our people had ſo long been abſent. Mr. Hicks brought back the agreeable intelligence, that the Swallow, commanded by Captain Carteret, had been at Batavia two years before. In the morning of the fifth, a prow came alongſide of the Endeavour, with a Dutch officer, who ſent down to Mr. Cook a printed paper in Engliſh, duplicates of which he had in other languages. This paper was regularly ſigned, in the name of the Governor and Council of the Indies, by their Secretary, and contained nine queſtions, very ill expreſſed, two of which only the Lieutenant thought proper to anſwer. Theſe were what regarded the nation and name of his veſſel, and whither

whither ſhe was bound. On the ninth, our Voyagers ſtood in for Batavia road, where they found the Harcourt Indiaman from England, two Engliſh private traders, and a number of Dutch ſhips. Immediately a boat came on board the Endeavour, and the officer who commanded having enquired who our people were, and whence they came, inſtantly returned with ſuch anſwers as were given him. In the mean time, Mr. Cook ſent a Lieutenant aſhore to acquaint the Governor of his arrival, and to make an apology for not having ſaluted; a ceremony he had judged better to omit; as he could only make uſe of three guns, excepting the ſwivels, which he was of opinion would not be heard. It being univerſally agreed that the ſhip could not ſafely proceed to Europe without an examination of her bottom, our Commander determined to apply for leave to heave her down at Batavia; and for this purpoſe he drew up a requeſt in writing, which, after he had waited firſt upon the Governor-General, and then upon the Council, was readily complied with, and he was told that he ſhould have every thing he wanted. In the evening of the tenth, there was a dreadful ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and rain, during which the main-maſt of one of the Dutch Eaſt Indiamen was ſplit, and carried away by the deck; and the main-top-maſt, and top-gallant-maſt were ſhivered to pieces. The ſtroke was probably directed by an iron ſpindle which was at the main-top-gallant-maſt head. As this ſhip lay very near the Endeavour, ſhe could ſcarcely have avoided ſharing the ſame fate, had it not been for the conducting chain, which fortunately had been juſt gotten up, and which conveyed the lightning over the ſide of the veſſel. But though ſhe eſcaped the lightning, the exploſion ſhook her like an earthquake; and the chain, at the ſame time, appeared like a line of fire. Mr. Cook has embraced this occaſion of earneſtly recommending ſimilar chains to every ſhip; and hath expreſſed his hope that all who read his narrative will be warned againſt having an iron ſpindle at the maſt-head. The Engliſh Gentlemen had taken up their lodging and boarding at a hotel, or kind of inn, kept by the order of Government. Here they met with thoſe impoſitions, in point of expence and treatment, which are too common to admit of much ſurprize. It was not long, however, that they ſubmitted to ill uſage. By a farther acquaintance with the manner of dealing with their hoſt, and by ſpirited remonſtrances, they procured a better furniſhed table. Mr. Banks, in a few days, hired a ſmall houſe for himſelf and his party; and as ſoon as he was ſettled in his new habitation, ſent for Tupia, who had hitherto continued on board on account of ſickneſs. When he quitted the ſhip, and after he came into the boat, he was exceedingly lifeleſs and dejected; but no ſooner did he enter the town than he appeared to be inſpired with another ſoul. A ſcene ſo entirely new and extraordinary filled him with amazement. The houſes, carriages, ſtreets, people, and a multiplicity of other objects, ruſhing upon him at once, produced an effect ſimilar to what is aſcribed to enchantment. His boy, Tayeto, expreſſed his wonder and delight in a ſtill more rapturous manner. He danced along the ſtreets in a kind of extacy, examining every object with a reſtleſs and eager curioſity, which was excited and gratified every moment. Tupia's attention was particularly excited by the various dreſſes of the paſſing multitude; and when he was informed that at Batavia every one wore the dreſs of his own country, he expreſſed his deſire of appearing in the garb of Otaheite. Accordingly, South Sea cloth being ſent for from the ſhip, he equipped himſelf with great expedition and dexterity. Lieutenant Cook imagined that at Batavia he ſhould find it eaſy to take up what money he might want for repairing and refitting the Endeavour; but in this he was miſtaken. No private perſon could be found who had ability and inclination to furniſh the ſum which was neceſſary. In this exigency, the Lieutenant had recourſe, by a written requeſt, to the Governor, from whom he obtained an order for being ſupplied out of the Dutch Company's treaſury. When our Voyagers had been only nine days at Batavia, they began to feel the fatal effects of the climate and ſituation. Tupia, after his firſt flow of ſpirits had ſubſided, grew every day worſe and worſe; and Tayeto was ſeized with an inflammation upon his lungs. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were attacked by fevers, and, in a little time, almoſt every perſon, both on board and on ſhore, was ſick. The diſtreſs of our people was indeed very great, and the proſpect before them diſcouraging in the higheſt degree. Tupia, being deſirous of breathing a freer air than among the numerous houſes that obſtructed it aſhore, had a tent erected for him on Cooper's Iſland, to which he was accompanied by Mr. Banks, who attended this poor Indian with the greateſt humanity, till he was rendered incapable of doing it, by the violent increaſe of his own diſorder. On the fifth of November, Mr. Monkhouſe, the Surgeon of the ſhip, a ſenſible, ſkilful man, whoſe loſs was not a little aggravated by the ſituation of the Engliſh, fell the firſt ſacrifice to this fatal country. Tayeto died on the ninth, and Tupia, who loved him with the tenderneſs of a parent, ſunk at once after the loſs of the boy, and ſurvived him only a few days. The diſorders of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander grew to ſuch a height, that the Phyſician declared they had no chance of preſerving their lives but by removing into the country. Accordingly, a houſe was hired for them at the diſtance of about two miles from the town; where, in conſequence of enjoying a purer air, and being better nurſed by two Malayan women, whom they had bought, they recovered by ſlow degrees. At length, Lieutenant Cook was himſelf taken ill; and out of the whole ſhip's company, not more than ten were able to do duty.

duty. In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes, our Commander was diligently and vigorouſly attentive to the repair of his veſſel. When her bottom came to be examined, ſhe was found to be in a worſe condition than had been apprehended. Her falſe keel and main keel were both of them greatly injured; a large quantity of the ſheathing was torn off; and among ſeveral planks which were much damaged, two of them, and the half of a third, were ſo worn for the length of ſix feet, that they were not above the eighth part of an inch in thickneſs: and here the worms had made way quite into the timbers. In this ſtate the Endeavour had ſailed many hundred leagues, in a quarter of the globe where navigation is dangerous in the higheſt degree. It was happy for our Voyagers that they were ignorant of their perilous ſituation; for it muſt have deeply affected them, to have known that a conſiderable part of the bottom of the veſſel was thinner than the ſole of a ſhoe, and that all their lives depended upon ſo ſlight and fragile a barrier between them and the unfathomable ocean. The repair of the Endeavour was carried on very much to Mr. Cook's ſatisfaction. In juſtice to the Dutch officers and workmen, he hath declared that, in his opinion, there is not a marine yard in the world, where a ſhip can be laid with more convenience, ſafety, and diſpatch, or repaired with greater diligence and ſkill. He was particularly pleaſed with the manner of heaving down by two maſts, and gives it a decided preference to the method which had hitherto been practiſed by the Engliſh. The Lieutenant was not one of thoſe on whom the bigotry could be charged of adhering to old cuſtoms, in oppoſition to the dictates of reaſon and experience. By the eighth of December, the Endeavour was perfectly refitted. From that time to the twenty-fourth, our people were employed in completing her ſtock of water, proviſions, and ſtores, in erecting ſome new pumps, and in various other neceſſary operations. All this buſineſs could have been effected much ſooner, if it had not been retarded by the general ſickneſs of the men. In the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, our Commander took leave of the Governor of Batavia, and of ſeveral other Gentlemen belonging to the place, with whom he had formed connections, and to whom he had been greatly obliged for their civilities and aſſiſtance. In the mean while, an accident intervened, which might have been attended with diſagreeable effects. A ſeaman, who had run away from one of the Dutch ſhips in the road, entered on board the Endeavour. Upon his being reclaimed as a ſubject of Holland, Mr. Cook, who was on ſhore, declared, that, if the man appeared to be a Dutchman, he ſhould certainly be delivered up. When, however, the order was carried to Mr. Hicks, who commanded on board, he refuſed to ſurrender the ſeaman, alledging, that he was a ſubject of Great Britain, born in Ireland. In this conduct Mr. Hicks acted in perfect conformity to the Lieutenant's intention and directions. The captain of the Dutch veſſel, in the next place, by a meſſage from the Governor General, demanded the man as a ſubject of Denmark. To this Mr. Cook replied, that there muſt be ſome miſtake in the General's meſſage, ſince he would never demand of him a Daniſh ſeaman, whoſe only crime was that of preferring the Engliſh to the Dutch ſervice. At the ſame time the Lieutenant added, that to ſhew the ſincerity of his deſire to avoid diſputes, if the man was a Dane he ſhould be delivered up as a courteſy; but that if he appeared to be an Engliſh ſubject, he ſhould be kept at all events. Soon after, a letter was brought from Mr. Hicks, containing indubitable proofs that the ſeaman in queſtion was a ſubject of his Britannic Majeſty. This letter Mr. Cook ſent to the Governor, with an aſſurance to his Excellency that he would not part with the man on any terms. A conduct ſo firm and deciſive produced the deſired effect, no more being heard of the affair. In the evening of the twenty-fifth, our Commander went on board, together with Mr. Banks and the reſt of the Gentlemen who had reſided conſtantly on ſhore. The Gentlemen, though conſiderably better, were far from being perfectly recovered. At this time, the ſick perſons in the ſhip amounted to forty, and the reſt of the company were in a very feeble condition. It was remarkable, that every individual had been ill excepting the ſail-maker, who was an old man between ſeventy and eighty years of age, and who was drunk every day, during the reſidence of our people at Batavia. Three ſeamen, and Mr. Green's ſervant, died, beſides the Surgeon, Tupia, and Tayeto. Tupia did not entirely fall a ſacrifice to the unwholeſome, ſtagnant, and putrid air of the country. As he had been accuſtomed, from his birth, to ſubſiſt chiefly upon vegetable food, and particularly on ripe fruit, he ſoon contracted the diſorders which are incident to a ſea life, and would probably have ſunk under them, before the voyage of the Engliſh could have been completed, even if they had not been obliged to go to Batavia to refit their veſſel (*n*). Our Navigators did not ſtay at this place without gaining an extenſive acquaintance with the productions of the country, and the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants. The information which was obtained on theſe heads is detailed at large in Dr. Hawkeſworth's narrative, and will be found to conſtitute a very valuable addition to what was heretofore known upon the ſubject.

(*n*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 704—723.

On Thurſday the twenty-ſeventh of December, the Endeavour ſtood out to ſea; and on the fifth of January, 1771, ſhe came to an anchor, under the South-eaſt ſide of Prince's Iſland. The deſign of this was to obtain a recruit of wood and water, and to procure ſome refreſhments for the ſick, many of whom had become much worſe than they were

when they left Batavia. As ſoon as the veſſel was ſecured, the Lieutenant, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander went on ſhore, and were conducted, by ſome Indians they met with, to a perſon who was repreſented to be the King of the country. After exchanging a few compliments with his Majeſty, the Gentlemen proceeded to buſineſs, but could not immediately come to a ſettlement with him, in reſpect to the price of turtle. They were more ſucceſsful in their ſearch of a watering-place, having found water conveniently ſituated, and which they had reaſon to believe would prove good. As they were going off, ſome of the natives ſold them three turtle, under a promiſe that the King ſhould not be informed of the tranſaction. On the next day, a traffic was eſtabliſhed with the Indians, upon ſuch terms as were offered by the Engliſh; ſo that by night our people had plenty of turtle. The three which had been purchaſed the evening before, were in the mean time dreſſed for the ſhip's company, who, excepting on the preceding day, had not, for nearly the ſpace of four months, been once ſerved with ſalt proviſions. Mr. Banks, in the evening, paid his reſpects to the King at his Palace, which was ſituated in the middle of a rice field. His Majeſty was buſily employed in dreſſing his own ſupper; but this did not prevent him from receiving his viſitant in a very gracious manner. During the following days, the commerce with the natives for proviſions was continued; in the courſe of which they brought down to the trading place, not only a quantity of turtle, but fowls, fiſh, monkies, ſmall deer, and ſome vegetables. On the evening of the eleventh, when Mr. Cook went on ſhore to ſee how thoſe of his people conducted their buſineſs who were employed in wooding and watering, he was informed that an axe had been ſtolen. As it was a matter of conſequence to prevent others from being encouraged to commit theſts of the like kind, he reſolved not to paſs over the offence, but to inſiſt upon redreſs from the King. Accordingly, after ſome altercation, his Majeſty promiſed that the axe ſhould be reſtored in the morning, and the promiſe was faithfully performed. On the fifteenth, our Commander weighed, and ſtood out for ſea (*o*). Prince's Iſland, where he lay about ten days, was formerly much frequented by the India ſhips of many nations, and eſpecially thoſe of England; but it had lately been forſaken, on account of the ſuppoſed badneſs of its water. This ſuppoſition, however, aroſe from a want of duly examining the brook by which the water is ſupplied. It is, indeed, brackiſh at the lower part of the brook, but higher up it will be found excellent. The Lieutenant, therefore, was clearly of opinion, that Prince's Iſland is a more eligible place for ſhips to touch at, than either at North Iſland or New Bay; from neither of which places any conſiderable quantity of other refreſhments can be procured. As the Endeavour proceeded on her voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, the ſeeds of diſeaſe, which had been received at Batavia, appeared with the moſt threatening ſymptoms, and reduced our Navigators to a very melancholy ſituation. The ſhip was, in fact, nothing better than an hoſpital, in which thoſe who could go about were not ſufficient for a due attendance upon thoſe who were ſick. Leſt the water which had been taken in at Prince's Iſland ſhould have had any ſhare in adding to the diſorder of the men, the Lieutenant ordered it to be purified with lime; and as a farther remedy againſt infection, he directed all the parts of the veſſel between the decks to be waſhed with vinegar. The malady had taken too deep root to be ſpeedily eradicated. Mr. Banks was reduced ſo low by it, that for ſome time there was no hope of his life; and ſo fatal was the diſeaſe to many others, that almoſt every night a dead body was committed to the ſea. There were buried, in about the courſe of ſix weeks, Mr. Sporing, a Gentleman who was one of Mr. Banks's aſſiſtants, Mr. Parkinſon, his Natural Hiſtory Painter, Mr. Green the Aſtronomer [Q], the Boatſwain, the Carpenter and his mate, Mr. Monkhouſe

(*o*) Java Head, from which the Lieutenant took his departure, lies in latitude 6° 49′ South, and in longitude 255° 12′ Weſt.

[Q] *Mr. Green the Aſtronomer.*] Mr. Charles Green (the youngeſt ſon of Mr. Joſhua Green of Swinton, near Rotherham, in Yorkſhire, a conſiderable farmer, and a freeholder of the county) was born in the year 1735. The principal part of his education he derived from his eldeſt brother, the Rev. John Green, late of Denmark-ſtreet, Soho. Mr. John Green was maſter of a ſchool in that place, and, after ſome time, took in his brother Charles, as an aſſiſtant teacher. In this ſituation, he made ſuch a progreſs in aſtronomical knowledge, that, in the latter end of the year 1760, he became aſſiſtant to Dr. Bradley, at the Royal Obſervatory, at Greenwich. This was upon the occaſion of Mr. Charles Maſon's having quitted that office, to go to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpoſe of obſerving the tranſit of Venus, in 1761. With Dr. Bradley Mr. Green remained at the obſervatory, till the Doctor's death, which happened in 1762. Upon Mr. Bliſs's appointment to the place of Aſtronomer Royal, Mr. Green continued to be aſſiſtant to that Gentleman. As Mr. Bliſs's health was very precarious, and his reſidence chiefly at Oxford, the principal care of the obſervations devolved on Mr. Green. Indeed, he was ſo uſeful to Mr. Bliſs, that when, in 1763, in conjunction with Dr. Maſkelyne, he was appointed by the Commiſſioners of the Board of Longitude to go to Barbadoes, to make obſervations for the trial of Mr. Harriſon's time-keeper, it was agreed that a temporary aſſiſtant only ſhould be provided at Greenwich, till his return. Accordingly, he remained at the Obſervatory till the death of Mr. Bliſs, in September, 1764, and the appointment of Dr. Maſkelyne, in the ſpring following. After this, he was employed by a number of Gentlemen, who had formed a ſcheme of bringing water from ſome part of the river Coln, below Uxbridge, to Marybone. But Mr. Green having proved, by this ſurvey, that there would be a deficiency of fall, if the water ſhould be taken from the tail of the loweſt mill in that ſtream, and objections being raiſed, by the proprietors of thoſe mills, to the water's being taken above them, the deſign dropped. Mr. Green's appointment, by the Royal Society, to obſerve, together with Lieutenant Cook, the tranſit of Venus in 1769, having already been related in the courſe of this work, it is ſufficient to add, that he fell a martyr to the

houſe the Midſhipman, another Midſhipman, the old jolly Sail-maker and his aſſiſtant, the ſhip's Cook, the Corporal of the marines, two of the Carpenter's crew, and nine ſeamen. In all, the loſs amounted to three and twenty perſons, beſides the ſeven who died at Batavia (*p*). It is probable that theſe calamitous events, which could not fail of making a powerful impreſſion on the mind of Lieutenant Cook, might give occaſion to his turning his thoughts more zealouſly to thoſe methods of preſerving the health of ſeamen, which he afterwards purſued with ſuch remarkable ſucceſs. On Friday the fifteenth of March, the Endeavour arrived off the Cape of Good Hope; and as ſoon as ſhe was brought to an anchor, our Commander waited upon the Governor, from whom he received aſſurances that he ſhould be furniſhed with every ſupply which the country could afford. His firſt care was to provide a proper place for the ſick, whoſe number was not ſmall; and a houſe was ſpeedily found, where it was agreed that they ſhould be lodged and boarded at the rate of two ſhillings a day for each perſon. The run from Java Head to the Cape of Good Hope did not furniſh many ſubjects of remark that could be of any great uſe to future voyagers. Such obſervations, however, as occurred to him the Lieutenant has been careful to record, not being willing to omit the leaſt circumſtance that may contribute to the ſafety and facility of navigation. The Cape of Good Hope had been ſo often deſcribed before our people ſtopped there, that even if it had entered into my plan to give a particular account of the countries viſited by Mr. Cook, and of the manners of their inhabitants, I ſhould have omitted what Dr. Hawkeſworth hath related concerning the place. It is ſufficient, therefore, to ſay, that the Lieutenant, having lain at the Cape to recover the ſick, to procure ſtores, and to refit his veſſel, till the fourteenth of April, then ſtood out of the Bay, and proceeded in his voyage homeward. In the morning of the twenty-ninth, he croſſed his firſt meridian, having circumnavigated the globe in the direction from Eaſt to Weſt. The conſequence of this was, that he had loſt a day, an allowance for which had been made at Batavia. On the firſt of May he arrived at St. Helena, where he ſtaid till the fourth to refreſh; during which time Mr. Banks employed himſelf in making the complete circuit of the Iſland, and in viſiting the places moſt worthy of obſervation. The manner in which ſlaves are deſcribed as being treated in this Iſland muſt be mentioned with indignation. According to our Commander's repreſentation, while every kind of labour is performed by them, they are not furniſhed either with horſes or with any of the various machines which art has invented to facilitate their taſk. Carts might conveniently be uſed in ſome parts, and where the ground is too ſteep for them, wheelbarrows might be employed to great advantage; and yet there is not a wheelbarrow in the whole Iſland. Though every thing which is conveyed from place to place is done by ſlaves alone, they have not the ſimple convenience of a porter's knot, but carry their burden upon their heads. They appeared to be a miſerable race, worn out by the united operation of exceſſive labour and ill uſage; and Mr. Cook was ſorry to obſerve, and to ſay, that inſtances of wanton cruelty were much more frequent among his countrymen at St. Helena, than among the Dutch, who are generally reproached with want of humanity, both at Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope (*q*). It is impoſſible for a feeling mind to avoid being concerned that ſuch an account ſhould be given of the conduct of any who are entitled to the name of Britons. The Lieutenant's reproof, if juſt, hath, it may be hoped, long before this, reached the place, and produced ſome good effect [*R*]. If ſlavery, that

(*p*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 767—772. 779—780.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 781—784. 794. 797.

the unwholeſome air of Batavia; for though he lived to quit that place, he died twelve days afterwards, of a dyſentery, on the 29th of January, 1771.

Mr. Green was tolerably well verſed in moſt branches of the mathematics, and had a tincture of various other ſciences. Metaphyſical enquiries were his favourite purſuits; and he was more fond of diſplaying his knowledge in this reſpect than was conducive to his advantage. Though he loved his friend much, he ſometimes ſhewed that he loved his jeſt better, by which he made himſelf enemies. He was a moſt excellent obſerver. Of this Dr. Maſkelyne was ſo well convinced, that, though they had diſagreed at Barbadoes, and were not afterwards on terms of friendſhip, the Doctor not only propoſed him to the Royal Society, as the moſt proper perſon to obſerve the tranſit of Venus, but ſupported his intereſt with great earneſtneſs, againſt ſome others of the Society, who wiſhed to ſend out a different perſon. The obſervations of Mr. Green which particularly related to the tranſit of Venus, were printed in conjunction with thoſe of Lieutenant Cook. His remaining ones, which are pretty numerous, are now preparing for publication, under the direction of the Commiſſioners of Longitude. Mr. Green was engaged for a time, in concert with Dr. Scott, the preſent Rector of Simonburn, Mr. Falconer, the author of the Shipwreck, and ſome other perſons, in writing a dictionary of arts and ſciences; but he did not continue his aſſiſtance through more than half the work. Mr. Green, as a reward for his going to Barbadoes, had been appointed Purſer of the Aurora frigate, which was afterwards made choice of to carry Mr. Vanſittart, and the other Superviſors, out to India. As Mr. Green was then abſent with Lieutenant Cook, his old colleague, Mr. Falconer, applied to the Commiſſioners of the Navy, for leave to exchange the Briſtol, to which he belonged, for the Aurora. In conſequence of this he was loſt with her; and, probably, at no great diſtance, either of time or ſpace, from where the body of her quondam purſer, Mr. Green, was committed to the deep (6).

(6) From the information of Mr. Wales.

[*R*] *And produced ſome good effect.*] Near the concluſion of Captain Cook's ſecond voyage, there is the following ſhort note. "In the account given of St. "Helena, in the narrative of my former voyage, I "find ſome miſtakes. Its inhabitants are far from "exerciſing a wanton cruelty over their ſlaves; and "they have had wheel-carriages and porter's knots "for many years." [vol. ii. p. 270.] This note I inſert with pleaſure. Nevertheleſs, I cannot think that the Lieutenant could have given ſo ſtrong a repreſentation of things, if, at the time in which it was written, it had been wholly without foundation.

diſgrace

diſgrace to religion, to humanity, and, I will add, to ſound policy, muſt ſtill be continued, every thing ought to be done which can tend to ſoften its horrors. When our Commander departed from St. Helena, on the fourth, it was in company with the Portland man of war, and twelve Indiamen. With this fleet he continued to ſail till the tenth, when perceiving that the Endeavour proceeded much more heavily than any of the other veſſels, and that ſhe was not likely to get home ſo ſoon as the reſt, he made a ſignal to ſpeak with the Portland. Upon this Captain Elliot himſelf came on board, and Mr. Cook delivered to him the common log-books of his ſhip, and the journals of ſome of the officers. The Endeavour, however, kept in company with the fleet till the morning of the twenty-third, at which time there was not a ſingle veſſel in ſight. On that day died Mr. Hicks, and in the evening his body was committed to the ſea, with the uſual ceremonies. Mr. Charles Clerke, a young man extremely well qualified for the ſtation, and whoſe name will hereafter frequently occur, received an order from Mr. Cook to act as Lieutenant in Mr. Hicks's room. The rigging and ſails of the ſhip were now become ſo bad, that ſomething was continually giving way. Nevertheleſs, our Commander purſued his courſe in ſafety; and on the tenth of June, land, which proved to be the Lizard, was diſcovered by Nicholas Young, the boy who had firſt ſeen New Zealand. On the eleventh, the Lieutenant ran up the channel. At ſix the next morning he paſſed Beachy Head; and in the afternoon of the ſame day he came to an anchor in the Downs, and went on ſhore at Deal (*r*). Thus ended Mr. Cook's firſt voyage round the world, in which he had gone through ſo many dangers, explored ſo many countries, and exhibited the ſtrongeſt proofs of his poſſeſſing an eminently ſagacious and active mind; a mind that was equal to every perilous enterprize, and to the boldeſt and moſt ſucceſsful efforts of navigation and diſcovery.

(*r*) Hawkeſworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 798, 790.

The manner in which Lieutenant Cook had performed his circumnavigation of the globe, juſtly entitled him to the protection of Government, and the favour of his Sovereign. Accordingly, he was promoted to be a Commander in his Majeſty's navy, by commiſſion bearing date on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, 1771 (*s*). Mr. Cook, on this occaſion, from a certain conſciouſneſs of his own merit, wiſhed to have been appointed a Poſt Captain. But the Earl of Sandwich, who was now at the head of the Admiralty Board, though he had the greateſt regard for our Navigator, could not concede to his requeſt, becauſe a compliance with it would have been inconſiſtent with the order of the naval ſervice. The difference was in point of rank only, and not of advantage. A Commander has the ſame pay as a Poſt Captain, and his authority is the ſame when he is in actual employment. The diſtinction is a neceſſary ſtep in the progreſs to the higher honours of the profeſſion (*t*). It cannot be doubted, but that the Preſident and Council of the Royal Society were highly ſatisfied with the manner in which the tranſit of Venus had been obſerved. The papers of Mr. Cook and Mr. Green, relative to this ſubject, were put into the hands of the Aſtronomer Royal, to be by him digeſted, and that he might deduce from them the important conſequences to ſcience which reſulted from the obſervation. This was done by him with an accuracy and ability becoming his high knowledge and character. On the twenty-firſt of May, 1772, Captain Cook communicated to the Royal Society, in a letter addreſſed to Dr. Maſkelyne, an "account of the flowing of the tides in the South Sea, as "obſerved on board His Majeſty's bark, the Endeavour (*u*)." The reputation our Navigator had acquired by his late voyage was deſervedly great; and the deſire of the public to be acquainted with the new ſcenes and new objects which were now brought to light, was ardently excited. It is not ſurprizing, therefore, that different attempts were made to ſatisfy the general curioſity. There ſoon appeared a publication, entitled, "a Journal "of a Voyage round the World." This was the production of ſome perſon who had been upon the expedition; and, though his account was dry and imperfect, it ſerved, in a certain degree, to relieve the eagerneſs of enquiry. The Journal of Sydney Parkinſon, draughtſman to Sir Joſeph Banks, to whom it belonged by ample purchaſe, was likewiſe printed, from a copy ſurreptitiouſly obtained; but an injunction from the Court of Chancery for ſome time prevented it appearance. This work, though diſhoneſtly given to the world, was recommended by its plates. But it was Dr. Hawkeſworth's account of Lieutenant Cook's voyage which completely gratified the public curioſity. This account, which was written by authority, was drawn up from the journal of the Lieutenant, and the papers of Sir Joſeph Banks; and, beſides the merit of the compoſition, derived an extraordinary advantage from the number and excellence of its charts and engravings, which were furniſhed at the expence of Government. The large price given by the bookſellers for this work, and the avidity with which it was read, diſplayed, in the ſtrongeſt light, the anxiety of the nation to be fully informed in every thing that belonged to the late navigation and diſcoveries. Captain Cook, during his voyage, had ſailed over the Pacific Ocean in many of thoſe latitudes in which a ſouthern continent had been expected to lie. He had aſcertained that neither New Zealand nor New Holland were parts of ſuch a continent. But the general queſtion concerning its exiſtence had not been determined by him, nor did he go out for that purpoſe, though ſome of the reaſons on which the notion of it had been adopted were diſpelled in the courſe of his navigation. It is well known

(*s*) From the books of the Admiralty.

(*t*) From the information of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich.

(*u*) Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. lxii. p. 357, 358.

how fondly the idea of a *Terra Auſtralis incognita* had for nearly two centuries been entertained. Many plauſible philoſophical arguments had been urged in its ſupport, and many facts alleged in its favour. The writer of this narrative fully remembers how much his imagination was captivated, in the more early part of his life, with the hypotheſis of a ſouthern continent. He has often dwelt upon it with rapture, and been highly delighted with the authors who contended for its exiſtence, and diſplayed the mighty conſequences which would reſult from its being diſcovered. Though his knowledge was infinitely exceeded by that of ſome able men who had paid a particular attention to the ſubject, he did not come behind them in the ſanguineneſs of his hopes and expectations. Every thing, however, which relates to ſcience muſt be ſeparated from fancy, and brought to the teſt of experiment: and here was an experiment richly deſerving to be tried. The object, indeed, was of peculiar magnitude, and worthy to be purſued by a great Prince, and a great nation. Happily, the period was arrived in Britain for the execution of the moſt important ſcientific deſigns. A regard to matters of this kind, though ſo honourable to crowned heads, had heretofore been too much neglected even by ſome of the beſt of our Princes. Our preſent Sovereign had already diſtinguiſhed his reign by his patronage of ſcience and literature; but the beginnings which had hitherto been made were only the pledges of future munificence. With reſpect to the object now in view, the gracious diſpoſitions of His Majeſty were ardently ſeconded by the noble Lord who had been placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty. The Earl of Sandwich was poſſeſſed of a mind which was capable of comprehending and encouraging the moſt enlarged views and ſchemes with regard to navigation and diſcovery. Accordingly, it was by his particular recommendation that a reſolution was formed for the appointment of an expedition, finally to determine the queſtion concerning the exiſtence of a ſouthern continent [S]. Quiros ſeems to have been the firſt perſon who had any idea that ſuch a continent exiſted, and he was the firſt that was ſent out for the ſole purpoſe of aſcertaining the fact. He did not ſucceed in the attempt; and the attempts of various navigators, down to the preſent century, were equally unſucceſsful (*x*). When the deſign of accompliſhing this great object was reſolved upon, it did not admit of any heſitation by whom it was to be carried into execution. No perſon was eſteemed equally qualified with Captain Cook, for conducting an enterprize the view of which was to give the utmoſt poſſible extent to the geography of the globe, and the knowledge of navigation. For the greater advantage of the undertaking, it was determined that two ſhips ſhould be employed; and much attention was paid to the choice of them, and to their equipment for the ſervice. After mature deliberation by the Navy Board, during which particular regard was had to the Captain's wiſdom and experience, it was agreed, that no veſſels were ſo proper for diſcoveries in diſtant unknown parts, as thoſe which were conſtructed like the Endeavour. This opinion concurring with that of the Earl of Sandwich, the Admiralty came to a reſolution, that two ſhips ſhould be provided of a ſimilar conſtruction. Accordingly, two veſſels, both of which had been built at Whitby, by the ſame perſon who built the Endeavour, were purchaſed of Captain William Hammond, of Hull. They were about fourteen or ſixteen months old at the time when they were bought, and, in Captain Cook's judgment, were as well adapted to the intended ſervice as if they had been expreſsly conſtructed for that purpoſe. The largeſt of the two, which conſiſted of four hundred and ſixty-two tons burthen, was named the Reſolution. To the other, which was three hundred and thirty-ſix tons burthen, was given the name of the Adventure. On the twenty-eighth of November, 1771, Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the former; and, about the ſame time, Mr. Tobias Furneaux was promoted to the command of the latter. The complement of the Reſolution, including officers and men, was fixed at a hundred and twelve perſons; and that of the Adventure, at eighty-one. In the equipment of theſe ſhips, every circumſtance was attended to that could contribute to the comfort and ſucceſs of the voyage. They were fitted in the moſt complete manner, and ſupplied with every extraordinary article which was ſuggeſted to be neceſſary or uſeful. Lord Sandwich, whoſe zeal was indefatigable upon this occaſion, viſited the veſſels from time to time, to be aſſured that the whole equipment was agreeable to his wiſhes, and to the ſatisfaction of thoſe who were to engage in the expedition. Nor were the Navy and Victualling Boards wanting in procuring for the ſhips the very beſt of ſtores and proviſions, with ſome alterations in the ſpecies of them, that were adapted to the nature of the enterprize; beſides which, there was an ample ſupply of antiſcorbutic articles, ſuch as malt, ſour krout, ſalted cabbage, portable broth, ſaloup, muſtard, marmalade of carrots, and inſpiſſated juice of wort and beer. No leſs attention was paid to the cauſe of ſcience in general. The Admiralty engaged Mr. William Hodges, an excellent landſcape painter, to embark in the voyage, in order to make drawings and paintings of ſuch objects as could not ſo well be comprehended from written deſcriptions. Mr. John Reinhold Forſter and his ſon were fixed

(*x*) Introduction to the Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, p. xi.

[S] *Concerning the exiſtence of a ſouthern continent.*] Mr. Dalrymple had renewed the attention of the public to this object by his hiſtorical collection, in two volumes, quarto, of the ſeveral voyages and diſcoveries in the South Pacific Ocean. The firſt volume appeared in 1770, and the ſecond in 1771.

upon to explore and collect the natural history of the countries which might be visited, and an ample sum was granted by Parliament for the purpose. That nothing might be wanting to accomplish the scientific views of the expedition, the Board of Longitude agreed with Mr. William Wales and Mr. William Bayley, to make astronomical observations. Mr. Wales was stationed in the Resolution, and Mr. Bayley in the Adventure. By the same Board they were furnished with the best of instruments, and particularly with four time-pieces, three constructed by Mr. Arnold, and one by Mr. Kendal on Mr. Harrison's principles (*y*). Though Captain Cook had been appointed to the command of the Resolution on the twenty-eighth of November, 1771, such were the preparations necessary for so long and important a voyage, and the impediments which occasionally and unavoidably occurred, that the ship did not sail from Deptford till the ninth of April following, nor did she leave Long Reach till the tenth of May. In plying down the river, it was found necessary to put into Sheerness, in order to make some alterations in her upper works. These the officers of the yard were directed immediately to take in hand; and Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser came down to see them executed in the most effectual manner. The ship being again completed for sea by the twenty-second of June, Captain Cook on that day sailed from Sheerness, and, on the third of July, joined the Adventure in Plymouth Sound. Lord Sandwich, in his return from a visit to the dock-yards, having met the Resolution on the preceding evening, his Lordship and Sir Hugh Palliser gave the last mark of their great attention to the object of the voyage, by coming on board, to assure themselves that every thing was done which was agreeable to our Commander's wishes, and that his vessel was equipped entirely to his satisfaction. At Plymouth Captain Cook received his instructions; with regard to which, without entering into a minute detail of them, it is sufficient to say, that he was sent out upon the most enlarged plan of discovery that is known in the history of navigation. He was instructed not only to circumnavigate the whole globe, but to circumnavigate it in high southern latitudes, making such traverses, from time to time, into every corner of the Pacific Ocean not before examined, as might finally and effectually resolve the much agitated question about the existence of a southern continent, in any part of the southern hemisphere to which access could be had by the efforts of the boldest and most skilful navigators (*z*).

(*y*) General Introduction, *ubi supra*, p. xxiii—xxxv.

(*z*) Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, p. 1, 2. Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. xix.

On the thirteenth of July, Captain Cook sailed from Plymouth, and on the twenty-ninth of the same month anchored in Funchiale Road, in the Island of Madeira. Having obtained a supply of water, wine, and other necessaries at that Island, he left it on the first of August, and sailed to the southward. As he proceeded in his voyage, he made three puncheons of beer of the inspissated juice of malt; and the liquor produced was very brisk and drinkable. The heat of the weather, and the agitation of the ship, had hitherto withstood all the endeavours of our people to prevent this juice from being in a high state of fermentation. If it could be kept from fermenting, it would be a most valuable article at sea. The Captain having found that his stock of water would not last to the Cape of Good Hope, without putting his men to a scanty allowance, resolved to stop at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, for a supply. At Port Praya, in this Island, he anchored on the tenth of August, and by the fourteenth had completed his water, and procured some other refreshments; upon which he set sail, and prosecuted his course. He embraced the occasion, which his touching at St. Jago afforded him, of giving such a delineation and description of Port Praya, and of the supplies there to be obtained, as might be of service to future navigators. On the twentieth of the month, the rain poured down upon our Voyagers, not in drops, but in streams; and the wind, at the same time, being variable and rough, the people were obliged to attend so constantly upon the decks, that few of them escaped being completely soaked. This circumstance is mentioned to shew the method that was taken by Captain Cook to preserve his men from the evil consequences of the wet to which they had been exposed. He had every thing to fear from the rain, which is a great promoter of sickness in hot climates. But to guard against this effect, he pursued some hints that had been suggested to him by Sir Hugh Palliser and Captain Campbell, and took care that the ship should be aired and dried with fires made between the decks, and that the damp places of the vessel should be smoked; beside which, the people were ordered to air their bedding, and to wash and dry their clothes, whenever there was an opportunity. The result of these precautions was, that there was not one sick person on board the Resolution. Captain Cook, on the eighth of September, crossed the line in the longitude of 8° West, and proceeded, without meeting any thing remarkable, till the eleventh of October, when at $6^h\ 24^m\ 12^s$, by Mr. Kendal's watch, the moon rose about four digits eclipsed; soon after which the Gentlemen prepared to observe the end of the eclipse. The observers were, the Captain himself, and Mr. Forster, Mr. Wales, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Gilbert, and Mr. Harvey. Our Commander had been informed, before he left England, that he sailed at an improper season of the year, and that he should meet with much calm weather, near and under the line. But though such weather may happen in some years, it is not always, or even generally, to be expected. So far was

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it from being the caſe with Captain Cook, that he had a briſk South-weſt wind in thoſe very latitudes where the calms had been predicted: nor was he expoſed to any of the tornadoes, which are ſo much ſpoken of by other navigators. On the twenty-ninth of the month, between eight and nine o'clock at night, when our Voyagers were near the Cape of Good Hope, the whole ſea, within the compaſs of their ſight, became at once, as it were, illuminated. The Captain had been formerly convinced, by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, that ſuch appearances in the ocean were occaſioned by inſects. Mr. Forſter, however, ſeemed diſpoſed to adopt a different opinion. To determine the queſtion, our Commander ordered ſome buckets of water to be drawn up from along-ſide the ſhip, which were found full of an innumerable quantity of ſmall globular inſects, about the ſize of a common pin's head, and quite tranſparent. Though no life was perceived in them, there could be no doubt of their being living animals, when in their own proper element; and Mr. Forſter became now well ſatisfied that they were the cauſe of the ſea's illumination (*a*). On the thirtieth, the Reſolution and Adventure anchored in Table Bay; ſoon after which Captain Cook went on ſhore, and, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, and the two Mr. Forſters, waited on Baron Plettenberg, the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, who received the Gentlemen with great politeneſs, and promiſed them every aſſiſtance the place could afford. From him our Commander learned that two French ſhips from the Mauritius, about eight months before, had diſcovered land, in the latitude of 48° South, along which they ſailed forty miles, till they came to a bay, into which they were upon the point of entering, when they were driven off and ſeparated in a hard gale of wind. Previouſly to this misfortune, they had loſt ſome of their boats and people, that had been ſent to ſound the bay. Captain Cook was alſo informed by Baron Plettenberg, that in the month of March, two other French ſhips from the Iſland of Mauritius, had touched at the Cape in their way to the South Pacific Ocean; where they were going to make diſcoveries, under the command of M. Marion. From the healthy condition of the crews both of the Reſolution and Adventure, it was imagined by the Captain that his ſtay at the Cape would be very ſhort. But the neceſſity of waiting till the requiſite proviſions could be prepared and collected, kept him more than three weeks at this place; which time was improved by him in ordering both the ſhips to be caulked and painted, and in taking care that, in every reſpect, their condition ſhould be as good as when they left England. On the twenty-ſecond of November, our Commander ſailed from the Cape of Good Hope, and proceeded on his voyage, in ſearch of a ſouthern continent. Having gotten clear of the land, he directed his courſe for Cape Circumciſion; and judging that cold weather would ſoon approach, he ordered ſlops to be ſerved to ſuch of the people as were in want of them, and gave to each man the fearnought jacket and trowſers allowed by the Admiralty. On the twenty-ninth, the wind, which was Weſt-north-weſt, increaſed to a ſtorm, that continued, with ſome few intervals of moderate weather, till the ſixth of December (*b*). By this gale, which was attended with hail and rain, and which blew at times with ſuch violence that the ſhips could carry no ſails, our Voyagers were driven far to the eaſtward of their intended courſe, and no hopes were left to the Captain of reaching Cape Circumciſion. A ſtill greater misfortune was the loſs of the principal part of the live ſtock on board, conſiſting of ſheep, hogs, and geeſe. At the ſame time, the ſudden tranſition from warm, mild weather, to weather which was extremely cold and wet, was ſo ſeverely felt by our people, that it was neceſſary to make ſome addition to their allowance of ſpirits, by giving each of them a dram on particular occaſions. Our Navigators, on the tenth of December, began to meet with iſlands of ice (*c*). One of theſe iſlands was ſo much concealed from them by the hazineſs of the weather, accompanied with ſnow and ſleet, that they were ſteering directly towards it, and did not ſee it till it was at a leſs diſtance than that of a mile. Captain Cook judged it to be about fifty feet high, and half a mile in circuit. It was flat at the top, and its ſides roſe in a perpendicular direction, againſt which the ſea broke to a great height. The weather continuing to be hazy, the Captain, on account of the ice iſlands, was obliged to proceed with the utmoſt caution. Six of them were paſſed on the twelfth, ſome of which were nearly two miles in circuit, and ſixty feet high: nevertheleſs, ſuch were the force and height of the waves, that the ſea broke quite over them. Hence was exhibited a view that for a few moments was pleaſing to the eye; but the pleaſure was ſoon ſwallowed up in the horror which ſeized upon the mind, from the proſpect of danger. For if a ſhip ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to get on the weather ſide of one of theſe iſlands, ſhe would be daſhed to pieces in a moment. The veſſels, on the fourteenth, were ſtopped by an immenſe field of low ice, to which no end could be ſeen, either to the Eaſt, Weſt, or South. In different parts of this field, were iſlands or hills of ice, like thoſe which our Voyagers had found floating in the ſea, and twenty of which had preſented themſelves to view the day before. Some of the people on board imagined that they ſaw land over the ice, and Captain Cook himſelf at firſt entertained the ſame ſentiment. But upon more narrowly examining theſe ice hills, and the various appearances they made when ſeen through the haze, he was induced to change his opinion. On the eighteenth, though in the morning our Navigators had been quite imbayed, they were, notwithſtanding, at length enabled to get clear of the field

(*a*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 5—15. Forſter's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 54—57.

(*b*) The ſhips were now in the latitude of 48° 41′ South, and longitude 18° 24′ Eaſt.

(*c*) They were then in the latitude of 50° 40′ South, and longitude 2° 0′ Eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope.

field of ice. They were, however, at the ſame time, carried in among the ice iſlands, which perpetually ſucceeded one another; which were almoſt equally dangerous; and the avoiding of which was a matter of the greateſt difficulty. But perilous as it is to ſail in a thick fog, among theſe floating rocks, as our Commander properly called them; this is preferable to the being entangled with immenſe fields of ice under the ſame circumſtances. In this latter caſe the great danger to be apprehended, is the getting faſt in the ice; a ſituation which would be alarming in the higheſt degree (*d*). It had been a generally received opinion, that ſuch ice as hath now been deſcribed, is formed in bays and rivers. Agreeably to this ſuppoſition, our Voyagers were led to believe that land was not far diſtant, and that it lay to the ſouthward behind the ice. As, therefore, they had ſailed above thirty leagues along the edge of the ice, without finding a paſſage to the South, Captain Cook determined to run thirty or forty leagues to the Eaſt, and afterwards to endeavour to get to the ſouthward. If in this attempt he met with no land or other impediment, his deſign was to ſtretch behind the ice, and thus to bring the matter to a deciſion. The weather, at this time, affected the ſenſes with a feeling of cold much greater than that which was pointed out by the thermometer (*e*), ſo that the whole crew complained. In order the better to enable them to ſuſtain the ſeverity of the cold, the Captain directed the ſleeves of their jackets to be lengthened with baize; and had a cap made for each man of the ſame ſtuff, ſtrengthened with canvaſs. Theſe precautions greatly contributed to their comfort and advantage. It is worthy of obſervation, that although the weather was as ſharp, on the twenty-fifth of December, as might have been expected, in the ſame month of the year, in any part of England, this was the middle of ſummer with our Navigators. Some of the people now appearing to have ſymptoms of the ſcurvy, freſh wort was given them every day, prepared, under the direction of the Surgeons, from the malt which had been provided for the purpoſe. By the twenty-ninth, it became ſufficiently aſcertained, from the courſe our Commander had purſued, that the field of ice, along which the ſhips had ſailed, did not join to any land, as had been conjectured (*f*). At this time, Captain Cook came to a reſolution, provided he met with no impediment, to run as far Weſt as the meridian of Cape Circumciſion. While he was proſecuting this deſign, a gale aroſe, on the thirty-firſt, which brought with it ſuch a ſea as rendered it very dangerous for the veſſels to remain among the ice; and the danger was increaſed by diſcovering an immenſe field to the North, which extended farther than the eye could reach. As our Voyagers were not above two or three miles from this field, and were ſurrounded by looſe ice, there was no time to deliberate. They hauled to the South; and though they happily got clear, it was not till the ſhips had received ſeveral hard knocks from the looſe pieces, which were of the largeſt kind. On Friday the firſt of January, 1773, the gale abated; and, on the next day in the afternoon, our people had the felicity of enjoying the ſight of the moon, the face of which had been ſeen by them but once ſince they had departed from the Cape of Good Hope. Hence a judgment may be formed of the ſort of weather they had been expoſed to, from the time of their leaving that place. The preſent opportunity was eagerly ſeized, for making ſeveral obſervations of the ſun and moon (*g*). Captain Cook was now nearly in the ſame longitude which is aſſigned to Cape Circumciſion, and about ninety-five leagues to the South of the latitude in which it is ſaid to lie. At the ſame time, the weather was ſo clear, that land might have been ſeen at the diſtance of fourteen or fifteen leagues. He concluded it, therefore, to be very probable, that what Bouvet took for land was nothing but mountains of ice, ſurrounded by looſe or field ice. Our preſent Navigators had naturally been led into a ſimilar miſtake. The conjecture, that ſuch ice as had lately been ſeen was joined to land, was a very plauſible one, though not founded on fact. Upon the whole, there was good reaſon to believe, that no land was to be met with, under this meridian, between the latitude of fifty-five and fifty-nine, where ſome had been ſuppoſed to exiſt. Amidſt the obſtructions Captain Cook was expoſed to, from the ice iſlands which perpetually ſucceeded each other, he derived one advantage from them, and that was, a ſupply of freſh water. Though the melting and ſtowing away the ice takes up ſome time, and is, indeed, rather tedious, this method of watering is otherwiſe the moſt expeditious our Commander had ever known. The water produced was perfectly ſweet and well taſted. Upon the ice iſlands penguins, albatroſſes, and other birds were frequently ſeen. It had hitherto been the received opinion, that ſuch birds never go far from land, and that the ſight of them is a ſure indication of its vicinity. That this opinion is not well founded, at leaſt where ice iſlands exiſt, was now evinced by multiplied experience. By Sunday the ſeventeenth of January, Captain Cook reached the latitude of 67° 15′ South, when he could advance no farther. At this time the ice was entirely cloſed to the South, in the whole extent from Eaſt to Weſt-ſouth-weſt, without the leaſt appearance of any opening. The Captain, therefore, thought it no longer prudent to perſevere in ſailing ſouthward; eſpecially as the ſummer was already half ſpent, and there was little reaſon to hope that it would be found practicable to get round the ice. Having taken this reſolution, he determined to proceed directly in ſearch of the land which had lately been diſcovered by the French; and as, in purſuing his purpoſe, the weather was clear at intervals, he ſpread the ſhips abreaſt four miles from each other,

(*d*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 15—27. Our people were now in latitude 55° 8′, and in longitude 24° 3′.

(*e*) It was from 30 to 34.

(*f*) Our people were now in the latitude of 59° 12′, and in longitude 19° 1′ Eaſt; which was three more to the Weſt than when they firſt fell in with the field ice.

(*g*) The longitude deduced from theſe obſervations was 9° 34′ 30″ Eaſt. The latitude was 58° 53′ 30″ South.

other, in order the better to inveſtigate any thing that might lie in their way. On the firſt of February, our Voyagers were in the latitude of 48° 30′ South, and in longitude 58° 7′ Eaſt, nearly in the meridian of the Iſland of St. Mauritius. This was the ſituation in which the land ſaid to have been diſcovered by the French was to be expected; but as no ſigns of it had appeared, our Commander bore away to the Eaſt. Captain Furneaux, on the ſame day, informed Captain Cook that he had juſt ſeen a large float of ſea or rock weed, and about it ſeveral of the birds called divers. Theſe were certain ſigns of the vicinity of land, though whether it lay to the Eaſt or Weſt could not poſſibly be known. Our Commander, therefore, formed the deſign of proceeding in his preſent latitude four or five degrees of longitude to the Weſt of the meridian he was now in, and then to purſue his reſearches eaſtward. The Weſt and North-weſt winds, which had continued for ſome days, prevented him from carrying this purpoſe into execution. However, he was convinced, from the perpetual high ſea he had lately met with, that there could be no great extent of land to the Weſt. While Captain Cook, on the next day, was ſteering eaſtward (*b*), Captain Furneaux told him that he thought the land was to the North-weſt of them; as he had, at one time, obſerved the ſea to be ſmooth when the wind blew in that direction. This obſervation was by no means conformable to the remarks which had been made by our Commander himſelf. Nevertheleſs, ſuch was his readineſs to attend to every ſuggeſtion, that he reſolved to clear up the point, if the wind would admit of his getting to the Weſt in any reaſonable time. The wind, by veering to the North, did admit of his purſuing the ſearch; and the reſult of it was, his conviction that if any land was near, it could only be an Iſland of no conſiderable extent. Captain Cook and his philoſophical friends, while they were traverſing this part of the ſouthern ocean, paid particular attention to the variation of the compaſs, which they found to be from 27° 50′, to 30° 26′ Weſt. Probably the mean of the two extremes, viz. 29° 4′, was the neareſt the truth, as it coincided with the variation obſerved on board the Adventure. One unaccountable circumſtance is worthy of notice, though it did not now occur for the firſt time. It is, that when the ſun was on the ſtarboard of the ſhip, the variation was the leaſt; and when on the larboard ſide, the greateſt. On the eighth, our Commander, in conſequence of no ſignals having been anſwered by the Adventure, had reaſon to apprehend that a ſeparation had taken place. After waiting two days, during which guns were kept diſcharging, and falſe fires were burnt in the night, the fact was confirmed; ſo that the Reſolution was obliged to proceed alone in her voyage. As ſhe purſued her courſe, penguins and other birds, from time to time, appeared in great numbers; the meeting with which gave our Navigators ſome hopes of finding land, and occaſioned various ſpeculations with regard to its ſituation. Experience, however, convinced them that no ſtreſs was to be laid on ſuch hopes. They were ſo often deceived, that they could no longer look upon any of the oceanic birds, which frequent high latitudes, as ſure ſigns of the vicinity of land. In the morning of the ſeventeenth, between midnight and three o'clock, lights were ſeen in the heavens, ſimilar to thoſe which are known in the northern hemiſphere, by the name of the Aurora Borealis. Captain Cook had never heard that an Aurora Auſtralis had been ſeen before. The officer of the watch obſerved that it ſometimes broke out in ſpiral rays, and in a circular form; at which time its light was very ſtrong, and its appearance beautiful. It was not perceived to have any particular direction. On the contrary, at various times, it was conſpicuous in different parts of the heavens, and diffuſed its light throughout the whole atmoſphere. On the twentieth, our Navigators imagined that they ſaw land to the South-weſt. Their conviction of its real exiſtence was ſo ſtrong, that they had no doubt of the matter; and accordingly they endeavoured to work up to it, in doing which the weather was favourable to their purpoſe. However, what had been taken for land proved only to be clouds, that in the evening entirely diſappeared, and left a clear horizon, in which nothing could be diſcerned but ice iſlands. At night the Aurora Auſtralis was again ſeen, and the appearance it aſſumed was very brilliant and luminous. It firſt diſcovered itſelf in the eaſt, and in a ſhort time ſpread over the whole heavens. In the night of the twenty-third, when the ſhip was in latitude 61° 52′ South, and longitude 95° 2′ Eaſt, the weather being exceedingly ſtormy, thick, and hazy, with ſleet and ſnow, our Voyagers were on every ſide ſurrounded with danger. In ſuch a ſituation, it was natural for them to wiſh for day-light: but day-light, when it came, ſerved only to encreaſe their apprehenſions, by exhibiting thoſe huge mountains of ice to their view, which the darkneſs had prevented them from ſeeing. Theſe unfavourable circumſtances, at ſo advanced a ſeaſon of the year, diſcouraged Captain Cook from putting in execution a reſolution he had formed of once more croſſing the antarctic circle. Accordingly, early in the morning of the twenty-fourth, he ſtood to the North, with a very hard gale, and a very high ſea, which made great deſtruction among the ice iſlands. But ſo far was this incident from being of any advantage to our Navigators, that it greatly encreaſed the number of pieces they had to avoid. The large pieces which broke from the ice iſlands, were found to be much more dangerous than the iſlands themſelves. While the latter roſe ſo high out of the water, that they could generally be ſeen, unleſs the weather was very thick and hazy, before our people nearly approached them, the others could not be diſcerned, in the night,

(*b*) He was now in the latitude of 49° 13′ South.

till they were under the ſhip's bows. Theſe dangers, however, were now become ſo familiar to the Captain and his company, that the apprehenſions they cauſed were never of long duration; and a compenſation was, in ſome degree, made for them, by the ſeaſonable ſupplies of freſh water which the ice iſlands afforded, and by their very romantic appearance. The foaming and daſhing of the waves into the curious holes and caverns which were formed in many of them, greatly heightened the ſcene; and the whole exhibited a view that at once filled the mind with admiration and horror, and could only be deſcribed by the hand of an able painter. In ſailing from the twenty-fifth to the twenty-eighth, the wind was accompained with a large hollow ſea, which rendered Captain Cook certain that no land, of any conſiderable extent, could lie within a hundred or a hundred and fifty leagues from Eaſt to South-weſt. Though this was ſtill the ſummer ſeaſon in that part of the world, and the weather was becoming ſomewhat warmer than it had been before, yet ſuch were the effects of the cold, that a ſow having farrowed nine pigs in the morning, all of them, notwithſtanding the utmoſt care to prevent it, were killed before four o'clock in the afternoon. From the ſame cauſe, the Captain himſelf and ſeveral of his people had their fingers and toes chilblained. For ſome days afterward, the cold conſiderably abated; but ſtill it could not be ſaid that there was ſummer weather, according to our Commander's ideas of ſummer in the northern hemiſphere as far as ſixty degrees of latitude, which was nearly as far as he had then been. As he proceeded on his voyage, from the twenty-eighth of February to the eleventh of March, he had ample reaſon to conclude, from the ſwell of the ſea and other circumſtances, that there could be no land to the South, but what muſt lie at a great diſtance. The weather having been clear on the thirteenth and fourteenth, Mr. Wales had an opportunity of getting ſome obſervations of the ſun and moon; the reſults of which, reduced to noon, when the latitude was 58° 22′ South, gave 136° 22′ Eaſt longitude. Mr. Kendal's and Mr. Arnold's watches gave each of them 134° 42′; and this was the firſt and only time in which they had pointed out the ſame longitude ſince the ſhips had departed from England. The greateſt difference, however, between them, ſince our Voyagers had left the Cape, had not much exceeded two degrees. From the moderate, and what might almoſt be called pleaſant weather, which had occurred for two or three days, Captain Cook began to wiſh that he had been a few degrees of latitude farther South; and he was even tempted to incline his courſe that way. But he ſoon met with weather which convinced him that he had proceeded full far enough; and that the time was approaching when theſe ſeas could not be navigated without enduring intenſe cold. As he advanced in his courſe, he became perfectly aſſured, from repeated proofs, that he had left no land behind him in the direction of Weſt-ſouth-weſt; and that no land lay to the South on this ſide ſixty degrees of latitude. He came, therefore, to a reſolution, on the ſeventeenth (*i*), to quit the high ſouthern latitudes, and to proceed to New Zealand, with a view of looking for the Adventure, and of refreſhing his people. He had, alſo, ſome thoughts, and even a deſire of viſiting the Eaſt coaſt of Van Diemen's Land, in order to ſatisfy himſelf whether it joined the coaſt of New South Wales. The wind, however, not permitting him to execute this part of his deſign, he ſhaped his courſe for New Zealand, in ſight of which he arrived on the twenty-fifth, and where he came to anchor on the day following, in Duſky Bay. He had now been a hundred and ſeventeen days at ſea, during which time he had ſailed three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty leagues, without once coming within ſight of land.

(*i*) The Reſolution was now in latitude 59° 7′ South, and longitude 146° 53′ Eaſt.

After ſo long a voyage, in a high ſouthern latitude, it might reaſonably have been expected that many of Captain Cook's people would be ill of the ſcurvy. This, however, was not the caſe. So ſalutary were the effects of the ſweet wort, and ſeveral articles of proviſion, and eſpecially of the frequent airing and ſweetening of the ſhip, that there was only one man on board who could be ſaid to be much afflicted with the diſeaſe; and even in that man, it was chiefly occaſioned by a bad habit of body, and a complication of other diſorders (*k*). As our commander did not like the place in which he had anchored, he ſent Lieutenant Pickerſgill over to the South-eaſt ſide of the bay, in ſearch of a better; and the Lieutenant ſucceeded in finding a harbour that was in every reſpect deſirable. In the mean while, the fiſhing-boat was very ſucceſsful; returning with fiſh ſufficient for the whole crew's ſupper; and in the morning of the next day, as many were caught as ſerved for dinner. Hence were derived certain hopes of being plentifully ſupplied with this article. Nor did the ſhores and woods appear leſs deſtitute of wild-fowl; ſo that our people had the proſpect of enjoying, with eaſe, what, in their ſituation, might be called the luxuries of life. Theſe agreeable circumſtances determined Captain Cook to ſtay ſome time in the bay, in order to examine it thoroughly; as no one had ever landed before on any of the ſouthern parts of New Zealand. On the twenty-ſeventh, the ſhip entered PICKERSGILL HARBOUR; for ſo it was called, from the name of the Gentleman by whom it had firſt been diſcovered. Here wood, for fuel and other purpoſes, was immediately at hand; and a fine ſtream of freſh-water was not above a hundred yards from the ſtern of the veſſel. Our voyagers, being thus advantageouſly ſituated, began vigorouſly to prepare for their neceſſary occupations, by clearing places in the woods, in order to ſet up the Aſtronomer's obſervatory, and the forge for the iron work, and to erect tents for the ſail-

(*k*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 28—68.

ſail-makers and coopers. They applied themſelves, alſo, to the brewing of beer from the branches or leaves of a tree which greatly reſembled the American black ſpruce. Captain Cook was perſuaded, from the knowledge which he had of this tree, and from the ſimilarity it bore to the ſpruce, that, with the addition of inſpiſſated juice of wort and melaſſes, it would make a very wholeſome liquor, and ſupply the want of vegetables, of which the country was deſtitute. It appeared, by the event, that he was not miſtaken in his judgment. Several of the natives were ſeen on the twenty-eighth, who took little notice of the Engliſh, and were very ſhy of acceſs; and the Captain did not chooſe to force an intercourſe with them, as he had been inſtructed, by former experience, that the beſt method of obtaining it was to leave the time and place to themſelves. While our Commander continued in his preſent ſituation, he took every opportunity of examining the bay. As he was proſecuting his ſurvey of it, on the ſixth of April, his attention was directed to the North ſide, where he diſcovered a fine capacious cove, in the bottom of which is a freſh-water river. On the Weſt ſide are ſeveral beautiful caſcades; and the ſhores are ſo ſteep, that water might directly be conveyed from them into the ſhip. Fourteen ducks, beſides other birds, having been ſhot in this place, he gave it the name of DUCK COVE. When he was returning in the evening, he met with three of the natives, one man and two women, whoſe fears he ſoon diſſipated, and whom he engaged in a converſation, that was little underſtood on either ſide. The youngeſt of the women had a volubility of tongue that could not be exceeded; and ſhe entertained Captain Cook, and the Gentlemen who accompanied him, with a dance. By degrees, our Commander obtained the good-will and confidence of the Indians. His preſents, however, were at firſt received with much indifference, hatchets and ſpike-nails excepted. At a viſit, on the twelfth, from a family of the natives, the Captain, perceiving that they approached the ſhip with great caution, met them in a boat, which he quitted when he came near them, and went into their canoe. After all, he could not prevail upon them to go on board the Reſolution; but at length they put on ſhore in a little creek, and ſeating themſelves abreaſt of the Engliſh veſſel, entered into familiar converſation with ſeveral of the officers and ſeamen; in which they paid a much greater regard to ſome, whom they probably miſtook for females, than to others. So well, indeed, were they now reconciled to our Voyagers, that they took up their quarters nearly within the diſtance of a hundred yards from the ſhip's watering-place. Captain Cook, in his interview with them, had cauſed the bag-pipes and fife to play, and the drum to beat. The two former they heard with apparent inſenſibility; but the latter excited in them a certain degree of attention. On the eighteenth, a Chief, with whom ſome connections had already been formed, was induced, together with his daughter, to come on board the Reſolution. Previouſly to his doing it, he preſented the Captain with a piece of cloth and a green talk hatchet. He gave alſo a piece of cloth to Mr. Forſter; and the girl gave another to Mr. Hodges. Though this cuſtom of making preſents, before any are received, is common with the natives of the South Sea Iſles, our Commander had never till now ſeen it practiſed in New Zealand. Another thing performed by the Chief before he went on board, was the taking of a ſmall green branch in his hand, with which he ſtruck the ſhip's ſide ſeveral times, repeating a ſpeech or prayer. This manner, as it were, of making peace, is likewiſe prevalent among all the nations of the South Seas. When the Chief was carried into the cabin, he viewed every part of it with ſome degree of ſurprize; but it was not poſſible to fix his attention to any one object for a ſingle moment. The works of art appeared to him in the ſame light as thoſe of nature, and were equally diſtant from his powers of comprehenſion. He and his daughter ſeemed to be the moſt ſtruck with the number of the decks, and other parts of the ſhip. As Captain Cook proceeded in examining Duſky Bay, he occaſionally met with ſome few more of the natives, with regard to whom he uſed every mode of conciliation. On the twentieth, the Chief and his family, who had been more intimate with our Navigators than any of the reſt of the Indians, went away, and never returned again. This was the more extraordinary, as in all his viſits he had been gratified with preſents. From different perſons, he had gotten nine or ten hatchets, and three or four times that number of large ſpike-nails, beſides a variety of other articles. So far as theſe things might be deemed riches in New Zealand, he was undoubtedly become by far the moſt wealthy man in the whole country. One employment of our Voyagers, while in Duſky Bay, conſiſted in ſeal-hunting, an animal which was found ſerviceable for three purpoſes. The ſkins were made uſe of for rigging, the fat afforded oil for the lamps, and the fleſh was eaten. On the twenty-fourth, the Captain, having five geeſe remaining of thoſe he had brought with him from the Cape of Good Hope, went and left them at a place to which he gave the name of GOOSE COVE. This place he fixed upon for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe there were no inhabitants to diſturb them; and ſecondly, becauſe here was the greateſt ſupply of proper food; ſo that he had no doubt of their breeding, and hoped that in time they might ſpread over the whole country, to its eminent advantage. Some days afterward, when every thing belonging to the ſhip had been removed from the ſhore, he ſet fire to the topwood, in order to dry a piece of ground, which he dug up, and ſowed with ſeveral ſorts of garden ſeeds. The ſoil, indeed, was not ſuch as to promiſe much ſucceſs to the planter; but it was the beſt

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that could be diſcovered. The twenty-fifth of April was the eighth fair day our people had ſucceſſively enjoyed; and there was reaſon to believe that ſuch a circumſtance was very uncommon in the place where they now lay, and at that ſeaſon of the year. This favourable weather afforded them the opportunity of more ſpeedily completing their wood and water, and of putting the ſhip into a condition for ſea. On the evening of the twenty-fifth, it began to rain; and the weather was afterward extremely variable, being, at times, in a high degree, wet, cold, and ſtormy. Nothing, however, prevented Captain Cook from proſecuting, with his uſual ſagacity and diligence, his ſearch into every part of Duſky Bay; and, as there are few places in New Zealand where neceſſary refreſhments may be ſo plentifully obtained as in this bay, he hath taken care to give ſuch a deſcription of it, and of the adjacent country, as may be of ſervice tō ſucceeding navigators. Although this country lies far remote from what is now the trading part of the world, yet, as he juſtly obſerves, we can by no means tell what uſe future ages may derive from the diſcoveries made in the preſent. The various anchoring places are delineated on our Commander's chart, and the moſt convenient of them he has particularly deſcribed. Not only about Duſky Bay, but through all the ſouthern part of the weſtern coaſt of Tavai-poenammoo, the country is exceedingly mountainous. A proſpect more rude and craggy is rarely to be met with; for inland there are only to be ſeen the ſummits of mountains of a tremendous height, and conſiſting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, excepting where they are covered with ſnow. But the land which borders on the ſea coaſt is thickly clothed with wood, almoſt down to the water's edge; and this is the caſe with regard to all the adjoining Iſlands. The trees are of various kinds, and are fit for almoſt every poſſible uſe. Excepting in the river Thames, Captain Cook had not found finer timber in all New Zealand; the moſt conſiderable ſpecies of which is the ſpruce-tree; for that name he had given it from the ſimilarity of its foliage to the American ſpruce, though the wood is more ponderous, and bears a greater reſemblance to the pitch pine. Many of theſe trees are ſo large, that they would be able to furniſh main-maſts for fifty gun ſhips. Amidſt the variety of aromatic trees and ſhrubs which this part of New Zealand produced, there were none which bore fruit fit to be eaten. But for a farther account of the ſoils, vegetable productions, and animals of the coaſt, I muſt refer to the Captain's own narrative; only taking notice, that the country was not found ſo deſtitute of quadrupeds as was formerly imagined. As Duſky Bay preſented many advantages to our Navigators, ſo it was attended with ſome diſagreeable circumſtances. There were great numbers of ſmall black ſand flies, which were troubleſome to a degree that our Commander had never experienced before. Another evil aroſe from the continual quantity of rain that occurred in the bay. This might, indeed, in part proceed from the ſeaſon of the year: but it is probable that the country muſt at all times be ſubject to much wet weather, in conſequence of the vaſt height, and vicinity of the mountains. It was remarkable that the rain, though our people were perpetually expoſed to it, was not productive of any evil conſequences. On the contrary, ſuch of the men as were ſick and complaining when they entered the bay, recovered daily, and the whole crew ſoon became ſtrong and vigorous. So happy a circumſtance could only be attributed to the healthineſs of the place, and the freſh proviſions it afforded; among which, the beer was a very material article. The inhabitants of Duſky Bay are of the ſame race with the other natives of New Zealand, ſpeak the ſame language, and adhere nearly to the ſame cuſtoms. Their mode of life appears to be a wandering one; and though they are few in number, no traces were remarked of their families being connected together in any cloſe bonds of union or friendſhip. While the Reſolution lay in the bay, Mr. Wales made a variety of ſcientific obſervations, relative to latitude and longitude (*l*), the variation of the compaſs, and the diverſities of the tides; a ſhort account of which Captain Cook has given in his voyage, for the inſtruction and benefit of the public (*m*).

(*l*) The latitude of Mr. Wales's obſervatory at Pickerſgill harbour was 45° 47′ 26½″ South; and its longitude 166° 18′ Eaſt.
(*m*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 69—102.

When Captain Cook left Duſky Bay, he directed his courſe for Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he expected to find the Adventure. This was on the eleventh of May, and nothing remarkable occurred till the ſeventeenth, when the wind at once flattened to a calm, the ſky became ſuddenly obſcured by dark denſe clouds, and there was every prognoſtication of a tempeſt. Soon after, ſix water-ſpouts were ſeen, four of which roſe and ſpent themſelves between the ſhip and the land; the fifth was at a conſiderable diſtance on the other ſide of the veſſel; and the ſixth, the progreſſive motion of which was not in a ſtraight, but in a crooked line, paſſed within fifty yards of the ſtern of the Reſolution, without producing any evil effect. As the Captain had been informed that the firing of a gun would diſſipate water-ſpouts, he was ſorry that he had not tried the experiment. But, though he was near enough, and had a gun ready for the purpoſe, his mind was ſo deeply engaged in viewing theſe extraordinary meteors, that he forgot to give the neceſſary directions. On the next day, the Reſolution came within ſight of Queen Charlotte's Sound, where Captain Cook had the ſatisfaction of diſcovering the Adventure; and both ſhips felt uncommon joy at thus meeting again, after an abſence of fourteen weeks. As the events which happened to Captain Furneaux, during the ſeparation of the two veſſels, do not fall within the immediate deſign of the preſent narrative, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that

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he had an opportunity of examining, with ſomewhat more accuracy than had hitherto been done, Van Diemen's land; and his opinion was, that there are no ſtraights between this land and New Holland, but a very deep bay. He met, likewiſe, with farther proofs that the natives of New Zealand are eaters of human fleſh (*n*). The morning after Captain Cook's arrival in Queen Charlotte's Sound, he went himſelf, at day-break, to look for ſcurvy-graſs, celery, and other vegetables; and he had the good fortune to return with a boat-load, in a very ſhort ſpace of time. Having found that a ſufficient quantity of theſe articles might be obtained for the crews of both the ſhips, he gave orders that they ſhould be boiled, with wheat and portable broth, every day for breakfaſt; and with peaſe and broth for dinner. Experience had taught him that the vegetables now mentioned, when thus dreſſed, are extremely beneficial to ſeamen, in removing the various ſcorbutic complaints to which they are ſubject. Our Commander had entertained a deſire of viſiting Van Diemen's Land, in order to inform himſelf whether it made a part of New Holland. But as this point had been, in a great meaſure, cleared up by Captain Furneaux, he came to a reſolution to continue his reſearches to the Eaſt, between the latitudes of 41° and 46°; and he directed accordingly, that the ſhips ſhould be gotten ready for putting to ſea as ſoon as poſſible. On the twentieth, he ſent on ſhore the only ewe and ram that remained of thoſe which, with the intention of leaving them in this country, he had brought from the Cape of Good Hope. Soon after he viſited ſeveral gardens, that by order of Captain Furneaux had been made and planted with various articles; all of which were in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate that, if duly attended to, they promiſed to be of great utility to the natives. The next day, Captain Cook himſelf ſet ſome men to work to form a garden on Long Iſland, which he ſtocked with different ſeeds, and particularly with the roots of turnips, carrots, parſnips, and potatoes. Theſe were the vegetables that would be of the moſt real uſe to the Indians, and of theſe it was eaſy to give them an idea, by comparing them with ſuch roots as they themſelves knew. On the twenty-ſecond, Captain Cook received the unpleaſant intelligence that the ewe and ram, which with ſo much care and trouble he had brought to this place, were both of them found dead. It was ſuppoſed that they had eaten ſome poiſonous plant; and by this accident all the Captain's hopes of ſtocking New Zealand with a breed of ſheep were inſtantly blaſted. The intercourſe which our great Navigator had with the inhabitants of the country, during this his ſecond viſit to Queen Charlotte's Sound, was of a friendly nature. Two or three families took up their abode near the ſhips, and employed themſelves daily in fiſhing, and in ſupplying the Engliſh with the fruits of their labour. No ſmall advantage hence accrued to our people, who were by no means ſuch expert fiſhers as the natives, nor were any of our methods of fiſhing equal to theirs. Thus in almoſt every ſtate of ſociety particular arts of life are carried to perfection; and there is ſomething which the moſt poliſhed nations may learn from the moſt barbarous. On the ſecond of June, when the Reſolution and Adventure were almoſt ready to put to ſea, Captain Cook ſent on ſhore, on the Eaſt ſide of the ſound, two goats, a male and a female; and Captain Furneaux left, near Cannibal Cove, a boar and two breeding ſows. The Gentlemen had little doubt but that the country would, in time, be ſtocked with theſe animals, provided they were not deſtroyed by the Indians before they became wild. Afterwards there would be no danger; and as the natives knew nothing of their being left behind, it was hoped that it might be ſome time before they would be diſcovered. It is remarkable that, during Captain Cook's ſecond viſit to Charlotte Sound, he was not able to recollect the face of any one perſon whom he had ſeen there three years before. Nor did it once appear, that even a ſingle Indian had the leaſt knowledge of our Commander, or of any of our people who had been with him in his laſt voyage. Hence he thought it highly probable, that the greateſt part of the natives who inhabited this ſound in the beginning of the year 1770, had either ſince been driven out of it, or had removed, of their own accord, to ſome other ſituation. Not one third of the inhabitants were there now, that had been ſeen at that time. Their ſtrong hold on the Point of Motuara was deſerted, and in every part of the ſound many forſaken habitations were diſcovered. In the Captain's opinion, there was not any reaſon to believe that the place had ever been very populous. From comparing the two voyages together, it may be collected, that the Indians of Eahei-nomauwe are in ſomewhat of a more improved ſtate of ſociety than thoſe of Tavai-poenammoo. Part of the fourth of June was employed by Captain Cook in viſiting a Chief and a whole tribe of the natives, conſiſting of between ninety and a hundred perſons, including men, women, and children. After the Captain had diſtributed ſome preſents among theſe people, and ſhewn to the Chief the gardens which had been made, he returned on board, and ſpent the remainder of the day in the celebration of his Royal Maſter's nativity. Captain Furneaux and all his officers were invited upon the occaſion; and the ſeamen were enabled, by a double allowance, to partake of the general joy. As ſome might think it an extraordinary ſtep in our Commander to proceed in diſcoveries ſo far South as forty-ſix degrees of latitude, in the very depth of winter, he has recorded his motives for this part of his conduct. Winter, he acknowledges, is by no means favourable for diſcoveries. Nevertheleſs, it appeared to him to be neceſſary that ſomething ſhould be done in that ſeaſon, in order to leſſen the work in

(*n*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 103. 105. 115. 118. 120.

which he was engaged; and leſt he ſhould not be able to finiſh the diſcovery of the ſouthern part of the South Pacific Ocean in the enſuing ſummer. Beſides, if he ſhould diſcover any land in his route to the Eaſt, he would be ready to begin to explore it, as ſoon as ever the ſeaſon ſhould be favourable. Independently of all theſe conſiderations, he had little to fear; having two good ſhips well provided, and both the crews being healthy. Where then could he better employ his time? If he did nothing more, he was at leaſt in hopes of being enabled to point out to poſterity, that theſe ſeas may be navigated, and that it is practicable to purſue diſcoveries, even in the depth of winter. Such was the ardour of our Navigator for proſecuting the ends of his voyage, in circumſtances which would have induced moſt men to act a more cautious part! During Captain Cook's ſtay in the Sound, he had obſerved that the ſecond viſit to this country had not mended the morals of the natives of either ſex. He had always looked upon the females of New Zealand as more chaſte than the generality of Indian women. Whatever favours a few of them might have granted to the people in the Endeavour, ſuch intercourſes uſually took place in a private manner, and did not appear to be encouraged by the men. But now the Captain was told that the male Indians were the chief promoters of a ſhameful traffic, and that, for a ſpikenail, or any other thing they valued, they would oblige the women to proſtitute themſelves, whether it were agreeable or contrary to their inclinations. At the ſame time, no regard was paid to the privacy which decency required. The account of this fact muſt be read with concern by every well wiſher to the good order and happineſs of ſociety, even without adverting to conſiderations of a higher nature (*o*).

(*o*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 121—130.

On the ſeventh of June, Captain Cook put to ſea from Queen Charlotte's Sound, with the Adventure in company. For the nautical part of the route from New Zealand to Otaheite, which continued till the fifteenth of Auguſt, I ſhall refer my readers to the Captain's voyage; and ſhall only ſelect ſuch circumſtances as are more immediately ſuitable to the deſign of the preſent narrative. It was found, on the twenty-ninth of July, that the crew of the Adventure were in a ſickly ſtate. Her Cook was dead, and about twenty of her beſt men were rendered incapable of duty by the ſcurvy and flux. At this time, no more than three men were on the ſick liſt on board the Reſolution; and only one of theſe was attacked with the ſcurvy. Some others, however, began to diſcover the ſymptoms of it; and accordingly, recourſe was had to wort, marmalade of carrots, and the rob of lemons and oranges, with the uſual ſucceſs. Captain Cook could not account for the prevalence of the ſcurvy being ſo much greater in the Adventure than in the Reſolution, unleſs it was owing to the crew of the former's being more ſcorbutic when they arrived in New Zealand than the crew of the latter, and to their eating few or no vegetables while they lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound. This aroſe partly from their want of knowing the right ſorts, and partly from the diſlike which ſeamen have to the introduction of a new diet. Their averſion to any unuſual change of food is ſo great, that it can only be overcome by the ſteady and perſevering example and authority of a commander. Many of Captain Cook's people, officers as well as common ſailors, diſliked the boiling of celery, ſcurvy-graſs, and other greens with the peas and wheat; and by ſome the proviſion, thus prepared, was refuſed to be eaten. But, as this had no effect on the Captain's conduct, their prejudice gradually ſubſided: they began to like their diet as much as the reſt of their companions; and, at length, there was hardly a man in the ſhip who did not attribute the freedom of the crew from the ſcurvy, to the beer and vegetables which had been made uſe of at New Zealand. Henceforward, whenever the ſeamen came to a place where vegetables could be obtained, our Commander ſeldom found it neceſſary to order them to be gathered; and, if they were ſcarce, happy was the perſon who could lay hold on them firſt. On the firſt of Auguſt, when the ſhips were in the latitude of 25° 1′, and the longitude of 134° 6′ Weſt, they were nearly in the ſame ſituation with that which is aſſigned by Captain Carteret for Pitcairn's Iſland, diſcovered by him in 1767. For this Iſland, therefore, our Voyagers diligently looked; but ſaw nothing. According to the longitude in which he had placed it, Captain Cook muſt have paſſed it fifteen leagues to the Weſt. But as this was uncertain, he did not think it prudent to loſe any time in ſearching for it, as the ſickly ſtate of the Adventure's people required as ſpeedy an arrival as poſſible at a place of refreſhment. A ſight of it, however, would have been of uſe in verifying, or correcting, not only the longitude of Pitcairn's Iſland, but of the others diſcovered by Captain Carteret in that neighbourhood. It is a diminution of the value of that Gentleman's voyage, that his longitude was not confirmed by aſtronomical obſervations, and that hence it was liable to errors, the correction of which was out of his power. As Captain Cook had now gotten to the northward of Captain Carteret's tracks, he no longer entertained any hopes of diſcovering a continent. Iſlands were all that he could expect to find, until he returned again to the South. In this and his former voyage, he had croſſed the ocean in the latitude of 40° and upwards, without meeting any thing which could, in the leaſt, induce him to believe that he ſhould attain the great object of his purſuit. Every circumſtance concurred to convince him that, between the meridian of America and New Zealand, there is no ſouthern continent; and that there is no continent farther to the South, unleſs in a very high latitude. This, however, was a point too important to be

left to opinions and conjectures. It was to be determined by facts; and the aſcertainment of it was appointed, by our Commander, for the employment of the enſuing ſummer. It was the ſixth of Auguſt before the ſhips had the advantage of the trade wind (*p*). This they got at South-eaſt, being at that time in the latitude of 19° 36′ South, and the longitude of 131° 32′ Weſt. As Captain Cook had obtained the South-eaſt trade wind, he directed his courſe to the Weſt-north-weſt; not only with a view of keeping in with the ſtrength of the wind, but alſo to get to the North of the Iſlands diſcovered in his former voyage, that he might have a chance of meeting with any other Iſlands which might lie in the way. It was in the track which had been purſued by M. de Bougainville that our Commander now proceeded. He was ſorry that he could not ſpare time to ſail to the North of this track; but at preſent, on account of the ſickly ſtate of the Adventure's crew, the arriving at a place where refreſhments could be procured, was an object ſuperior to that of diſcovery. To four of the Iſlands which were paſſed by Captain Cook, he gave the names of Reſolution Iſland, Doubtful Iſland, Furneaux Iſland, and Adventure Iſland [*T*]. They are ſuppoſed to be the ſame that were ſeen by M. de Bougainville; and theſe with ſeveral others, which conſtitute a cluſter of low and half drowned iſles, that Gentleman diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Dangerous Archipelago. The ſmoothneſs of the ſea ſufficiently convinced our Navigators that they were ſurrounded by them, and that it was highly neceſſary to proceed with the utmoſt caution, eſpecially in the night (*q*).

(*p*) The not meeting with the South-eaſt trade wind ſooner is no new thing in this ſea.

(*q*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 131—143.

Early in the morning, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, the ſhips came within ſight of Oſnaburg Iſland, or Maitea, which had been diſcovered by Captain Wallis. Soon after, Captain Cook acquainted Captain Furneaux that it was his intention to put into Oaiti-piha Bay, near the South-eaſt end of Otaheite, for the purpoſe of procuring what refreſhments he could from that part of the Iſland, before he went down to Matavai. At ſix in the evening the Iſland was ſeen bearing Weſt; and our people continued to advance towards it till midnight, when they brought to till four o'clock in the morning; after which they ſailed in for the land with a fine breeze at Eaſt. At day-break, they found themſelves within the diſtance of half a league from the reef; and, at the ſame time, the breeze began to fail them, and was at laſt ſucceeded by a calm. It now became neceſſary for the boats to be hoiſted out, in order to tow off the ſhips; but all the efforts of our Voyagers, to keep them from being carried near the reef, were inſufficient for the purpoſe. As the calm continued, the ſituation of the veſſels became ſtill more dangerous. Captain Cook, however, entertained hopes of getting round the weſtern point of the reef, and into the bay. But, about two o'clock in the afternoon, when he came before an opening or break of the reef, through which he had flattered himſelf that he might get with the ſhips, he found, on ſending to examine it, that there was not a ſufficient depth of water. Nevertheleſs, this opening cauſed ſuch an indraught of the tide of flood through it, as was very near proving fatal to the Reſolution; for as ſoon as the veſſels got into the ſtream, they were carried towards the reef with great impetuoſity. The moment the Captain perceived this, he ordered one of the warping machines, which was held in readineſs, to be carried out with about four hundred fathoms of rope; but it did not produce the leaſt effect; and our Navigators had now in proſpect the horrors of ſhipwreck. They were not more than two cables length from the breakers; and, though it was the only probable method which was left of ſaving the ſhips, they could find no bottom to anchor. An anchor, however, they did drop; but before it took hold, and brought them up, the Reſolution was in leſs than three fathom water, and ſtruck at every fall of the ſea, which broke cloſe under her ſtern in a dreadful ſurf, and threatened her crew every moment with deſtruction. Happily, the Adventure brought up without ſtriking. Preſently, the Reſolution's people carried out two kedge-anchors, with hawſers to each; and theſe found ground a little without the bower. By heaving upon them, and cutting away the bower anchor, the ſhip was gotten afloat, where Captain Cook and his men lay for ſome time in the greateſt anxiety, expecting every minute that either the kedges would come home, or the hawſers be cut in two by the rocks. At length, the tide ceaſed to act in the ſame direction; upon which the Captain ordered all the boats to try to tow off the veſſel. Having found this to be practicable, the two kedges were hoved up; and at that moment a light air came off from the land, by which the boats were ſo much aſſiſted, that the Reſolution ſoon got clear of all danger. Our Commander then ordered all the boats to aſſiſt the Adventure; but before they reached her, ſhe was under ſail with the land breeze, and in a little time joined her companion, leaving behind her three anchors, her coaſting cable, and two hawſers, which were never recovered. Thus were our Voyagers once more ſafe at ſea, after narrowly eſcaping being wrecked on the very Iſland at which, but a few days before, they had moſt ardently wiſhed to arrive. It was a peculiarly happy circumſtance, that the calm continued, after bringing the ſhips into ſo dangerous a ſtate. For if the ſea breeze, as is uſually the caſe, had ſet in, the Reſolution muſt inevitably have been loſt, and probably the Adventure

[*T*] *And Adventure Iſland.*] Reſolution Iſland is in latitude 17° 24′ South, and longitude 141° 39′ Weſt; Doubtful Iſland, latitude 17° 20′, longitude 141° 38′; Furneaux Iſland, latitude 17° 5′, longitude 143° 16′; and Adventure Iſland, latitude 17° 4′, longitude 144° 30′ Weſt.

likewiſe,

likewiſe. During the time in which the Engliſh were in this critical ſituation, a number of the natives were either on board or near the veſſels in their canoes. Nevertheleſs, they ſeemed to be inſenſible of our people's danger, ſhewing not the leaſt ſurprize, joy, or fear, when the ſhips were ſtriking; and they went away a little before ſunſet, quite unconcerned. Though moſt of them knew Captain Cook again, and many enquired for Mr. Banks and others who had been with the Captain before, it was remarkable that not one of them aſked for Tupia. On the ſeventeenth, the Reſolution and Adventure anchored in Oaitipiha Bay, immediately upon which they were crowded with the inhabitants of the country, who brought with them cocoa-nuts, plaintains, bananoes, apples, yams, and other roots, which were exchanged for nails and beads. To ſome who called themſelves Chiefs, our Commander made preſents of ſhirts, axes, and ſeveral articles beſide, in return for which they promiſed to bring him hogs and fowls; a promiſe which they did not perform, and which, as might be judged from their conduct, they had never had the leaſt intention of performing. In the afternoon of the ſame day, Captain Cook landed in company with Captain Furneaux, for the purpoſe of viewing the watering-place, and of ſounding the diſpoſition of the natives. The article of water, which was now much wanted on board, he found might conveniently be obtained, and the inhabitants behaved with great civility. Notwithſtanding this civility, nothing was brought to market, the next day, but fruit and roots, though it was ſaid that many hogs were ſeen about the houſes in the neighbourhood. The cry was, that they belonged to Waheatoua the Earee de hi, or King; who had not yet appeared, nor, indeed, any other Chief of note. Among the Indians that came on board the Reſolution, and no ſmall number of whom did not ſcruple to call themſelves *Earees*, there was one of this ſort, who had been entertained in the cabin moſt of the day, and to all of whoſe friends Captain Cook had made preſents, as well as liberally to himſelf. At length, however, he was caught taking things which did not belong to him, and handing them out of the quarter gallery. Various complaints of the like nature being, at the ſame time, made againſt the natives who were on deck, our Commander turned them all out of the ſhip. His cabin gueſt was very rapid in his retreat; and the Captain was ſo exaſperated at his behaviour, that after the *Earee* had gotten to ſome diſtance from the Reſolution, he fired two muſquets over his head, by which he was ſo terrified, that he quitted his canoe, and took to the water. Captain Cook then ſent a boat to take the canoe; but when the boat approached the ſhore, the people on land began to pelt her with ſtones. The Captain, therefore, being in ſome pain for her ſafety, as ſhe was unarmed, went himſelf in another boat to protect her, and ordered a great gun, loaded with ball, to be fired along the coaſt, which made all the Indians retire from the ſhore, and he was ſuffered to bring away two canoes without the leaſt ſhew of oppoſition. In a few hours peace was reſtored, and the canoes were returned to the firſt perſon who came for them. It was not till the evening of this day that any one enquired after Tupia, and then the enquiry was made by only two or three of the natives. When they learned the cauſe of his death, they were perfectly ſatisfied; nor did it appear to our Commander that they would have felt a moment's uneaſineſs, if Tupia's deceaſe had proceeded from any other cauſe than ſickneſs. They were as little concerned about Aotourou, the man who had gone away with M. de Bougainville. But they were continually aſking for Mr. Banks, and for ſeveral others who had accompanied Captain Cook in his former voyage. Since that voyage, very conſiderable changes had happened in the country. Toutaha, the regent of the greater peninſula of Otaheite, had been killed in a battle which was fought between the two kingdoms about five months before the Reſolution's arrival; and Otoo was now the reigning Prince. Tubourai Tamaide, and ſeveral more of the principal friends to the Engliſh, had fallen in this battle, together with a large number of the common people. A peace ſubſiſted, at preſent, between the two grand diviſions of the Iſland. On the twentieth, one of the natives carried off a muſquet belonging to the guard on ſhore. Captain Cook, who was himſelf a witneſs of the tranſaction, ſent ſome of his people after him; but this would have been to very little purpoſe, if the thief had not been intercepted by ſeveral of his own countrymen, who purſued him voluntarily, knocked him down, and returned the muſquet to the Engliſh. This act of juſtice prevented our Commander from being placed in a diſagreeable ſituation. If the natives had not given their immediate aſſiſtance, it would ſcarcely have been in his power to have recovered the muſquet, by any gentle means whatever; and if he had been obliged to have recourſe to other methods, he was ſure of loſing more than ten times its value. The fraud of one who appeared as a Chief, is, perhaps, not unworthy of notice. This man, in a viſit to Captain Cook, preſented him with a quantity of fruit; among which were a number of cocoa-nuts that had already been exhauſted of their liquor by our people, and afterwards thrown overboard. Theſe the Chief had picked up, and tied ſo artfully in bundles, that at firſt the deception was not perceived. When he was informed of it, without betraying the leaſt emotion, and affecting a total ignorance of the matter, he opened two or three of the nuts himſelf, ſignified that he was ſatisfied of the fact, and then went on ſhore and ſent off a quantity of plantains and bananoes. The ingenuity and the impudence of fraud are not ſolely the productions of poliſhed ſociety. Captain Cook, on the twenty-third, had an interview

with Waheatoua, the reſult of which was, that our Navigators obtained this day as much pork as furniſhed a meal to the crews of both the veſſels. In the Captain's laſt voyage, Waheatoua, who was then little more than a boy, was called Tearee; but having ſucceeded to his father's authority, he had aſſumed his father's name. The fruits which were procured at Oaiti-piha Bay contributed greatly to the recovery of the ſick people belonging to the Adventure. Many of them, who had been ſo ill as to be incapable of moving without aſſiſtance, were, in the compaſs of a few days, ſo far recovered that they were able to walk about of themſelves. When the Reſolution entered the bay, ſhe had but one ſcorbutic man on board. A Marine, who had long been ſick, and who died, the ſecond day after her arrival, of a complication of diſorders, had not the leaſt mixture of the ſcurvy.

On the twenty-fourth, the ſhips put to ſea, and arrived the next evening in Matavai Bay. Before they could come to an anchor, the decks were crowded with the natives, many of whom Captain Cook knew, and by moſt of whom he was well remembered. Among a large multitude of people, who were collected together upon the ſhore, was Otoo the King of the Iſland. Our Commander paid him a viſit on the following day, at Oparree, the place of his reſidence; and found him to be a fine, perſonable, well-made man, ſix feet high, and about thirty years of age. The qualities of his mind were not correſpondent to his external appearance: for when Captain Cook endeavoured to obtain from him the promiſe of a viſit on board, he acknowledged that he was afraid of the guns, and, indeed, manifeſted in all his actions that he was a prince of a timorous diſpoſition. Upon the Captain's return from Oparree, he found the tents, and the Aſtronomer's obſervatories, ſet up, on the ſame ſpot from which the tranſit of Venus had been obſerved in 1769. The ſick, being twenty in number from the Adventure, and one from the Reſolution, all of whom were ill of the ſcurvy, he ordered to be landed; and he appointed a guard of Marines on ſhore, under the command of Lieutenant Edgcumbe. On the twenty-ſeventh, Otoo was prevailed upon, with ſome degree of reluctance, to pay our Commander a viſit. He came attended with a numerous train, and brought with him fruits, a hog, two large fiſh, and a quantity of cloth; for which he and all his retinue were gratified with ſuitable preſents. When Captain Cook conveyed his gueſts to land, he was met by a venerable Lady, the mother of the late Toutaha, who ſeized him by both hands, and burſt into a flood of tears, ſaying *Toutaha Tiyo no Toutee matty Toutaha*; that is, "Toutaha, your friend, "or the friend of Cook, is dead." He was ſo much affected with her behaviour, that it would have been impoſſible for him to have refrained from mingling his tears with her's, had not Otoo, who was diſpleaſed with the interview, taken him from her. It was with difficulty that the Captain could obtain permiſſion to ſee her again, when he gave her an axe and ſome other articles. Captain Furneaux, at this time, preſented the King with two fine goats, which, if no accident befel them, might be expected to multiply. Several days had paſſed in a friendly intercourſe with the natives, and in procuring of proviſions, when, in the evening of the thirtieth, the Gentlemen on board the Reſolution were alarmed with the cry of murder, and with a great noiſe on ſhore, near the bottom of the bay, and at a diſtance from the Engliſh encampment. Upon this, Captain Cook, who ſuſpected that ſome of his own men were concerned in the affair, immediately diſpatched an armed boat, to know the cauſe of the diſturbance, and to bring off ſuch of his people as ſhould be found in the place. He ſent, alſo, to the Adventure, and to the poſt on ſhore, to learn who were miſſing; for none but thoſe who were upon duty were abſent from the Reſolution. The boats ſpeedily returned with three Marines and a Seaman. Some others, likewiſe, were taken, belonging to the Adventure; and all of them being put under confinement, our Commander, the next morning, ordered them to be puniſhed according to their deſerts. He did not find that any miſchief had been done, and the men would confeſs nothing. Some liberties which they had taken with the women had probably given occaſion to the diſturbance. To whatever cauſe it was owing, the natives were ſo much alarmed, that they fled from their habitations in the dead of night, and the alarm was ſpread many miles along the coaſt. In the morning, when Captain Cook went to viſit Otoo, by appointment, he found that he had removed, or rather fled, to a great diſtance from the uſual place of his abode. After arriving where he was, it was ſome hours before the Captain could be admitted to the ſight of him; and then he complained of the riot of the preceding evening. The ſick being nearly recovered, the water completed, and the neceſſary repairs of the ſhips finiſhed, Captain Cook determined to put to ſea without delay. Accordingly, on the firſt of September, he ordered every thing to be removed from the ſhore, and the veſſels to be unmoored, in which employment his people were engaged the greater part of the day. In the afternoon of the ſame day, Lieutenant Pickerſgill returned from Attahourou, to which place he had been ſent by the Captain, for the purpoſe of procuring ſome hogs that had been promiſed. In this expedition, the Lieutenant had ſeen the celebrated Oberea, who has been ſo much the object of poetical fancy. Her ſituation was very humble, compared with what it had formerly been. She was not only altered much for the worſe in her perſon, but appeared to be poor, and of little or no conſequence or authority in the Iſland. In the evening a favourable wind

having ſprung up, our Commander put to ſea; on which occaſion he was obliged to diſmiſs his Otaheite friends ſooner than they wiſhed to depart; but well ſatisfied with his kind and liberal treatment (*r*).

(*r*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 144—149.

From Matavai Bay Captain Cook directed his courſe for the Iſland Huaheine, where he intended to touch. This Iſland he reached the next day, and, early in the morning of the third of September, made ſail for the harbour of Owharre, in which he ſoon came to an anchor. The Adventure, not happening to turn into the harbour with equal facility, got aſhore on the North ſide of the channel; but, by the timely aſſiſtance which Capt. Cook had previouſly provided, in caſe ſuch an accident ſhould occur, ſhe was gotten off again, without receiving any damage. As ſoon as both the ſhips were in ſafety, our Commander, together with Captain Furneaux, landed upon the Iſland, and was received by the natives with the utmoſt cordiality. A trade immediately commenced; ſo that our Navigators had a fair proſpect of being plentifully ſupplied with freſh pork and fowls, which, to people in their ſituation, was a very deſirable circumſtance. On the fourth, Lieutenant Pickerſgill ſailed with the cutter, on a trading party, toward the ſouth end of the Iſle. Another trading party was alſo ſent on ſhore near the ſhips, which party Captain Cook attended himſelf, to ſee that the buſineſs was properly conducted at the firſt ſetting out, this being a point of no ſmall importance. Every thing being ſettled to his mind, he went, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forſter, to pay a viſit to his old friend Oree, the Chief of the Iſland. This viſit was preceded by many preparatory ceremonies. Among other things, the Chief ſent to our Commander the inſcription engraved on a ſmall piece of pewter, which he had left with him in July 1769. It was in the bag that Captain Cook had made for it, together with a piece of counterfeit Engliſh coin, and a few beads, which had been put in at the ſame time; whence it was evident what particular care had been taken of the whole. After the previous ceremonies had been diſcharged, the Captain wanted to go to the King, but he was informed that the King would come to him. Accordingly, Oree went up to our Commander, and fell on his neck, and embraced him; nor was it a ceremonious embrace, for the tears which trickled down the venerable old man's cheeks, ſufficiently beſpoke the language of his heart. The preſents which Captain Cook made to the Chief on this occaſion, conſiſted of the moſt valuable articles he had; for he regarded him as a father. Oree, in return, gave the Captain a hog, and a quantity of cloth, promiſing that all the wants of the Engliſh ſhould be ſupplied; and it was a promiſe to which he faithfully adhered. Indeed, he carried his kindneſs to Captain Cook ſo far, as not to fail ſending him every day, for his table, a plentiful ſupply of the very beſt of ready-dreſſed fruit and roots. Hitherto all things had gone on in the moſt agreeable manner; but on Monday the ſixth, ſeveral circumſtances occurred, which rendered it an unpleaſant and troubleſome day. When our Commander went to the trading-place he was informed that one of the inhabitants had behaved with remarkable inſolence. The man was completely equipped in the war habit, had a club in each hand, and ſeemed bent upon miſchief. Captain Cook took, therefore, the clubs from him, broke them before his eyes, and, with ſome difficulty, compelled him to retire. About the ſame time, Mr. Sparrman, who had imprudently gone out alone to botanize, was aſſaulted by two men, who ſtripped him of every thing which he had about him, excepting his trowſers, and ſtruck him again and again with his own hanger, though happily without doing him any harm. When they had accompliſhed their purpoſe, they made off; after which another of the natives brought a piece of cloth to cover him, and conducted him to the trading-place, where the inhabitants, in a large number, were aſſembled. The inſtant that Mr. Sparrman appeared in the condition now deſcribed, they all fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Captain Cook, having recalled a few of the Indians, and convinced them that he ſhould take no ſtep to injure thoſe who were innocent, went to Oree to complain of the outrage. When the Chief had heard the whole affair related, he wept aloud, and many other of the inhabitants did the ſame. After the firſt tranſports of his grief had ſubſided, he began to expoſtulate with his people, telling them (for ſo his language was underſtood by the Engliſh) how well Captain Cook had treated them, both in this and his former voyage, and how baſe it was in them to commit ſuch actions. He then took a minute account of the things of which Mr. Sparrman had been robbed, and, after having promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for the recovery of them, deſired to go into the Captain's boat. At this, the natives, apprehenſive doubtleſs for the ſafety of their Prince, expreſſed the utmoſt alarm, and uſed every argument to diſſuade him from ſo raſh a meaſure. All their remonſtrances, however, were in vain. He haſtened into the boat; and as ſoon as they ſaw that their beloved Chief was wholly in our Commander's power, they ſet up a great outcry. Indeed, their grief was inexpreſſible: they prayed, entreated, nay, attempted to pull him out of the boat; and every face was bedewed with tears. Even Captain Cook himſelf was ſo moved by their diſtreſs, that he united his entreaties with theirs, but all to no purpoſe. Oree inſiſted upon the Captain's coming into the boat, which was no ſooner done than he ordered it to be put off. His ſiſter was the only perſon among the Indians who behaved with a becoming magnanimity on this occaſion; for, with a ſpirit equal to that of her royal brother, ſhe alone did not oppoſe his going. It was his deſign, in coming into the boat of the

the Engliſh, to proceed with them in ſearch of the robbers. Accordingly, he went with Captain Cook, as far as it was convenient, by water, when they landed, entered the country, and travelled ſome miles inland; in doing which the Chief led the way, and enquired after the criminals of every perſon whom he ſaw. In this ſearch he would have gone to the very extremity of the Iſland, if our Commander, who did not think the object worthy of ſo laborious a purſuit, had not refuſed to proceed any farther. Beſides, as he intended to ſail the next morning, and all manner of trade was ſtopped in conſequence of the alarm of the natives, it became the more neceſſary for him to return, that he might reſtore things to their former ſtate. It was with great reluctance that Oree was prevailed upon to diſcontinue the ſearch, and to content himſelf with ſending, at Captain Cook's requeſt, ſome of his people for the things which had been carried off. When he and the Captain had gotten back to the boat, they found there the Chief's ſiſter, and ſeveral other perſons, who had travelled by land to the place. The Engliſh Gentlemen immediately ſtepped into their boat, in order to return on board, without ſo much as aſking Oree to accompany them; notwithſtanding which, he inſiſted upon doing it; nor could the oppoſition and entreaties of thoſe who were about him induce him to deſiſt from his purpoſe. His ſiſter followed his example, uninfluenced, on this occaſion, by the ſupplications and tears of her daughter. Captain Cook amply rewarded the Chief and his ſiſter for the confidence they had placed in him; and, after dinner, conveyed them both on ſhore, where ſome hundreds of people waited to receive them, many of whom embraced Oree with tears of joy. All was now peace and gladneſs: the inhabitants crowded in from every part, with ſuch a plentiful ſupply of hogs, fowls, and vegetable productions, that the Engliſh preſently filled two boats; and the Chief himſelf preſented the Captain with a large hog and a quantity of fruit. Mr. Sparrman's hanger, the only thing of value which he had loſt, was brought back, together with part of his coat; and our Navigators were told, that the remaining articles ſhould be reſtored the next day. Some things which had been ſtolen from a party of officers, who had gone out a ſhooting, were returned in like manner. The tranſactions of this day have been the more particularly related, as they ſhew the high opinion which the Chief had formed of our Commander, and the unreſerved confidence that he placed in his integrity and honour. Oree had entered into a ſolemn friendſhip with Captain Cook, according to all the forms which were cuſtomary in the country; and he ſeemed to think that this friendſhip could not be broken by the act of any other perſons. It is juſtly obſerved by the Captain, that another Chief may never be found, who, under ſimilar circumſtances, will act in the ſame manner. Oree, indeed, had nothing to fear: for it was not our Commander's intention to hurt a hair of his head, or to detain him a moment longer than was agreeable to his own deſire. But of this how could he and his people be aſſured? They were not ignorant, that when he was once in Captain Cook's power, the whole force of the Iſland would not be ſufficient to recover him, and that they muſt have complied with any demands, however great, for his ranſom. The apprehenſions, therefore, of the inhabitants, for their Chief's and their own ſafety, had a reaſonable foundation. Early on the ſeventh, while the ſhips were unmooring, the Captain went to pay his farewel viſit to Oree, and took with him ſuch preſents as had not only a fancied value, but a real utility. He left, alſo, with the Chief the inſcription plate that had before been in his poſſeſſion, and another ſmall copper plate, on which were engraved theſe words: "An-" chored here, his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips, Reſolution and Adventure, September, " 1773." Theſe plates, together with ſome medals, were put up in a bag; of which Oree promiſed to take care, and to produce them to the firſt ſhip or ſhips that ſhould arrive at the Iſland. Having, in return, given a hog to Captain Cook, and loaded his boat with fruit, they took leave of each other, when the good old Chief embraced our Commander with tears in his eyes. Nothing was mentioned, at this interview, concerning the remainder of Mr. Sparrman's property. As it was early in the morning, the Captain judged that it had not been brought in, and he was not willing to ſpeak of it to Oree, leſt he ſhould give him pain about things which there had not been time to recover. The robbers having ſoon afterwards been taken, Oree came on board again, to requeſt that our Commander would go on ſhore, either to puniſh them, or to be preſent at their puniſhment; but this not being convenient to him, he left them to the correction of their own Chief. It was from the Iſland of Huaheine that Captain Furneaux received into his ſhip a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea, of whom ſo much hath ſince been known and written. This choice Captain Cook at firſt diſapproved, as thinking that the youth was not a proper ſample of the inhabitants of the Society Iſlands; being inferior to many of them in birth and acquired rank, and not having any peculiar advantage in point of ſhape, figure, or complexion. The Captain afterwards found reaſon to be better ſatisfied with Omai's having accompanied our Navigators to England. During the ſhort ſtay of the veſſels at Huaheine, our people were very ſucceſsful in obtaining ſupplies of proviſions. No leſs than three hundred hogs, beſides fowls and fruit, were procured; and had the ſhips continued longer at the place, the quantity might have been greatly increaſed. Such was the fertility of this ſmall Iſland, that none of theſe articles of refreſhment were ſeemingly diminiſhed, but appeared to be as plentiful as ever (*s*).

(*s*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 161—171.

From

From Huaheine our Navigators ſailed for Ulietea, where trade was carried on in the uſual manner, and a moſt friendly intercourſe renewed between Captain Cook and Oreo, the Chief of the Iſland. Here Tupia was enquired after with particular eagerneſs, and the enquirers were perfectly ſatisfied with the account which was given of the occaſion of that Indian's deceaſe. On the morning of the fifteenth, the Engliſh were ſurprized at finding that none of the inhabitants of Ulietea came off to the ſhips, as had hitherto been cuſtomary. As two men belonging to the Adventure had ſtayed on ſhore all night, contrary to orders, Captain Cook's firſt conjectures were, that the natives had ſtripped them, and were afraid of the revenge which would be taken of the inſult. This, however, was not the caſe. The men had been treated with great civility, and could aſſign no cauſe for the precipitate flight of the Indians. All that the Captain could learn was, that ſeveral were killed, and others wounded, by the guns of the Engliſh. This information alarmed him for the ſafety of ſome of our people, who had been ſent out in two boats to the Iſland of Otaha. He determined, therefore, if poſſible, to ſee the Chief himſelf. When he came up to him, Oreo threw his arms around our Commander's neck, and burſt into tears; in which he was accompanied by all the women, and ſome of the men; ſo that the lamentation became general. Aſtoniſhment alone kept Captain Cook from joining in their grief. At laſt, the whole which he could collect from his enquiries was, that the natives had been alarmed on account of the abſence of the Engliſh boats, and imagined that the Captain, upon the ſuppoſition of the deſertion of his men, would uſe violent means for the recovery of his loſs. When the matter was explained, it was acknowledged that not a ſingle inhabitant, or a ſingle Engliſhman, had been hurt. This groundleſs conſternation diſplayed in a ſtrong light the timorous diſpoſition of the people of the Society Iſlands. Our Navigators were as ſucceſsful in procuring proviſions at Ulietea as they had been at Huaheine. Captain Cook judged, that the number of hogs obtained amounted to four hundred, or upwards: many of them, indeed, were only roaſters, while others exceeded a hundred pounds in weight; but the general run was from forty to ſixty. A larger quantity was offered than the ſhips could contain; ſo that our countrymen were enabled to proceed on their voyage with no ſmall degree of comfort and advantage (*t*). Our Commander, by his ſecond viſit to the Society Iſlands, gained a farther knowledge of their general ſtate, and of the cuſtoms of the inhabitants. It appeared that a Spaniſh ſhip had been lately at Otaheite, and the natives complained that a diſeaſe had been communicated to them by the people of this veſſel, which, according to their account, affected the head, the throat, and the ſtomach, and at length ended in death. With regard to a certain diſorder, the effects of which have ſo fatally been felt in the later ages of the world, Captain Cook's enquiries could not abſolutely determine whether it was known to the Iſlanders before they were viſited by the Europeans. If it was of recent origin, the introduction of it was, without a diſſentient voice, aſcribed to the voyage of M. de Bougainville. One thing which our Commander was ſolicitous to aſcertain, was, whether human ſacrifices conſtituted a part of the religious cuſtoms of theſe people. The man of whom he made his enquiries, and ſeveral other natives, took ſome pains to explain the matter; but, from our people's ignorance of the language of the country, their explications could not be underſtood. Captain Cook afterwards learned from Omai, that the inhabitants of the Society Iſlands offer human ſacrifices to the Supreme Being. What relates to funeral ceremonies excepted, all the knowledge he could obtain concerning their religion was very imperfect and defective. The Captain had an opportunity, in this voyage, of rectifying the great injuſtice which had been done to the women of Otaheite and the neighbouring Iſles. They had been repreſented as ready, without exception, to grant the laſt favour to any man who would come up to their price: but our Commander found that this was by no means the caſe. The favours both of the married women and of the unmarried, of the better ſort, were as difficult to be obtained in the Society Iſlands as in any other country whatever. Even with reſpect to the unmarried females of the lower claſs, the charge was not indiſcriminately true. There were many of theſe who would not admit of indecent familiarities. The ſetting this ſubject in a proper light, a ſubject upon which Dr. Hawkeſworth had enlarged more than wiſdom ſeemed to require, muſt be conſidered as one of the agreeable effects of Captain Cook's ſecond voyage. Every enlightened mind will rejoice at what conduces to the honour of human nature in general, and of the female ſex in particular. Chaſtity is ſo eminently the glory of that ſex, and, indeed, is ſo eſſentially connected with the good order of ſociety, that it muſt be a ſatisfaction to reflect, that there is no country, however ignorant or barbarous, in which this virtue is not regarded as an object of moral obligation. This voyage enabled our Commander to gain ſome farther knowledge concerning the geography of the Society Iſles; and he found it highly probable, that Otaheite is of greater extent than he had computed it in his former eſtimation (*u*). The Aſtronomers did not neglect to ſet up their obſervatories, and to make obſervations ſuited to their purpoſe.

On the ſeventeenth of September, Captain Cook ſailed from Ulietea, directing his courſe to the Weſt, with an inclination to the South. Land was diſcovered on the twenty-third of the month, to which he gave the name of Harvey's Iſland (*w*). On the firſt of October,

(*t*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 171—180.

(*u*) The latitude of Oaiti-piha Bay, in Otaheite, was found to be 17° 46′ 28″ South, and longitude 0° 21′ 25″½ Eaſt from Point Venus; or 149° 13′ 24″ Weſt from Greenwich.

(*w*) It is ſituated in the latitude of 19° 18′ South, and 158° 54′ Weſt.

October, he reached the Iſland of Middleburg. While he was looking about for a landing-place, two canoes, each of them conducted by two or three men, came boldly alongſide the ſhip, and ſome of the people entered it without heſitation. This mark of confidence inſpired our Commander with ſo good an opinion of the inhabitants, that he determined, if poſſible, to pay them a viſit, which he did the next day. Scarcely had the veſſels gotten to an anchor before they were ſurrounded by a great number of canoes, full of the natives, who brought with them cloth, and various curioſities, which they exchanged for nails, and ſuch other articles as were adapted to their fancy. Among thoſe who came on board, was a Chief, named Tioony, whoſe friendſhip Captain Cook immediately gained by proper preſents, conſiſting principally of a hatchet and ſome ſpike-nails. A party of our Navigators, with the Captain at the head of them, having embarked in two boats, proceeded to ſhore, where they found an immenſe croud of people, who welcomed them to the Iſland with loud acclamations. There was not ſo much as a ſtick, or any other weapon, in the hands of a ſingle native, ſo pacific were their diſpoſitions and intentions. They ſeemed to be more deſirous of giving than receiving; and many of them, who could not approach near to the boats, threw into them, over the heads of others, whole bales of cloth, and then retired, without either aſking or waiting for any thing in return. The whole day was ſpent by our Navigators in the moſt agreeable manner. When they returned on board in the evening, every one expreſſed how much he was delighted with the country, and the very obliging behaviour of the inhabitants, who ſeemed to vie with each other in their endeavours to give pleaſure to our people. All this conduct appeared to be the reſult of the moſt pure good-nature, perhaps without being accompanied with much ſentiment or feeling; for when Captain Cook ſignified to the Chief his intention of quitting the Iſland, he did not ſeem to be in the leaſt moved. Among other articles preſented by the Captain to Tioony, he left him an aſſortment of garden-ſeeds, which, if properly uſed, might be of great future benefit to the country. From Middleburg the ſhips ſailed down to Amſterdam, the natives of which Iſland were equally ready with thoſe of the former place to maintain a friendly intercourſe with the Engliſh. Like the people of Middleburg, they brought nothing with them but cloth, matting, and ſuch other articles as could be of little ſervice; and for theſe our ſeamen were ſo ſimple as to barter away their clothes. To put a ſtop, therefore, to ſo injurious a traffic, and to obtain the neceſſary refreſhments, the Captain gave orders that no ſort of curioſities ſhould be purchaſed by any perſon whatever. This injunction produced the deſired effect. When the inhabitants ſaw that the Engliſh would deal with them for nothing but eatables, they brought off bananoes and cocoa-nuts in abundance, together with ſome fowls and pigs; all of which they exchanged for ſmall nails and pieces of cloth. Even a few old rags were ſufficient for the purchaſe of a pig or a fowl. The method of carrying on trade being ſettled, and proper officers having been appointed to prevent diſputes, our Commander's next object was to obtain as complete a knowledge as poſſible of the Iſland of Amſterdam. In this he was much facilitated by a friendſhip which he had formed with Attago, one of the Chiefs of the country. Captain Cook was ſtruck with admiration, when he ſurveyed the beauty and cultivation of the Iſland. He thought himſelf tranſported into the moſt fertile plains of Europe. There was not an inch of waſte ground. The roads occupied no larger a ſpace than was abſolutely neceſſary, and the fences did not take up above four inches each. Even ſuch a ſmall portion of ground was not wholly loſt; for many of the fences themſelves contained uſeful trees or plants. The ſcene was every where the ſame; and nature, aſſiſted by a little art, no where aſſumes a more ſplendid appearance than in this Iſland. Friendly as were the natives of Amſterdam, they were not entirely free from the thieviſh diſpoſition which hath ſo often been remarked in the Iſlanders of the Southern Ocean. The inſtances, however, of this kind, which occurred, were not of ſuch a nature as to produce any extraordinary degree of trouble, or to involve our people in a quarrel with the inhabitants. Captain Cook's introduction to the King of the Iſland afforded a ſcene ſomewhat remarkable. His Majeſty was ſeated with ſo much ſullen and ſtupid gravity, that the Captain took him for an idiot, whom the Indians, from ſome ſuperſtitious reaſons, were ready to worſhip. When our Commander ſaluted and ſpoke to him, he neither anſwered, nor took the leaſt notice of him; nor did he alter a ſingle feature of his countenance. Even the preſents which were made to him could not induce him to reſign a bit of his gravity, or to ſpeak one word, or to turn his head either to the right hand or to the left. As he was in the prime of life, it is poſſible that a falſe ſenſe of dignity might engage him to aſſume ſo ſolemn a ſtupidity of appearance. In the hiſtory of mankind, inſtances might probably be found which would confirm this ſuppoſition (*x*).

(*x*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 181—210.

For a general deſcription of the two Iſlands of Middleburg and Amſterdam, and an account of the cultivation, cuſtoms, and manners of the inhabitants, recourſe muſt be had to Capt. Cook's Voyage. In ſlightly touching upon a few particulars, I ſhall hope to obtain the forgiveneſs of ſome of my readers. It is obſervable, that theſe two Iſlands are guarded from the ſea by a reef of coral rocks, which extend out from the ſhore about one hundred fathoms. On this reef the force of the ſea is ſpent before it reaches the land. The ſame, indeed, is, in a great meaſure, the ſituation of all the tropical Iſles which our Com-

mander had ſeen in that part of the globe; and hence ariſes an evidence of the wiſdom and goodneſs of Providence; as by ſuch a proviſion, nature has effectually ſecured them from the encroachments of the ſea, though many of them are mere points, when compared with the vaſt ocean by which they are ſurrounded (*y*). In Amſterdam, Mr. Forſter not only found the ſame plants that are at Otaheite and the neighbouring Iſlands, but ſeveral others which are not to be met with in thoſe places. Captain Cook took care, by a proper aſſortment of garden-ſeeds and pulſe, to increaſe the vegetable ſtock of the inhabitants. Hogs and fowls were the only domeſtic animals that were ſeen in theſe Iſlands. The former are of the ſame ſort with thoſe which had been met with in other parts of the Southern Ocean; but the latter are far ſuperior, being as large as any in Europe, and equal, if not preferable, with reſpect to the goodneſs of their fleſh. Both the men and women are of a common ſize with Europeans. Their colour is that of a lightiſh copper, and with a greater uniformity than occurs among the natives of Otaheite and the Society Iſles. Some of the Engliſh Gentlemen were of opinion, that the inhabitants of Middleburg and Amſterdam were a much handſomer race; while others, with whom Captain Cook concurred, maintained a contrary ſentiment. However this may be, their ſhape is good, their features regular, and they are active, briſk, and lively. The women, in particular, are the merrieſt creatures our Commander had ever met with; and, provided any perſon ſeemed pleaſed with them, they would keep chattering by his ſide, without the leaſt invitation, or conſidering whether they were underſtood. They appeared in general to be modeſt, though there were ſeveral amongſt them of a different character. As there were yet on board ſome complaints of a certain diſorder, the Captain took all poſſible care to prevent its communication. Our Navigators were frequently entertained by the women with ſongs, and this in a manner which was by no means diſagreeable. They had a method of keeping time, by ſnapping their fingers. Their muſic was harmonious as well as their voices, and there was a conſiderable degree of compaſs in their notes. A ſingular cuſtom was found to prevail in theſe Iſlands. The greater part of the people were obſerved to have loſt one or both of their little fingers; and this was not peculiar to rank, age, or ſex; nor was the amputation reſtricted to any ſpecific period of life. Our Navigators endeavoured in vain to diſcover the reaſon of ſo extraordinary a practice. A very extenſive knowledge of the language of Middleburg and Amſterdam could not be obtained during the ſhort ſtay which was made there by the Engliſh. However, the more they enquired into it, the more they found that it was, in general, the ſame with that which is ſpoken at Otaheite and the Society Iſles. The difference is not greater than what frequently occurs betwixt the moſt northern and weſtern parts of England (*z*).

(*y*) The Iſlands of Middleburg and Amſterdam are ſituated between the latitude of 21° 25′ and 21° 3′ South, and between the longitude of 174° 40′ and 175° 15′ Weſt, deduced from obſervations made on the ſpot.

(*z*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 211, 213, 214. 217, 218. 222. 225.

On the ſeventh of October, Captain Cook proceeded on his voyage. His intention was to ſail directly to Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, for the purpoſe of taking in wood and water, after which he was to purſue his diſcoveries to the South and the Eaſt. The day after he quitted Amſterdam, he paſſed the Iſland of Pilſtart; an Iſland which had been diſcovered by Taſman (*a*). On the twenty-firſt, he made the land of New Zealand, at the diſtance of eight or ten leagues from Table Cape. As our Commander was very deſirous of leaving in the country ſuch an aſſortment of animals and vegetables as might greatly contribute to the future benefit of the inhabitants, one of the firſt things which he did was to give to a Chief, who had come off in a canoe, two boars, two ſows, four hens, and two cocks, together with a quantity of ſeeds. The ſeeds were of the moſt uſeful kind; ſuch as wheat, french and kidney beans, peaſe, cabbage, turnips, onions, carrots, parſnips, and yams. The man to whom theſe ſeveral articles were preſented, though he was much more enraptured with a ſpike-nail half the length of his arm, promiſed, however, to take care of them, and, in particular, not to kill any of the animals. If he adhered to his promiſe, they would be ſufficient, in a due courſe of time, to ſtock the whole Iſland. It was the third of November before Captain Cook brought the Reſolution into Ship Cove, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. He had been beating about the Iſland from the twenty-firſt of October, during which time his veſſel was expoſed to a variety of tempeſtuous weather. In one inſtance he had been driven off the land by a furious ſtorm, which laſted two days, and which would have been dangerous in the higheſt degree, had it not fortunately happened that it was fair overhead, and that there was no reaſon to be apprehenſive of a lee-ſhore. In the courſe of the bad weather which ſucceeded this ſtorm, the Adventure was ſeparated from the Reſolution, and was never ſeen or heard of through the whole remainder of the voyage. The firſt object of our Commander's attention, after his arrival in Queen Charlotte's Sound, was to provide for the repair of his ſhip, which had ſuffered in various reſpects, and eſpecially in her ſails and rigging. Another matter which called for his notice, was the ſtate of the bread belonging to the veſſel; and he had the mortification of finding that a large quantity of it was damaged. To repair this loſs in the beſt manner he was able, he ordered all the caſks to be opened, the bread to be picked, and ſuch parcels of it to be baked, in the copper oven, as could by that means be recovered. Notwithſtanding this care, four thouſand two hundred and ninety-two pounds were found totally unfit for uſe; and about three thouſand pounds more could only be eaten by people in the ſituation of our Navigators. Captain Cook was early in his enquiries concerning

(*a*) Pilſtart is ſituated in the latitude of 22° 26′ South, and in the longitude of 175° 59′ Weſt. It is diſtant thirty-two leagues from the South end of Middleburg.

the animals which had been left at New Zealand, in the former part of his voyage. He ſaw the youngeſt of the two ſows that Captain Furneaux had put on ſhore in Cannibal Cove. She was in good condition, and very tame. The boar and other ſow, if our Commander was rightly informed, were taken away and ſeparated, but not killed. He was told that the two goats, which he had landed up the Sound, had been deſtroyed by a raſcally native, of the name of Goubiah; ſo that the Captain had the grief of diſcovering that all his benevolent endeavours to ſtock the country with uſeful animals were likely to be fruſtrated by the very people whom he was anxious to ſerve. The gardens had met with a better fate. Every thing in them, excepting potatoes, the inhabitants had left entirely to nature, who had ſo well performed her part, that moſt of the articles were in a flouriſhing condition. Notwithſtanding the inattention and folly of the New Zealanders, Captain Cook ſtill continued his zeal for their benefit. To the inhabitants who reſided at the Cove, he gave a boar, a young ſow, two cocks, and two hens, which had been brought from the Society Iſlands. At the bottom of the Weſt Bay, he ordered to be landed, without the knowledge of the Indians, four hogs, being three ſows and one boar, together with two cocks and two hens. They were carried a little way into the woods, and as much food was left them as would ſerve them for ten or twelve days; which was done to prevent their coming down to the ſhore in ſearch of ſuſtenance, and by that means being diſcovered by the natives. The Captain was deſirous of replacing the two goats which Goubiah was underſtood to have killed, by leaving behind him the only two that yet remained in his poſſeſſion. But he had the misfortune, ſoon after his arrival at Queen Charlotte's Sound, to loſe the ram; and this in a manner for which it was not eaſy to aſſign the cauſe. Whether it was owing to any thing he had eaten, or to his being ſtung with nettles, which were very plentiful in the place, he was ſeized with fits that bordered upon madneſs. In one of theſe fits, he was ſuppoſed to have run into the ſea, and to have been drowned: and thus every method, which our Commander had taken to ſtock the country with ſheep and goats, proved ineffectual. He hoped to be more ſucceſsful with reſpect to the boars and ſows, and the cocks and hens, which he left in the Iſland. While the boatſwain, one day, and a party of men were employed in cutting broom, ſome of them ſtole ſeveral things from a private hut of the natives, in which was depoſited moſt of the treaſure they had received from the Engliſh, as well as property of their own. Complaint being made by the Indians to Captain Cook, and a particular man of the boatſwain's party having been pointed out to the Captain as the perſon who had committed the theft, he ordered him to be puniſhed in their preſence. With this they went away ſeemingly ſatisfied, although they did not recover any of the articles which they had loſt. It was always a maxim with our Commander, to puniſh the leaſt crimes which any of his people were guilty of with regard to uncivilized nations. Their robbing us with impunity he by no means conſidered as a reaſon for our treating them in the ſame manner. Addicted as the New Zealanders were, in a certain degree, to ſtealing, a diſpoſition which muſt have been very much encreaſed by the novelty and allurement of the objects preſented to their view; they had, nevertheleſs, when injured themſelves, ſuch a ſenſe of juſtice, as to apply to Captain Cook for redreſs. The beſt method, in his opinion, of preſerving a good underſtanding with the inhabitants of countries in this ſtate of ſociety, is, firſt, to convince them of the ſuperiority we have over them in conſequence of our fire-arms, and then to be always upon our guard. Such a conduct, united with ſtrict honeſty and gentle treatment, will convince them that it is their intereſt not to diſturb us, and prevent them from forming any general plan of attack. In this ſecond viſit of our Navigators to New Zealand, they met with indubitable evidence that the natives were eaters of human fleſh. The proofs of this fact had a moſt powerful influence on the mind of Oedidee, a youth of Bolabola, whom Captain Cook had brought in the Reſolution from Ulietea. He was ſo affected that he became perfectly motionleſs, and exhibited ſuch a picture of horror, that it would have been impoſſible for art to deſcribe that paſſion with half the force with which it appeared in his countenance. When he was rouzed from this ſtate by ſome of the Engliſh, he burſt into tears; continued to weep and ſcold by turns; told the New Zealanders that they were vile men; and aſſured them that he would not be any longer their friend. He would not ſo much as permit them to come near him; and he refuſed to accept, or even to touch the knife by which ſome human fleſh had been cut off. Such was Oedidee's indignation againſt the abominable cuſtom; and our Commander has juſtly remarked, that it was an indignation worthy to be imitated by every rational being. The conduct of this young man upon the preſent occaſion, ſtrongly points out the difference which had taken place, in the progreſs of civilization, between the inhabitants of the Society Iſlands and thoſe of New Zealand. It was our Commander's firm opinion, that the only human fleſh which was eaten by theſe people was that of their enemies who had been ſlain in battle. During the ſtay of our Voyagers in Queen Charlotte's Sound, they were plentifully ſupplied with fiſh, procured from the natives at a very eaſy rate; and, beſides the vegetables afforded by their own gardens, they every where found plenty of ſcurvy-graſs and celery. Theſe Captain Cook ordered to be dreſſed every day for all his hands. By the attention which he paid to his men in the article of proviſions, they had for three months lived principally

on

on a freſh diet, and, at this time, there was not a ſick or ſcorbutic perſon on board. The morning before the Captain ſailed, he wrote a memorandum, contain ſuch information as he thought neceſſary for Captain Furneaux, in caſe he ſhould put into the Sound. This memorandum was buried in a bottle under the root of a tree in the garden; and in ſuch a manner that it could not avoid being diſcovered, if either Captain Furneaux or any other European ſhould chance to arrive at the Cove. Our Commander did not leave New Zealand without making ſuch remarks on the coaſt between Cape Teerawhitte and Cape Palliſer as may be of ſervice to future navigators. It being now the unanimous opinion, that the Adventure was no where upon the Iſland, Captain Cook gave up all expectations of ſeeing her any more during the voyage. This circumſtance, however, did not diſcourage him from fully exploring the ſouthern parts of the Pacific Ocean, in the doing of which he intended to employ the whole of the enſuing ſeaſon. When he quitted the coaſt, he had the ſatisfaction to find that not a man of the crew was dejected, or thought that the dangers they had yet to go through, were in the leaſt augmented by their being alone. Such was the confidence they placed in their Commander, that they were as ready to proceed chearfully to the South, or wherever he might lead them, as if the Adventure, or even a larger number of ſhips had been in company (*b*).

(*b*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 225—250.

On the twenty-ſixth of November, Captain Cook ſailed from New Zealand in ſearch of a continent, and ſteered to the South, inclining to the Eaſt. Some days after this, our Navigators reckoned themſelves to be antipodes to their friends in London, and conſequently were at as great a diſtance from them as poſſible. The firſt ice Iſland was ſeen on the twelfth of December (*c*), farther South than the firſt ice which had been met with after leaving the Cape of Good Hope in the preceding year. In the progreſs of the voyage, ice iſlands continually occurred, and the navigation became more and more difficult and dangerous. When our people were in the latitude of 67° 5′ South, they all at once got within ſuch a cluſter of theſe iſlands, together with a large quantity of looſe pieces, that to keep clear of them was a matter of the utmoſt difficulty. On the twenty-ſecond of the month, the Reſolution was in the higheſt latitude ſhe had yet reached (*d*); and circumſtances now became ſo unfavourable, that our Commander thought of returning more to the North. Here there was no probability of finding any land, or a poſſibility of getting farther South. To have proceeded, therefore, to the Eaſt in this latitude, muſt have been improper, not only on account of the ice, but becauſe a vaſt ſpace of ſea to the North muſt have been left unexplored, in which there might lie a large tract of country. It was only by viſiting thoſe parts that it could be determined whether ſuch a ſuppoſition was well founded. As our Navigators advanced to the North-eaſt on the twenty-fourth, the ice iſlands encreaſed ſo faſt upon them, that, at noon, they could ſee nearly a hundred around them, beſides an immenſe number of ſmall pieces. In this ſituation they ſpent Chriſtmas-day, much in the ſame manner as they had done in the former year. Happily our people had continual day-light, and clear weather; for had it been as foggy as it was on ſome preceding days, nothing leſs than a miracle could have ſaved them from being daſhed to pieces. While the Reſolution was in the high latitudes, many of her company were attacked with a ſlight fever, occaſioned by colds. The diſorder, however, yielded to the ſimpleſt remedies, and was generally removed in a few days. On the fifth of January, 1774, the ſhip not being then in much more than fifty degrees of latitude, there were only one or two perſons on the ſick liſt. After Captain Cook, agreeably to his late reſolution, had traverſed a large extent of ocean without diſcovering land, he again directed his courſe to the ſouthward. By the thirtieth of the month, through obſtructions and difficulties, which, from their ſimilar nature to thoſe already mentioned, it would be tedious to repeat, he reached to the ſeventy-firſt degree of latitude (*e*). Thus far had he gone; but to have proceeded farther would have been the height of folly and madneſs. It would have been expoſing himſelf, his men, and his ſhip to the utmoſt danger, and perhaps to deſtruction, without the leaſt proſpect of advantage. The Captain was of opinion, as indeed were moſt of the Gentlemen on board, that the ice now in ſight extended quite to the pole, or might join to ſome land, to which it might be fixed from the earlieſt time. If, however, there be ſuch land, it can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itſelf, with which it muſt be wholly covered. Though our Commander had not only the ambition of going farther than any one had done before, but of proceeding as far as it was poſſible for man to go, he was the leſs diſſatisfied with the interruption he now met with, as it ſhortened the dangers and hardſhips inſeparable from the navigation of the ſouthern polar regions. In fact, he was impelled by inevitable neceſſity to tack, and ſtand back to the North. The determination which Captain Cook now formed was to ſpend the enſuing winter within the tropic, if he met with no employment before he came there. He was well ſatisfied that no continent was to be found in this ocean but what muſt lie ſo far to the South as to be wholly inacceſſible on account of ice. If there exiſted a continent in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, he was ſenſible that he could not explore it without having the whole ſummer before him. Upon a ſuppoſition, on the other hand, that there is no land there, he might undoubtedly have reached the Cape of Good Hope by April. In that caſe, he would have put an end to the finding of a continent; which was indeed the firſt object of the voyage.

(*c*) This was in the latitude of 62° 10′ South, and longitude 172° Weſt.

(*d*) This was 67° 31′. The longitude was 142° 54′ Weſt.

(*e*) The exact latitude at this time was 71° 10′ South; and the longitude 106° 54′ Weſt.

But this could not ſatisfy the extenſive and magnanimous mind of our Commander. He had a good ſhip, expreſsly ſent out on diſcoveries, a healthy crew, and was not in want either of ſtores or of proviſions. In ſuch circumſtances, to have quitted this Southern Pacific Ocean, would, he thought, have been betraying not only a want of perſeverance, but of judgment, in ſuppoſing it to have been ſo well explored, that nothing farther could be done. Although he had proved that there was no continent but what muſt lie far to the South, there remained, nevertheleſs, room for very large Iſlands in places wholly unexamined. Many, likewiſe, of thoſe which had formerly been diſcovered had been but imperfectly explored, and their ſituations were as imperfectly known. He was alſo perſuaded, that his continuing ſome time longer in this ſea would be productive of improvements in navigation and geography, as well as in other ſciences. In conſequence of theſe views, it was Captain Cook's intention firſt to go in ſearch of the land ſaid to have been diſcovered by Juan Fernandez, in the laſt century (*f*). If he ſhould fail in finding this land, he propoſed to direct his courſe in queſt of Eaſter Iſland or Davis's Land, the ſituation of which was known with ſo little certainty, that none of the attempts lately made for its diſcovery had been ſucceſsful. He next intended to get within the tropic, and then to proceed to the Weſt, touching at, and ſettling the ſituations of ſuch Iſlands as he might meet with till he arrived at Otaheite, where it was neceſſary for him to ſtop, to look for the Adventure. It was alſo in his contemplation to run as far Weſt as the Tierra Auſtral del Eſpiritu Santo, which was diſcovered by Quiros, and to which M. de Bougainville has given the name of the Great Cyclades. From this land it was the Captain's plan to ſteer to the South, and ſo back to the Eaſt, between the latitudes of fifty and ſixty. In the execution of this plan, it was his purpoſe, if poſſible, to attain the length of Cape Horn in the enſuing November, when he ſhould have the beſt part of the ſummer before him, to explore the ſouthern part of the Atlantic Ocean. Great as was this deſign, our Commander thought it capable of being carried into execution; and when he communicated it to his officers, he had the ſatisfaction of finding that it received their zealous and chearful concurrence. They diſplayed the utmoſt readineſs for executing, in the moſt effectual manner, every meaſure he thought proper to adopt. With ſuch good examples to direct them, the ſeamen were always obedient and alert; and on the preſent occaſion, ſo far were they from wiſhing the voyage to be concluded, that they rejoiced at the proſpect of its being prolonged another year, and of ſoon enjoying the benefits of a milder climate (*g*).

(*f*) In about the latitude of 38°.

(*g*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 250—271.

In purſuing his courſe to the North, Captain Cook became well aſſured that the diſcovery of Juan Fernandez, if any ſuch was ever made, could be nothing more than a ſmall Iſland. At this time, the Captain was attacked by a bilious colic, the violence of which confined him to his bed. The management of the ſhip, upon this occaſion, was left to Mr. Cooper, the firſt officer, who conducted her entirely to his Commander's ſatisfaction. It was ſeveral days before the moſt dangerous ſymptoms of Captain Cook's diſorder were removed; during which time, Mr. Patten the Surgeon, in attending upon him, manifeſted not only the ſkilfulneſs of a Phyſician, but the tenderneſs of a nurſe. When the Captain began to recover, a favourite dog, belonging to Mr. Forſter, fell a ſacrifice to his tender ſtomach. There was no other freſh meat whatever on board, and he could eat not only of the broth which was made of it, but of the fleſh itſelf, when there was nothing elſe that he was capable of taſting. Thus did he derive nouriſhment and ſtrength from food which to moſt people in Europe would have been in the higheſt degree diſguſting, and productive of ſickneſs. The neceſſity of the caſe overcame every feeling of diſlike. On the eleventh of March, our Navigators came within ſight of Eaſter Iſland, or Davis's Land (*b*); their tranſactions at which place were of too little moment to deſerve a particular recital. The inhabitants are, in general, a ſlender race. In colour, features, and language, they bear ſuch an affinity to the people of the more weſtern Iſles, that there can be no doubt of their having been deſcended from one common original. It is indeed extraordinary that the ſame nation ſhould have ſpread themſelves to ſo wide an extent, as to take in almoſt a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. With regard to the diſpoſition of the natives of Eaſter Iſland, it is friendly and hoſpitable; but they are as much addicted to ſtealing as any of their neighbours. The Iſland itſelf hath ſo little to recommend it, that no nation need to contend for the honour of its diſcovery. So ſparing has nature been of her favours to this ſpot, that there is in it no ſafe anchorage, no wood for fuel, no freſh water worth taking on board. The moſt remarkable objects in the country are ſome ſurprizing gigantic ſtatues, which were firſt ſeen by Roggewein, and of which Captain Cook has given a particular deſcription (*i*). It was with pleaſure that our Commander quitted a place which could afford ſuch ſlender accommodations to voyagers, and directed his courſe for the Marqueſas Iſlands. He had not been long at ſea, before he was again attacked by his bilious diſorder. The attack, however, was not ſo violent as the former one had been. He had reaſon to believe, that the return of his diſeaſe was owing to his having expoſed and fatigued himſelf too much at Eaſter Iſland. On the ſixth and ſeventh of April, our Navigators came within ſight of four Iſlands, which they knew to be the Marqueſas. To one of them, which was a new diſcovery, Captain Cook gave the name of HOOD'S ISLAND, after that of the young Gentleman by whom it was firſt ſeen. As ſoon as the ſhip was

(*b*) It is ſituated in the latitude of 27° 5′ 30″ South, and the longitude of 109° 46′ 30″ Weſt.

(*i*) Cook's Voyages, *ubi ſupra*, p. 274, 275. 288. 290. 294—296.

brought to an anchor in Madre de Dios, or Reſolution Bay, in the Iſland of St. Chriſtina, a traffic commenced, in the courſe of which the natives would frequently keep our goods, without making any return. At laſt the Captain was obliged to fire a muſquet-ball over one man who had ſeveral times treated the Engliſh in this manner. This produced only a temporary effect. Too many of the Indians having come on board, our Commander, who was going in a boat, to find a convenient place for mooring the ſhip, ſaid to the officers, "You muſt look well after theſe people, or they will certainly carry off ſomething or "other." Scarcely had he gotten into the boat, when he was informed that they had ſtolen an iron ſtanchion from the oppoſite gangway, and were carrying it off. Upon this he ordered his men to fire over the canoe till he could get round in the boat, but not to kill any one. Such, however, was the noiſe made by the natives, that the order was not heard; and the unhappy thief was killed at the firſt ſhot. All the Indians having retired with precipitation, in conſequence of this unfortunate accident, Captain Cook followed them into the bay, prevailed upon ſome of them to come alongſide his boat, and, by ſuitable preſents, ſo far conciliated their minds, that their fears ſeemed to be in a great meaſure allayed. The death of their countryman did not cure them of their thieviſh diſpoſition; but, at length, it was ſomewhat reſtrained by their conviction that no diſtance ſecured them from the reach of our muſquets. Several ſmaller inſtances of their talent at ſtealing, the Captain thought proper to overlook. The proviſions obtained at St. Chriſtina were yams, plantains, bread-fruit, a few cocoa nuts, fowls, and ſmall pigs. For a time, the trade was carried on upon reaſonable terms; but the market was at laſt ruined by the indiſcretion of ſome young Gentlemen, who gave away in exchange various articles which the inhabitants had not ſeen before, and which captivated their fancy above nails, or more uſeful iron tools. One of the Gentlemen had given for a pig a very large quantity of red feathers, which he had gotten at Amſterdam. The effect of this was particularly fatal. It was not poſſible to ſupport the trade, in the manner in which it was now begun, even for a ſingle day. When, therefore, our Commander found that he was not likely to be ſupplied, on any conditions, with ſufficient refreſhments, and that the Iſland was neither very convenient for taking in wood and water, nor for affording the neceſſary repairs of the ſhip, he determined to proceed immediately to ſome other place, where the wants of his people could be effectually relieved. After having been nineteen weeks at ſea, and having lived all that time upon ſalt diet, a change in their food could not avoid being peculiarly deſirable: and yet, on their arrival at St. Chriſtina, it could ſcarcely be aſſerted that a ſingle man was ſick; and there were but a few who had the leaſt complaint of any kind. "This," ſays Captain Cook, in the narrative of his voyage, "was undoubtedly "owing to the many antiſcorbutic articles we had on board, and to the great attention of "the Surgeon, who was remarkably careful to apply them in time (*k*)." It may juſtly be added, that this was likewiſe owing to the ſingular care of the Captain himſelf, and to the exertions of his authority, in enforcing the excellent regulations which his wiſdom and humanity had adopted. The chief reaſon for our Commander's touching at the Marqueſas Iſlands, was to fix their ſituation; that being the only circumſtance in which the nautical account of them, given in Mr. Dalrymple's collection, is deficient. It was farther deſirable to ſettle this point, as it would lead to a more accurate knowledge of Mendana's other diſcoveries. Accordingly, Captain Cook has marked the ſituation of the Marqueſas with his uſual correctneſs [*U*]. He has alſo taken care to deſcribe the particular cove in Reſolution Bay, in the Iſland of St. Chriſtina, which is moſt convenient for obtaining wood and water. It is remarkable, with reſpect to the inhabitants of the Marqueſas Iſlands, that, collectively taken, they are without exception the fineſt race of people in this ſea. Perhaps they ſurpaſs all other nations in ſymmetry of form, and regularity of features. It is plain, however, from the affinity of their language to that of Otaheite and the Society Iſles, that they are of the ſame origin. Of this affinity the Engliſh were fully ſenſible, though they could not converſe with them; but Oedidee was capable of doing it tolerably well (*l*).

(*k*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 297—305.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 306—308.

From the Marqueſas Captain Cook ſteered for Otaheite, with a view of falling in with ſome of the Iſlands diſcovered by former navigators, and eſpecially by the Dutch, the ſituation of which had not been accurately determined. In the courſe of the voyage, he paſſed a number of low iſlots, connected together by reefs of coral rocks. One of the Iſlands, on which Lieutenant Cooper went aſhore, with two boats well armed, was called by the natives Tiookea (*m*). It had been diſcovered and viſited by Captain Byron. The inhabitants of Tiookea are of a much darker colour than thoſe of the higher Iſlands, and appeared to be more fierce in their diſpoſitions. This may be owing to their manner of

(*m*) Tiookea is ſituated in the latitude of 14° 27′ 30″ South, and the longitude of 144° 56′ Weſt.

[*U*] *Captain Cook has marked the ſituation of the Marqueſas with his uſual correctneſs.*] The Marqueſas Iſlands, four of which were firſt diſcovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, are five in number, viz. La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Chriſtina, and Hood's Iſland, which is the northernmoſt. La Dominica is the largeſt of them, being about fifteen or ſixteen leagues in circuit. Theſe Iſlands occupy one degree of latitude, and nearly half a degree in longitude. Their latitude is from 9 to 10, and their longitude from 138° 47′ to 139° 13′ Weſt.

gaining their ſubſiſtence, which is chiefly from the ſea, and to their being much expoſed to the ſun and the weather. Our Voyagers obſerved that they were ſtout, well-made men, and that they had marked on their bodies the figure of a fiſh, which was a good emblem of their profeſſion. Beſides paſſing by St. George's Iſlands, which had been ſo named by Captain Byron, our Commander made the diſcovery of four others (*n*). Theſe he called PALLISER'S ISLES, in honour of his particular friend, Sir Hugh Palliſer. The inhabitants ſeemed to be the ſame ſort of people as thoſe of Tiookea, and, like them, were armed with long pikes. Captain Cook could not determine, with any degree of certainty, whether the group of Iſles he had lately ſeen were, or were not, any of thoſe that had been diſcovered by the Dutch navigators. This was owing to the neglect of recording, with ſufficient accuracy, the ſituation of their diſcoveries. Our Commander hath, in general, obſerved, with regard to this part of the ocean, that, from the latitude of twenty down to fourteen or twelve, and from the meridian of a hundred and thirty-eight to a hundred and forty-eight or a hundred and fifty Weſt, it is ſo ſtrewed with low iſles, that a navigator cannot proceed with too much caution. On the twenty-ſecond of April, Captain Cook reached the Iſland of Otaheite, and anchored in Matavai Bay. As his chief reaſon for putting in at this place was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity of aſcertaining the error of the watch by the known longitude, and to determine anew her rate of going, the firſt object was to land the inſtruments, and to erect tents for the reception of a guard, and ſuch other people as it was neceſſary to have on ſhore. Sick there were none; for the refreſhments which had been obtained at the Marqueſas had removed every complaint of that kind. From the quantity of proviſions, which, contrary to expectation, our Commander now found at Otaheite, he determined to make a longer ſtay in the Iſland than he had at firſt intended. Accordingly, he took meaſures for the repairs of the ſhip, which the high ſouthern latitudes had rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary. During Captain Cook's ſtay at Otaheite, he maintained a moſt friendly connection with the inhabitants; and a continual interchange of viſits was preſerved between him and Otoo, Towha, and other Chiefs of the country. His traffic with them was greatly facilitated by his having fortunately brought with him ſome red parrot feathers from the Iſland of Amſterdam. Theſe were jewels of high value in the eyes of the Otaheitans. The Captain's ſtock in trade was by this time greatly exhauſted; ſo that, if it had not been for the feathers, he would have found it difficult to have ſupplied the ſhip with the neceſſary refreſhments. Among other entertainments which our Commander and the reſt of the Engliſh Gentlemen met with at Otaheite, one was a grand naval review. The veſſels of war conſiſted of a hundred and ſixty large double canoes, well equipped, manned, and armed. They were decorated with flags and ſtreamers; and the Chiefs, together with all thoſe who were on the fighting ſtages, were dreſſed in their war habits. The whole fleet made a noble appearance; ſuch as our Voyagers had never ſeen before in this ſea, or could ever have expected. Beſides the veſſels of war, there were a hundred and ſeventy ſail of ſmaller double canoes, which ſeemed to be deſigned for tranſports and victuallers. Upon each of them was a little houſe; and they were rigged with maſt and ſail, which was not the caſe with the war canoes. Captain Cook gueſſed that there were no leſs than ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty men in the whole fleet. He was not able to obtain full information concerning the deſign of this armament. Notwithſtanding the agreeable intercourſe that was, in general, maintained between our Commander and the people of Otaheite, circumſtances occaſionally happened, which called for peculiar exertions of his prudence and reſolution. One of the natives who had attempted to ſteal a water-caſk from the watering-place, was caught in the fact, ſent on board, and put in irons. In this ſituation, he was ſeen by King Otoo, and other Chiefs. Captain Cook having made known to them the crime of their countryman, Otoo entreated that he might be ſet at liberty. This the Captain however refuſed, alleging, that ſince he puniſhed his own people, when they committed the leaſt offence againſt Otoo's, it was but juſt that this man ſhould alſo be puniſhed. As Captain Cook knew that Otoo would not puniſh him, he reſolved to do it himſelf. Accordingly, he directed the criminal to be carried on ſhore to the tents, and having himſelf followed, with the Chiefs and other Otaheitans, he ordered the guard out, under arms, and commanded the man to be tied up to a poſt. Otoo again ſolicited the culprit's releaſe, and in this he was ſeconded by his ſiſter, but in vain. The Captain expoſtulated with him on the conduct of the man, and of the Indians in general; telling him, that neither he, nor any of the ſhip's company, took the ſmalleſt matter of property from them without firſt paying for it; enumerating the articles which the Engliſh had given in exchange for ſuch and ſuch things; and urging that it was wrong in them to ſteal from thoſe who were their friends. He added, that the puniſhing of the guilty perſon would be the means of ſaving the lives of ſeveral of Otoo's people, by deterring them from committing crimes of the like nature, and thus preventing them from the danger of being ſhot to death, which would certainly happen, at one time or other, if they perſiſted in their robberies. With theſe arguments the King appeared to be ſatisfied, and only deſired that the man might not be killed. Captain Cook then directed that the croud, which was very great, ſhould be kept at a proper diſtance, and, in the preſence of them all, ordered the fellow two dozen of laſhes with a cat-

(*n*) The ſituation of one of them was in latitude 15° 26′ South, and in longitude 146° 20′ Weſt. Another was in latitude 15° 27′ and longitude 146° 3′.

cat-of-nine-tails. This puniſhment the man ſuſtained with great firmneſs, after which he was ſet at liberty. When the natives were going away, Towha called them back, and, with much gracefulneſs of action, addreſſed them in a ſpeech of nearly half an hour in length, the deſign of which was to condemn their preſent conduct, and to recommend a different one for the future. To make a farther impreſſion upon the minds of the inhabitants, our Commander ordered his Marines to go through their exerciſes, and to load and fire in vollies with ball. As they were very quick in their manœuvres, it is more eaſy to conceive than to deſcribe the amazement which poſſeſſed the Indians during the whole time, and eſpecially thoſe of them who had not ſeen any thing of the kind before. The judicious will diſcern, with regard to this narrative, that it throws peculiar light on Captain Cook's character. Nor is it an uncurious circumſtance in the hiſtory of human ſociety, that a ſtranger ſhould thus exerciſe juriſdiction over the natives of a country, in the preſence of the Prince of that country, without his authority, and even contrary to his ſolicitations. Another diſagreeable altercation with the inhabitants of Otaheite, aroſe from the negligence of one of the Engliſh centinels on ſhore. Having either ſlept or quitted his poſt, an Indian ſeized the opportunity of carrying off his muſquet. When any extraordinary theft was committed, it immediately excited ſuch an alarm among the natives in general, from their fear of Captain Cook's reſentment, that they fled from their habitations, and a ſtop was put to the traffic for proviſions. On the preſent occaſion, the Captain had no ſmall degree of trouble; but, by his prudent conduct, the muſquet was recovered, peace reſtored, and commerce again opened. In the differences which happened with the ſeveral people he met with in his voyages, it was a rule with him, never to touch the leaſt article of their property, any farther than to detain their canoes for a while, when it became abſolutely neceſſary. He always choſe the moſt mild and equitable methods of bringing them to reaſon; and in this he not only ſucceeded, but frequently put things upon a better footing than if no contention had taken place. During this viſit to Otaheite, fruit and other refreſhments were obtained in great plenty. The relief ariſing from them was the more agreeable and ſalutary, as the bread of the ſhip was in a bad condition. Though the biſcuit had been aired and picked at New Zealand, it was now in ſuch a ſtate of decay, that it was neceſſary for it to undergo another airing and cleaning, in which much of it was found wholly rotten, and unfit to be eaten. This decay was judged to be owing to the ice our Navigators had frequently taken in when to the ſouthward, which made the hold of the veſſel cold and damp, and to the great heat that ſucceeded when they came to the North. Whatever was the cauſe, the loſs was ſo conſiderable, that the men were put to a ſcanty allowance in this article, with the additional mortification of the bread's being bad that could be uſed. Two goats, that had been given by Captain Furneaux to Otoo, in the former part of the voyage, ſeemed to promiſe fair for anſwering the purpoſes for which they were left upon the Iſland. The ewe, ſoon after, had two female kids, which were now ſo far grown as to be almoſt ready to propagate. At the ſame time, the old ewe was again with kid. The people were very fond of them, and they were in excellent condition. From theſe circumſtances, Captain Cook entertained a hope that, in a courſe of years, they would multiply ſo much as to be extended over all the Iſles of the Southern Ocean. The like ſucceſs did not attend the ſheep which had been left in the country. Theſe ſpeedily died, one excepted, which was ſaid to be yet alive. Our Navigators alſo furniſhed the natives with cats, having given away no leſs than twenty at Otaheite, beſides ſome which had been made preſents of at Ulietea and Huaheine. With regard to the number of the inhabitants of Otaheite, our Commander collected, from comparing ſeveral facts together, that, including women and children, there could not be leſs, in the whole Iſland, than two hundred and four thouſand. This number, at firſt ſight, exceeded his belief. But when he came to reflect on the vaſt ſwarms of people that appeared wherever he went, he was convinced that the eſtimate was agreeable to truth. Such was the friendly treatment which our Voyagers met with at Otaheite, that one of the gunner's mates was induced to form a plan for remaining in the country. As he knew that he could not execute his ſcheme with ſucceſs while the Reſolution continued in Matavai Bay, he took the opportunity, when ſhe was ready to quit it, and the ſails were ſet for that purpoſe, to ſlip overboard. Being a good ſwimmer, he had no doubt of getting ſafe to a canoe, which was at ſome diſtance ready to receive him; for his deſign was concerted with the natives, and had even been encouraged by Otoo. However, he was diſcovered before he had gotten clear of the ſhip, and a boat being preſently hoiſted out, he was taken up, and brought back to the veſſel. When our Commander reflected on this man's ſituation, he did not think him very culpable, or his deſire of ſtaying in the Iſland ſo extraordinary as might at firſt view be imagined. He was a native of Ireland, and had ſailed in the Dutch ſervice. Captain Cook, on his return from his former voyage, had picked him up at Batavia, and had kept him in his employment ever ſince. It did not appear that he had either friends or connections which could bind him to any particular part of the world. All nations being alike to him, where could he be more happy than at Otaheite? Here, in one of the fineſt climates of the globe, he could enjoy not only the neceſſaries, but the luxuries of life, in eaſe and plenty. The

Captain ſeems to think, that if the man had applied to him in time, he might have given his conſent to his remaining in the country.

On the fifteenth of May, Captain Cook anchored in O'Wharre Harbour, in the Iſland of Huaheine. He was immediately viſited by his friend Oree, and the ſame agreeable intercourſe ſubſiſted between the Captain and this good old Chief which had formerly taken place. Red feathers were not here in ſuch eſtimation as they had been at Otaheite; the natives of Huaheine having the good ſenſe to give a preference to the more uſeful articles of nails and axes. During the ſtay of our Voyagers in the Iſland, ſome alarms were occaſioned by the thieviſh diſpoſition of ſeveral of the inhabitants; but matters ſubſided without any material conſequences. A ſolemn march, which our Commander made through part of the country, at the head of forty-eight men, tended to impreſs the Indians with a ſenſe of his power and authority. In fact, their attempts at ſtealing had been too much invited by the indiſcretion of ſome of the Engliſh, who unguardedly ſeparated themſelves in the woods, for the purpoſe of killing birds; and who managed their muſquets ſo unſkilfully, as to render them leſs formidable in the eyes of the natives. I cannot perſuade myſelf to omit a dramatic entertainment, at which ſeveral of the Gentlemen belonging to the Reſolution attended one evening. The piece repreſented a girl as running away with our Navigators from Otaheite; and the ſtory was partly founded in truth; for a young woman had taken a paſſage in the ſhip, down to Ulietea. She happened to be preſent at the repreſentation of her own adventures; which had ſuch an effect upon her, that it was with great difficulty that ſhe could be prevailed upon by the Engliſh Gentlemen to ſee the play out, or to refrain from tears while it was acting. The piece concluded with the reception which ſhe was ſuppoſed to meet with from her friends at her return; and it was a reception that was by no means favourable. As theſe people, when they ſee occaſion, can add little extempore pieces to their entertainments, it is reaſonable to imagine that the repreſentation now deſcribed was intended as a ſatire againſt the girl, and to diſcourage others from following her ſteps. Such is the ſenſe which they entertain of the propriety of female decorum. During Captain Cook's ſtay at Huaheine, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetable productions were procured in abundance, but not a ſufficiency of hogs to ſupply the daily expence of the ſhip. This was partly owing to a want of proper articles for traffic. The Captain was obliged, therefore, to ſet the Smiths at work, to make different ſorts of nails, iron tools, and inſtruments, in order to enable him to obtain refreſhments at the Iſlands he was yet to viſit, and to ſupport his credit and influence among the natives. When our Commander was ready to ſail from Huaheine, Oree was the laſt man that went out of the veſſel. At parting, Captain Cook told him that they ſhould meet each other no more; at which he wept, and ſaid, "Let your ſons come, we "will treat them well."

At Ulietea, to which the Captain next directed his courſe, the events that occurred were nearly ſimilar to thoſe which have already been related. He had always been received by the people of this Iſland in the moſt hoſpitable manner, and they were juſtly entitled to every thing which it was in his power to grant. They expreſſed the deepeſt concern at his departure, and were continually importuning him to return. Oreo the Chief, and his wife and daughter, but eſpecially the two latter, ſcarcely ever ceaſed weeping. Their grief was ſo exceſſive, that it might perhaps be doubted whether it was entirely ſincere and unaffected; but our Commander was of opinion that it was real. At length, when he was ready to ſail, they took a moſt affectionate leave. Oreo's laſt requeſt to Captain Cook was that he would return; and when he could not obtain a promiſe to that effect, he aſked the name of his burying-place. To this ſtrange queſtion the Captain anſwered, without heſitation, that it was Stepney; that being the pariſh in which he lived when in London. Mr. Forſter, to whom the ſame queſtion was propoſed, replied, with greater wiſdom and recollection, that no man, who uſed the ſea, could ſay where he ſhould be buried. As our Commander could not promiſe, or even then ſuppoſe, that more Engliſh ſhips would be ſent to the ſouthern iſles, Oedidee, who for ſo many months had been the faithful companion of our Navigators, choſe to remain in his native country. But he left them with a regret fully demonſtrative of his eſteem and affection, nor could any thing have torn him from them, but the fear of never returning. When Oreo preſſed ſo ardently Captain Cook's return, he ſometimes gave ſuch anſwers as left room for hope. At theſe anſwers Oedidee would eagerly catch, take him on one ſide, and aſk him over again. The Captain declares, that he had not words to deſcribe the anguiſh which appeared in this young man's breaſt, when he went away. "He looked up at the ſhip, burſt into tears, and then ſunk down into the canoe." Oedidee was a youth of good parts, and of a docile, gentle, and humane diſpoſition; but as he was almoſt wholly ignorant of the religion, government, manners, cuſtoms, and traditions of his countrymen, and the neighbouring Iſlands, no material knowledge could have been collected from him, had our Commander brought him away. He would, however, in every reſpect, have been a better ſpecimen of the nation than Omai. When Captain Cook firſt came to theſe Iſlands, he had ſome thoughts of viſiting Tupia's famous Bolabola. But having obtained a plentiful ſupply of refreſhments, and the route he had in view allowing him no time to ſpare, he laid this

deſign aſide, and directed his courſe to the Weſt. Thus did he take his leave, as he then thought, for ever, of theſe happy iſles, on which benevolent nature has ſpread her luxuriant ſweets with a laviſh hand; and in which the natives, copying the bounty of Providence, are equally liberal; being ready to contribute plentifully and chearfully to the wants of navigators (*o*).

(*o*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 312—378. From Mr. Wales's obſervations it appeared, that, during five months, in which the watch had paſſed through the extremes of heat and cold, it went better in the cold than in the hot climates.

On the ſixth of June, the day after our Voyagers left Ulietea, they ſaw land, which they found to be a low reef Iſland, about four leagues in compaſs, and of a circular form. This was Howe Iſland, which had been diſcovered by Captain Wallis (*p*). Nothing remarkable occurred from this day to the fixteenth, when land was again ſeen. It was another reef Iſland; and being a new diſcovery, Captain Cook gave it the name of PALMERSTON ISLAND, in honour of Lord Palmerſton (*q*). On the twentieth, freſh land appeared, which was perceived to be inhabited. This induced our Commander to go on ſhore with a party of Gentlemen; but the natives were found to be fierce and untractable. All endeavours to bring them to a parley were to no purpoſe; for they came on with the ferocity of wild boars, and inſtantly threw their darts. Two or three muſquets diſcharged in the air, did not prevent one of them from advancing ſtill farther, and throwing another dart, or rather a ſpear, which paſſed cloſe over Captain Cook's ſhoulder. The courage of this man had nearly coſt him his life. When he threw his ſpear, he was not five paces from the Captain, who had reſolved to ſhoot him for his own preſervation. It happened, however, that his muſquet miſſed fire; a circumſtance on which he afterwards reflected with pleaſure. When he joined his party, and tried his muſquet in the air, it went off perfectly well. This Iſland, from the diſpoſition and behaviour of the natives, with whom no intercourſe could be eſtabliſhed, and from whom no benefit could be received, was called by our Commander SAVAGE ISLAND (*r*). It is about eleven leagues in circuit; is of a round form, and good height; and has deep waters cloſe to its ſhores. Among its other diſadvantages, it is not furniſhed with a harbour. In purſuing his courſe to the Weſt-ſouth-weſt, Captain Cook paſſed by a number of ſmall Iſlands, and, on the twenty-ſixth, anchored on the North ſide of Anamocka, or Rotterdam. A traffic immediately commenced with the natives, who brought what proviſions they had, being chiefly yams and ſhaddocks, which they exchanged for nails, beads, and other ſmall articles. Here, as in many former caſes, the Captain was put to ſome trouble on account of the thieviſh diſpoſition of the inhabitants. As they had gotten poſſeſſion of an adze and two muſquets, he found it neceſſary to exert himſelf with peculiar vigour, in order to oblige them to make reſtitution. For this purpoſe he commanded all the Marines to be armed, and ſent on ſhore; and the reſult of this meaſure was, that the things which had been ſtolen were reſtored. In the conteſt, Captain Cook was under a neceſſity of firing ſome ſmall ſhot at a native who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his reſiſtance. His countrymen afterwards reported that he was dead; but he was only wounded, and that not in a dangerous manner. Though his ſufferings were the effects of his own miſbehaviour, the Captain endeavoured to ſoften them, by making him a preſent, and directing his wounds to be dreſſed by the Surgeon of the ſhip. The firſt time that our Commander landed at Anamocka, an old Lady preſented him with a girl, and gave him to underſtand that ſhe was at his ſervice. Miſs, who had previouſly been inſtructed, wanted a ſpike-nail, or a ſhirt, neither of which he had to give her; and he flattered himſelf that, by making the two women ſenſible of his poverty, he ſhould eaſily get clear of their importunities. In this, however, he was miſtaken. The favours of the young Lady were offered upon credit; and on his declining the propoſal, the old woman began to argue with him, and then to abuſe him. As far as he could collect from her countenance and her actions, the deſign of her ſpeech was both to ridicule and reproach him, for refuſing to entertain ſo fine a young woman. Indeed, the girl was by no means deſtitute of beauty; but Captain Cook found it more eaſy to withſtand her allurements than the abuſes of the ancient matron, and therefore haſtened into his boat. While the Captain was on ſhore at Anamocka, he got the names of twenty Iſlands, which lie between the North-weſt and the North-eaſt. Some of them were in ſight; and two of them, which are moſt to the Weſt, are remarkable on account of their great height. Theſe are Amattafoa and Oghao. From a continual column of ſmoke which was ſeen daily aſcending from the middle of Amattafoa, it was judged that there was a volcano in that Iſland. Anamocka was firſt diſcovered by Taſman, and by him was named Rotterdam (*s*). It is of a triangular form, and each ſide extends about three and a half or four miles. From the North-weſt to the South of the Iſland, round by the Eaſt and North, it is encompaſſed by a number of ſmall iſles, ſand-banks, and breakers. An end could not be ſeen to their extent to the North, and they may poſſibly reach as far to the South as Amſterdam, or Tongataboo. Together with Middleburg, or Eaoowe, and Pilſtart, theſe form a group, containing about three degrees of latitude, and two of longitude. To this group Captain Cook had given the name of the Friendly Iſles, or Archipelago, from the firm alliance and friendſhip which ſeemed to ſubſiſt among their inhabitants, and from their courteous behaviour to ſtrangers. The ſame group may perhaps be extended much farther, even down to Boſcawen and Keppel's Iſles, which were diſcovered by Captain Wallis, and lie nearly in the ſame meridian (*t*). Whilſt our Commander

(*p*) Its latitude is 16° 46′ South, and its longitude 154° 8′ Weſt.

(*q*) It is ſituated in latitude 18° 4′ South, and longitude 163° 10′ Weſt.

(*r*) Its ſituation is in latitude 19° 1′ South, and in longitude 169° 37′ Weſt.

(*s*) It is ſituated in the latitude of 20° 15′ South, and the longitude of 174° 31′ Weſt.

(*t*) In the latitude of 15° 55′

mander was at Anamocka, he was particularly aſſiduous to prevent the introduction of a certain diſorder. As ſome of his people brought with them the remains of this diſeaſe from the Society Iſles, he prohibited them from having any female intercourſe; and he had reaſon to believe that his endeavours were ſucceſsful. The productions of Rotterdam, and the perſons, manners, and cuſtoms of its inhabitants, are ſimilar to thoſe of Amſterdam. It is not, however, equally plentiful in its fruits, nor is every part of it in ſo high a ſtate of cultivation. Neither hath it ariſen to the ſame degree of wealth, with regard to cloth, matting, ornaments, and other articles, which conſtitute the chief riches of the Iſlanders of the Southern Ocean (*u*).

(*u*) Capt. Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, vol. ii. p. 1—21.

Purſuing their courſe to the Weſt, our Navigators diſcovered land on the firſt of July; and, upon a nearer approach, found it to be a ſmall Iſland, to which, on account of the number of turtle that were ſeen upon the coaſt, Captain Cook gave the name of TURTLE ISLE (*w*). On the ſixteenth, high land was ſeen bearing South-weſt, which no one doubted to be the Auſtralis del Eſpiritu Santo of Quiros, and which is called by M. de Bougainville the Great Cyclades. After exploring the coaſt for ſome days, the Captain came to an anchor, in a harbour in the Iſland of Mallicollo. One of his firſt objects was to commence a friendly intercourſe with the natives; but, while he was thus employed, an accident occurred which threw all into confuſion, though in the end it was rather advantageous than hurtful to the Engliſh. A fellow in a canoe, having been refuſed admittance into one of our boats, bent his bow to ſhoot a poiſoned arrow at the boat-keeper. Some of his countrymen having prevented his doing it at that inſtant, time was given to acquaint our Commander with the tranſaction, who immediately ran upon deck. At this minute, the Indian had directed his bow to the boat-keeper; but upon being called to by Captain Cook, he pointed it at him. Happily, the Captain had a muſquet in his hand loaded with ſmall ſhot, and gave him the contents. By this, however, he was only ſtaggered for a moment; for he ſtill held his bow in the attitude of ſhooting. A ſecond diſcharge of the ſame nature made him drop it, and obliged him, together with the other natives who were in the canoe, to paddle off with all poſſible celerity. At this time, ſome of the inhabitants began to ſhoot arrows from another quarter. A muſquet diſcharged in the air had no effect upon them; but no ſooner was a four-pound ball ſhot over their heads than they fled in the utmoſt confuſion. A few hours after theſe tranſactions, the Engliſh put off in two boats, and landed in the face of four or five hundred people, who were aſſembled on the ſhore; and who, though they were all armed with bows and arrows, clubs and ſpears, made not the leaſt oppoſition. On the contrary, when they ſaw Captain Cook advance with nothing but a green branch in his hand, one of them, who appeared to be a Chief, giving his bow and arrows to another, met the Captain in the water, bearing alſo a green branch. Theſe being mutually exchanged in token of friendſhip, the Chief led our Commander to the crowd, to whom he immediately diſtributed preſents. The Marines, in the mean time, were drawn up on the beach. Captain Cook then acquainted the Indians, by ſigns, that he wanted wood; and in the ſame manner permiſſion was granted him to cut down the trees. Much traffic could not be carried on with theſe people, becauſe they ſet no value on nails, or iron tools, or, indeed, on any of the articles which our Navigators could furniſh. In ſuch exchanges as they did make, and which were principally of arrows for pieces of cloth, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their honeſty. When the ſhip had begun to ſail from the Iſland, and they might eaſily, in conſequence of their canoes dropping aſtern, have avoided delivering the things they had been paid for, they uſed their utmoſt efforts to get up with her, that they might diſcharge their obligations. One man, in particular, followed the Reſolution a conſiderable time, and did not reach her till the object which brought him was forgotten. As ſoon as he came alongſide the veſſel, he held up the thing which had been purchaſed; and though ſeveral of the crew offered to buy it, he inſiſted upon delivering it to the perſon to whom it had been ſold. That perſon, not knowing him again, would have given ſomething in return; but this he refuſed, and ſhewed him what he had before received. There was only a ſingle inſtance in which the natives took, or even attempted to take, any thing from our Voyagers, by any means whatever; and in that caſe reſtitution was immediately made, without trouble and without altercation. The inhabitants of Mallicollo, in general, are the moſt ugly and ill-proportioned people that Captain Cook had ever ſeen, and are in every reſpect different from all the nations which had been met with in the Southern Ocean. They are a very dark-coloured, and rather a diminutive race, with long heads, flat faces, and countenances which have ſome reſemblance to that of the monkey. Their hair, which is moſtly black or brown, is ſhort and curly; but not altogether ſo ſoft and woolly as that of a negro. The difference of this people from any whom our Commander had yet viſited, appeared not only in their perſons but their language. Of about eighty words which were collected by Mr. Forſter, ſcarcely one was found to bear any affinity to the language ſpoken in any country or Iſland hitherto deſcribed. It was obſerved by Captain Cook, that the natives could pronounce moſt of the Engliſh words with great eaſe. They had not ſo much as a name for a dog, and knew nothing of that animal; for which reaſon the Captain left them a dog and a bitch; and as they were very fond of them, it was highly probable that the breed

(*w*) It is ſituated in latitude 19° 48′ South, and in longitude 178° 2′ Weſt.

breed would be foſtered and encreaſed, To the harbour, in which our Commander anchored, while he lay at Mallicollo, he gave the name of PORT SANDWICH (*x*). It has many advantages, with regard to the depth of water, ſhelter from winds, and lying ſo near the ſhore as to be a cover to thoſe of a ſhip's company who may be carrying on any neceſſary operations at land (*y*).

(x) It is ſituated on the North-eaſt ſide of Mallicollo, not far from the South-eaſt end, in latitude 16° 25′ 20″ South, and longitude 167° 57′ 23″ Eaſt.

(y) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 23—37.

Soon after our Navigators had gotten to ſea, which was on the twenty-third of July, they diſcovered three or four ſmall Iſlands, that before had appeared to be connected. At this time the Reſolution was not far from the Iſle of Ambrym, the Iſle of Paoom, and the Iſle of Apee. On the next morning, ſeveral more Iſlands were diſcovered, lying off the South-eaſt point of Apee, and conſtituting a group which Captain Cook called SHEPHERD'S ISLES, in honour of his learned and valuable friend, Dr. Shepherd, Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Cambridge. The ſhip was this day in ſome danger. It ſuddenly fell calm, and our Voyagers were left to the mercy of the current, cloſe by the Iſles, where no ſoundings could be found with a line of a hundred and eighty fathoms. The lands or Iſlands, which lay around the veſſel in every direction, were ſo numerous that they could not be counted. At this criſis a breeze ſprung up, which happily relieved the Captain and his company from the anxiety the calm had occaſioned. Amidſt the number of Iſlands, that were continually ſeen by our Navigators, there was only one on which no inhabitants were diſcerned. This conſiſted chiefly of a remarkable peaked rock, which was only acceſſible to birds, and which obtained the name of the MONUMENT. In the farther courſe of the ſhip to the ſouthward, our Navigators drew near to certain Iſlands, which they found to conſiſt of one large Iſland, the ſouthern and weſtern extremities of which extended beyond their ſight. Three or four ſmaller ones lay off its North ſide. To the two principal of theſe Captain Cook gave the name of MONTAGU and HINCHINBROOK; and the large Iſland he named SANDWICH, in honour of his noble patron the Earl of Sandwich. This Iſland, which was ſpotted with woods and lawns, agreeably diverſified over the whole ſurface, and which had a gentle ſlope from the hills down to the ſea-coaſt, exhibited a moſt beautiful and delightful proſpect. The examination of it was not, however, ſo much an object with our Commander, as to proceed to the South, in order to find the ſouthern extremity of the Archipelago. Purſuing his diſcoveries, Captain Cook came in ſight of an Iſland, which was afterwards known to be called by the natives Erromango. After coaſting it for three days, he brought his veſſel to anchor in a bay there, on the third of Auguſt. The next day, he went with two boats to examine the coaſt, and to look for a proper landing-place, that he might obtain a ſupply of wood and water. At this time, the inhabitants began to aſſemble on the ſhore, and by ſigns to invite our people to land. Their behaviour was apparently ſo friendly, that the Captain was charmed with it; and the only thing which could give him the leaſt ſuſpicion was, that moſt of them were armed with clubs, ſpears, darts, and bows and arrows. He did not, therefore, remit his vigilance; but kept his eye continually upon the Chief, watching his looks, as well as his actions. It ſoon was evident that the intentions of the Indians were totally hoſtile. They made a violent attempt to ſeize upon one of the boats; and though, on our Commander's pointing a muſquet at them, they in ſome meaſure deſiſted, yet they returned in an inſtant, ſeemingly determined to carry their deſign into execution. At the head of the party was the Chief; while others, who could not come at the boat, ſtood behind with darts, ſtones, and bows and arrows in hand, ready to ſupport their countrymen. As ſigns and threats had no effect, the ſafety of Captain Cook and his people became the only object of conſideration; and yet he was unwilling to fire on the multitude. He reſolved, therefore, to make the Chief alone the victim of his own treachery, and accordingly, aimed his muſquet at him; but at this critical moment it miſſed fire. This circumſtance encouraged the natives to deſpiſe our weapons, and to ſhow the ſuperiority of their own, by throwing ſtones and darts, and by ſhooting arrows. Hence it became abſolutely neceſſary for the Captain to give orders to his men to fire upon the aſſailants. The firſt diſcharge threw them into confuſion; but a ſecond was ſcarcely ſufficient to drive them off the beach. In conſequence of this ſkirmiſh, four of the Indians lay, to all appearance, dead on the ſhore. However, two of them were afterwards perceived to crawl into the buſhes; and it was happy for theſe people that not half of the muſquets of the Engliſh would go off, ſince otherwiſe many more muſt have fallen. The inhabitants were, at length, ſo terrified as to make no farther appearance; and two oars, which had been loſt in the conflict, were left ſtanding up againſt the buſhes. It was obſerved of theſe Iſlanders, that they ſeemed of a different race from thoſe of Mallicollo, and that they ſpoke a different language. They are of a middle ſize, with a good ſhape, and tolerable features. Their colour is very dark; and their aſpect is not mended by a cuſtom they have of painting their faces, ſome with a black, and others with a red pigment. As to their hair, it is curly and criſp, and ſomewhat woolly. The few women who were ſeen, and who appeared to be ugly, wore a kind of petticoat, made either of palm leaves or of a plant ſimilar in its nature; but the men, like thoſe of Mallicollo, were almoſt entirely naked. On account of the treacherous behaviour of the inhabitants of Erromango, Captain Cook called a promontory, or peninſula, near which the ſkirmiſh happened, TRAITOR'S HEAD (*z*).

(z) It is the North-eaſt point of the Iſland, and is ſituated in the latitude of 18° 43′ South, and the longitude of 169° 28′ Eaſt.

From

From this place the Captain ſailed for an Iſland which had been diſcovered before, at a diſtance, and at which, on account of his wanting a large quantity of wood and water, he was reſolved to make ſome ſtay. At firſt the natives were diſpoſed to be very hoſtile; but our Commander, with equal wiſdom and humanity, contrived to terrify them, without danger to their lives. This was principally effected by firing a few great guns, at which they were ſo much alarmed, as afterwards to be brought to tolerable order. Among theſe Iſlanders, many were inclined to be on friendly terms with our Navigators, and eſpecially the old people; whilſt moſt of the younger were daring and inſolent, and obliged the Engliſh to keep to their arms. It was natural enough that age ſhould be prudent and cautious, and youth bold and impetuous; and yet this diſtinction, with regard to the behaviour of the various nations which had been viſited by Captain Cook, had not occurred before. The Iſland where the Captain now ſtayed, was found, upon enquiry, to be called, by the inhabitants, Tanna; and three others in its neighbourhood, and which could be ſeen from it, were diſtinguiſhed by the names of Immer, Erronan or Footoona, and Annatom. From ſuch information of the natives as our commander could ſee no reaſon to doubt, it appeared that circumciſion was practiſed among them, and that they were eaters of human fleſh. Concerning the latter ſubject, he ſhould never have thought of aſking them a ſingle queſtion, if they had not introduced it themſelves, by enquiring whether the Engliſh had the ſame cuſtom. It hath been argued, that neceſſity alone could be the origin of this horrid practice. But as the people of Tanna are poſſeſſed of fine pork and fowls, together with an abundance of roots and fruits, the plea of neceſſity cannot be urged in their behalf. In fact, no inſtance was ſeen of their eating human fleſh; and, therefore, there might, perhaps, be ſome reaſon to heſitate, in pronouncing them to be cannibals. By degrees the inhabitants grew ſo courteous and civil, as to permit the Engliſh Gentlemen to ramble about in the ſkirts of the woods, and to ſhoot in them, without affording them the leaſt moleſtation, or ſhewing any diſlike. One day, ſome boys of the Iſland having gotten behind thickets, and thrown two or three ſtones at our people who were cutting wood, they were fired at by the petty officers on duty. Captain Cook, who was then on ſhore, was alarmed at the report of the muſquets; and, when he was informed of the cauſe, was much diſpleaſed that ſo wanton an uſe ſhould be made of our fire-arms. Proper meaſures were taken by him to prevent ſuch conduct for the future. In the Iſland of Tanna was a volcano, which ſometimes made a dreadful noiſe, and, at each exploſion, which happened every three or four minutes, threw up fire and ſmoke in prodigious columns. At one time, great ſtones were ſeen high in the air. At the foot of the hill were ſeveral hot ſprings; and on the ſide of it Mr. Forſter found ſome places whence ſmoke of a ſulphureous ſmell iſſued, through cracks or fiſſures of the earth. A thermometer, that was placed in a little hole made in one of them, and which in the open air ſtood only at eighty, roſe to a hundred and ſeventy. In another inſtance, the mercury roſe to hundred and ninety-one. Our Commander being deſirous of getting a near and good view of the volcano, ſet out with a party for that purpoſe. But the Gentlemen met with ſo many obſtructions from the inhabitants, who were jealous of their penetrating far into the country, that they thought proper to return. For this jealouſy of the Iſlanders Captain Cook, in his narrative, has made a very judicious and candid apology. It is obſervable, with reſpect to the volcano of Tanna, that it is not on the ridge of the hill to which it belongs, but on its ſide. Nor is that hill the higheſt in the country; for there are others near it of more than double its height. It was in moiſt and wet weather that the volcano was moſt violent. When our Commander was ready to ſail from Tanna, an event happened, which gave him much concern. Juſt as our people were getting ſome logs into the boat, four or five of the natives ſtepped forward to ſee what they were doing. In conſequence of the Indians not being allowed to come within certain limits, the centinel ordered them back, upon which they readily complied. At this time, Captain Cook, who had his eyes fixed upon them, obſerved the centry preſent his piece to the men. The Captain was going to reprove him for this action, when, to his inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment, the centry fired. An attack ſo cauſeleſs and extraordinary naturally threw the natives into great confuſion. Moſt of them fled, and it was with difficulty that our Commander could prevail upon a few of them to remain. As they ran off, he perceived one of them to fall, who was immediately lifted up by two others, who took him into the water, waſhed his wound, and then led him off. The wounded perſon not being carried far, Captain Cook ſent for the Surgeon of the ſhip, and accompanied him to the man, whom they found expiring. The raſcal that had fired pretended that an Indian had laid an arrow acroſs his bow, and was going to ſhoot at him; ſo that he apprehended himſelf to be in danger. This, however, was no more than what the Iſlanders had always done, to ſhew that they were armed as well as our Voyagers. What rendered the preſent incident the more unfortunate was, that it was not the man who bent the bow, but one who ſtood near him, that was ſhot by the centry. The harbour where the Captain anchored, during his ſtay at Tanna, was called by him PORT RESOLUTION, after the name of the ſhip, ſhe being the firſt veſſel by which it was ever entered. It is no more than a little creek, three quarters of a mile in length, and about half that ſpace in breadth (*a*). No

(*a*) It is ſituated on the North ſide of the moſt eaſtern point of the Iſland, in the latitude of 19° 32′ 25″½ South, and in the longitude of 169°·44′ 35″ Eaſt.

place can exceed it in its convenience for taking in wood and water, which are both close to the shore. The inhabitant of the Island, with whom our Commander had the most frequent and friendly connections, was named Paowang. Very little trade could be carried on with the people of Tanna. They had not the least knowledge of iron; and consequently nails, tools, and other articles made of that metal, and which are so greedily sought for in the more eastern isles, were here of no consideration. Cloth could be of no service to persons who go naked. Among the productions of the Island, there is reason to believe that the nutmeg-tree might be mentioned. This is collected from the circumstance of Mr. Forster's having shot a pigeon, in the craw of which a wild nutmeg was discovered. However, though he took some pains to find the tree, his endeavours were not attended with success. It was at first thought by our Navigators, that the inhabitants of Tanna were a race between the natives of the Friendly Islands, and those of Mallicollo; but by a short acquaintance with them they were convinced that they had little or no affinity to either, excepting in their hair. Some few men, women, and children were seen, whose hair resembled that of the English. With regard, however, to these persons it was obvious, that they were of another nation; and it was understood that they came from Erronan. Two languages were found to be spoken in Tanna. One of them, which appeared to have been introduced from Erronan, is nearly, if not exactly, the same with that of the Friendly Islands. The other, which is the proper language of the country, and which is judged to be peculiar to Tanna, Erromango, and Annatom, is different from any that had hitherto been met with by our Voyagers. The people of Tanna are of the middle size, and for the most part slender. There are few tall or stout men among them. In general, they have good features and agreeable countenances. Like all the tropical race, they are active and nimble; and seem to excel in the use of arms, but not to be fond of labour. With respect to the management of their weapons, Mr. Wales hath made an observation so honourable to Homer, that were I to omit it, I should not be forgiven by my classical readers. "I must confess," says Mr. Wales, "I have often been led to "think the feats which Homer represents his heroes as performing with their spears, "a little too much of the marvellous to be admitted into an heroic poem; I mean when "confined within the strait stays of Aristotle. Nay, even so great an advocate for him "as Mr. Pope, acknowledges them to be surprizing. But since I have seen what these "people can do with their wooden spears, and them badly pointed, and not of a hard "nature, I have not the least exception to any one passage in that great poet on this account. But if I see fewer exceptions, I can find infinitely more beauties in him; as he "has, I think, scarcely an action, circumstance, or description of any kind whatever, relating to a spear, which I have not seen and recognized among these people; as, their "whirling motion, and whistling noise, as they fly; their quivering motion, as they stick "in the ground when they fall; their meditating their aim, when they are going to "throw; and their shaking them in their hand as they go along (*b*)." On the twentieth of August Captain Cook sailed from Tanna, and employed all the remainder of the month in a farther examination of the Islands around him. He had now finished his survey of the whole Archipelago, and had gained a knowledge of it infinitely superior to what had ever been attained before. The northern Islands of this Archipelago were first discovered in 1606, by that eminent navigator Quiros, who considered them as part of the southern continent, which, at that time, and till very lately, was supposed to exist. M. de Bougainville was the next person by whom they were visited, in 1768. This Gentleman, however, besides landing in the Isle of Lepers, only made the discovery that the country was not connected, but composed of Islands, which he called the Great Cyclades. Captain Cook, besides ascertaining the situation and extent of these Islands, added to them several new ones which had hitherto been unknown, and explored the whole. He thought, therefore, that he had obtained a right to name them; and accordingly he bestowed upon them the appellation of the NEW HEBRIDES [*W*]. His title to this honour will not be disputed in any part of Europe, and certainly not by so enlightened and liberal a people as the French nation.

(*b*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 38—84.

The season of the year now rendered it necessary for our Commander to return to the South, while he had yet some time to explore any land he might meet with between the New Hebrides and New Zealand; at which last place he intended to touch, that he might refresh his people, and renew his stock of wood and water for another southern course. With this view, he sailed on the first of September, and on the fourth land was discovered; in a harbour belonging to which the Resolution came to an anchor the next day. The design of Captain Cook was not only to visit the country, but to have an op-

[*W*] *And accordingly he bestowed upon them the appellation of the* NEW HEBRIDES.] They are situated between the latitude of 14° 29′ and 20° 4′ South, and between 166° 41′ and 170° 21′ East longitude, and extended a hundred and twenty-five leagues, in the direction of North-north-west ½ West, and South-south-east ½ East. The principal Islands of the New Hebrides, for an account of which the reader is referred to Captain Cook's Voyage, are, the Peak of the Etoile, Tierra del Espiritu Santo, Mallicollo, St. Bartholomew, the Isle of Lepers, Aurora, Whitsuntide Isle, Ambrym, Paoom, Apee, Three Hills, Sandwich, Erromango, Tanna, Immer, and Annatom.

portunity of obſerving an eclipſe of the ſun, which was ſoon to happen. An intercourſe immediately commenced with the inhabitants, who, during the whole of the Captain's ſtay, behaved in a very civil and friendly manner. In return, he was ſolicitous to render them every ſervice in his power. To Teabooma the Chief, he ſent, among other articles, a dog and a bitch, both young, but nearly full grown. It was ſome time before Teabooma could believe that the two animals were intended for him; but when he was convinced of it, he was loſt in an exceſs of joy. Another, and ſtill more valuable preſent, was that of a young boar and ſow; which, on account of the abſence of the Chief when they were brought to land, were received with great heſitation and ceremony. The laſt time that our Commander went on ſhore at this place, he ordered an inſcription to be cut on a large tree, ſetting forth the name of the ſhip, the date of the year, and other circumſtances, which teſtified that the Engliſh were the firſt diſcoverers of the country. This he had before done, wherever ſuch a ceremony ſeemed neceſſary. How the Iſland was called by the natives, our Voyagers could never learn; and, therefore, Captain Cook gave it the name of NEW CALEDONIA. The inhabitants are ſtrong, robuſt, active, and well made. With regard to the origin of the nation, the Captain judged them to be a race between the people of Tanna and the Friendly Iſles; or between thoſe of Tanna and the New Zealanders; or all three. Their language is in ſome reſpects a mixture of them all (*c*). In their diſpoſition they are courteous and obliging; and they are not in the leaſt addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be aſſerted concerning any other nation in this ſea. The women of New Caledonia, and thoſe likewiſe of Tanna, were found to be much chaſter than the females of the more eaſtern Iſlands. Our Commander never heard that the leaſt favour was obtained from them by any one of his company. Sometimes, indeed, the women would exerciſe a little coquetry, but they went no farther. The Botaniſts of the ſhip did not here complain for want of employment. They were diligent in their reſearches, and their labours were amply rewarded. Every day brought ſome acceſſion to botanical knowledge, or that of other branches of natural hiſtory (*d*). Every thing being ready to put to ſea, Captain Cook weighed anchor on the thirteenth of September, with the purpoſe of examining the coaſt of New Caledonia. In purſuing this object, by which he was enabled to add greatly to nautical and geographical knowledge, the Reſolution was more than once in danger of being loſt; and particularly, in the night of the twenty-eighth of the month, ſhe had a narrow eſcape. Our Navigators, on this occaſion, were much alarmed; and day-light ſhewed that their fears had not been ill founded. Indeed, breakers had been continually under their lee, and at a ſmall diſtance from them; ſo that they were in the moſt imminent danger. "We owed our ſafety," ſays the Captain, "to the interpoſition of Providence, a good look-out, and the very briſk manner in "which the ſhip was managed." Our Commander now began to be tired of a coaſt which he could no longer explore but at the riſque of loſing the veſſel, and ruining the whole voyage. He determined, however, not to leave it, till he knew of what kind ſome groves of trees were, which, by their uncommon appearance, had occaſioned much ſpeculation, and had been miſtaken, by ſeveral of the Gentlemen, for biſaltes. Captain Cook was the more ſolicitous to aſcertain the point, as theſe trees appeared to be of a ſort which might be uſeful to ſhipping, and had not been ſeen any where but in the ſouthern parts of New Caledonia. They proved to be a ſpecies of ſpruce pine, very proper for ſpars, which were then wanted. The diſcovery was valuable, as, excepting New Zealand, there was not an Iſland known, in the South Pacific Ocean, where a ſhip could ſupply herſelf with a maſt or yard, to whatever diſtreſs ſhe might be reduced. It was the opinion of the Carpenter of the Reſolution, who was a maſt-maker as well as a ſhipwright, that very good maſts might be made from the trees in queſtion. The wood of them, which is white, cloſe-grained, tough, and light, is well adapted to that purpoſe. One of the ſmall Iſlands where the trees were found, was called by the Captain the ISLE OF PINES. To another, on account of its affording ſufficient employment to the Botaniſts, during the little time they ſtayed upon it, he gave the name of BOTANY ISLE.

(*c*) Mr. Forſter is of opinion that the language of the NewCaledonians is totally different from that of any other nation which had yet been ſeen in the voyage.

(*d*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 85—127.

Captain Cook now took into ſerious conſideration what was farther to be done. He had pretty well determined the extent of the South-weſt coaſt of New Caledonia, and would gladly have proceeded to a more accurate ſurvey of the whole, had he not been deterred, not only by the dangers he muſt encounter, but by the time required for the undertaking, and which he could not poſſibly ſpare. Indeed, when he conſidered the vaſt ocean he had to explore to the South; the ſtate and condition of the ſhip; the near approach of Summer; and that any material accident might detain him in this ſea even for another year, he did not think it adviſeable to make New Caledonia any longer the object of his attention. But though he was thus obliged, by neceſſity, for the firſt time, to leave a coaſt which he had diſcovered, before it was fully ſurveyed, he did not quit it till he had aſcertained the extent of the country, and proved, that, excepting New Zealand, it is perhaps the largeſt Iſland in the South Pacific Ocean [*X*]. As the Reſolution purſued her

[*X*] *It is perhaps the largeſt Iſland in the South Pacific Ocean.*] New Caledonia extends from the latitude of 19° 37′ to 22° 30′ South, and from the longitude of 163° 37′ to 167° 14′ Eaſt. It lies nearly North-weſt ½ Weſt, and South-eaſt ½ Eaſt, and is about eighty-ſeven leagues long in that direction. Its breadth does not any where exceed ten leagues.

courſe

courſe from New Caledonia, land was diſcovered, which, on a nearer approach, was found to be an Iſland of good height and five leagues in circuit. Captain Cook named it NORFOLK ISLE, in honour of the noble family of Howard (*e*). It was uninhabited; and the firſt perſons that ever ſet foot on it were unqueſtionably our Engliſh Navigators. Various trees and plants were obſerved that are common at New Zealand; and, in particular, the flax plant, which is rather more luxuriant here than in any part of that country. The chief produce of the Iſland is a kind of ſpruce pine, exceedingly ſtraight and tall, which grows in great abundance. Such is the ſize of many of the trees, that, breaſt high, they are as thick as two men can fathom. Among the vegetables of the place, the palm-cabbage afforded both a wholeſome and palatable refreſhment; and, indeed, proved the moſt agreeable repaſt that our people had for a conſiderable time enjoyed. In addition to this gratification, they had the pleaſure of procuring ſome excellent fiſh.

(*e*) It is ſituated in the latitude of 29° 2′ 30″ South, and in the longitude of 168° 16′ Eaſt.

From Norfolk Iſle, our Commander ſteered for New Zealand, it being his intention to touch at Queen Charlotte's Sound, that he might refreſh his crew, and put the ſhip in a condition to encounter the ſouthern latitudes. On the eighteenth of October, he anchored before Ship Cove in that ſound; and the firſt thing he did, after landing, was to look for the bottle he had left on the ſhore, in which was a memorandum. It was taken away; and it ſoon appeared, from indubitable circumſtances, that the Adventure had been in the cove after it was quitted by the Reſolution. Upon viſiting the gardens which had been formed at Motuara, they were found almoſt in a ſtate of nature, having been wholly neglected by the inhabitants. Many, however, of the articles were in a flouriſhing condition, and ſhewed how well they liked the ſoil in which they were planted. It was ſeveral days before any of the natives made their appearance; but when they did ſo, and recogniſed Captain Cook and his friends, joy ſucceeded to fear. They hurried in numbers out of the woods, and embraced the Engliſh over and over again, leaping and ſkipping about like madmen. Amidſt all this extravagance of joy, they were careful to preſerve the honour of their females; for they would not permit ſome women, who were ſeen at a diſtance, to come near our people. The Captain's whole intercourſe with the New Zealanders, during this his third viſit to Queen Charlotte's Sound, was peaceable and friendly; and one of them, a man apparently of conſequence, whoſe name was Pedero, preſented him with a ſtaff of honour, ſuch as the Chiefs generally carry. In return, our Commander dreſſed Pedero, who had a fine perſon, and a good preſence, in a ſuit of old clothes, of which he was not a little proud. Captain Cook ſtill continued his ſolicitude to ſtock the Iſland with uſeful animals; and accordingly, in addition to what he had formerly done, he ordered two pigs, a boar and ſow, to be put on ſhore. There was reaſon to believe that ſome of the cocks and hens which had formerly been left here ſtill exiſted. None of them, indeed, were ſeen; but an hen's egg was found, which had not long been laid. Mr. Wales had now an opportunity of completing his obſervations with regard to Queen Charlotte's Sound, ſo as to aſcertain its latitude and longitude with the utmoſt accuracy (*f*). In the Captain's former voyage there had been an error in this reſpect. Such were Mr. Wales's abilities and aſſiduity, that the ſame correctneſs was maintained by him, in determining the ſituations of all the other places which were viſited by our Navigators (*g*).

(*f*) The longitude of Queen Charlotte's Sound, at the bottom of Ship Cove, is 174° 25′ 7″½ Eaſt, and its latitude 41° 5′ 56″½ South.

(*g*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 128—162.

On the tenth of November, Captain Cook took his departure from New Zealand, in farther purſuit of his great object, the determination of the queſtion concerning the exiſtence of a ſouthern continent. Having ſailed till the twenty-ſeventh, in different degrees of latitude, extending from 43 to 55° 48′ South, he gave up all hopes of finding any more land in this ocean (*h*). He came, therefore, to the reſolution of ſteering directly for the Weſt entrance of the Straits of Magalhaens, with a view of coaſting the South ſide of Terra del Fuego, round Cape Horn, to the Strait Le Maire. As the world had hitherto obtained but a very imperfect knowledge of this ſhore, the Captain thought that the full ſurvey of it would be more advantageous, both to navigation and geography, than any thing he could expect to find in a higher latitude. In the proſecution of his voyage, our Commander, on the ſeventeenth of December, reached the Weſt coaſt of Terra del Fuego; and having continued to range it till the twentieth, he came to an anchor in a place to which he afterwards gave the name of CHRISTMAS SOUND. Through the whole courſe of his various navigations, he had never ſeen ſo deſolate a coaſt. It ſeems to be entirely compoſed of rocky mountains, without the leaſt appearance of vegetation. Theſe mountains terminate in horrible precipices, the craggy ſummits of which ſpire up to a vaſt height; ſo that ſcarcely any thing in nature can appear with a more barren and ſavage aſpect, than the whole of the country. The run which Captain Cook had made directly acroſs this ocean, in a high ſouthern latitude, was believed by him to be the firſt of the kind that had ever been carried into execution (*i*). He was, therefore, ſomewhat particular in remarking every circumſtance which ſeemed to be in the leaſt material. However, he could not but obſerve, that he had never made a paſſage any where, of ſuch length, or even of a much ſhorter extent, in which ſo few things occurred that were of an intereſting nature. Excepting the variation of the compaſs, he knew of nothing elſe that was worthy of notice. The Captain had now done with the Southern Pacific Ocean; and he had explored it in ſuch a manner, that it would be impoſſible for any one to think that more could be per-

(*h*) The ſhip, on the twenty-ſeventh, was in longitude 138° 56′ Weſt.

(*i*) He could not poſſibly know, at this time, that the Adventure had made the paſſage before him.

performed, in a ſingle voyage, towards obtaining that end, than had actually been accompliſhed (*k*). Barren and dreary as the land is about Chriſtmas Sound, it was not wholly deſtitute of ſome accommodations, which could not fail of being agreeable to our Navigators. Near every harbour they found freſh water, and wood for fuel. The country abounds likewiſe with wild fowl, and particularly with geeſe; which afforded a refreſhment to the whole crew, that was the more acceptable on account of the approaching feſtival. Had not Providence thus happily provided for them, their Chriſtmas cheer muſt have been ſalt beef and pork. Some Madeira wine, the only article of proviſion that was mended by keeping, was ſtill left. This, in conjunction with the geeſe, which were cooked in every variety of method, enabled our people to celebrate Chriſtmas as chearfully, as perhaps was done by their friends in England. The inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, Captain Cook found to be of the ſame nation that he had formerly ſeen in Succeſs Bay; and the ſame whom M. de Bougainville has diſtinguiſhed by the name of Pecharas. They are a little, ugly, half-ſtarved, beardleſs race, and go almoſt naked. It is their own fault that they are not better clothed, nature having furniſhed them with ample materials for that purpoſe. By lining their ſeal-ſkin cloaks with the ſkins and feathers of aquatic birds; by making the cloaks themſelves larger; and by applying the ſame materials to different parts of clothing, they might render their dreſs much more warm and comfortable. But while they are doomed to exiſt in one of the moſt inhoſpitable climates in the globe, they have not ſagacity enough to avail themſelves of thoſe means of adding to the conveniencies of life, which Providence has put into their power. In ſhort, the Captain, after having been a witneſs to ſo many varieties of the human race, hath pronounced, that of all the nations he had ſeen, the Pecharas are the moſt wretched (*l*). Notwithſtanding the barrenneſs of the country, it abounds with a variety of unknown plants, and gave ſufficient employment to the Botaniſts of the Reſolution. "Almoſt every plant," ſays Mr. Forſter, "which we gathered" on the rocks, "was new to us, and ſome ſpecies "were remarkable for the beauty of their flowers, or their ſmell (*m*)." On the twenty-eighth of December, our Commander ſailed from Chriſtmas Sound, and proceeded on his voyage, round Cape Horn, through Strait le Maire, to Staten Land. This famous Cape was paſſed by him on the next day, when he entered the Southern Atlantic Ocean. In ſome charts, Cape Horn is laid down as belonging to a ſmall Iſland; but this was neither confirmed, nor could it be contradicted by our Navigators; for ſeveral breakers appeared in the coaſt, both to the Eaſt and Weſt of it, and the hazy weather rendered every object indiſtinct. Though the ſummits of ſome of the hills were rocky, the ſides and valleys ſeemed covered with a green turf, and wooded in tufts (*n*). In ranging Staten Iſland a good part was found ſituated three leagues to the weſtward of St. John, and in a northern direction. Upon account of the day on which the diſcovery of this port was made, (being the firſt of January) Captain Cook gave it the name of NEW YEAR'S HARBOUR. The knowledge of it may be of ſervice to future Navigators. Indeed, it would be more convenient for ſhips bound to the Weſt, or round Cape Horn, if its ſituation would permit them to put to ſea with an eaſterly and northerly wind. But this inconvenience is not of great conſequence, ſince theſe winds are ſeldom known to be of long duration. The Captain, however, has declared, that if he were on a voyage round Cape Horn to the Weſt, and not in want of wood or water, or any other thing which might make it neceſſary to put into port, he would not approach the land at all. By keeping out at ſea the currents would be avoided, which, he was ſatisfied, would loſe their force at ten or twelve leagues from land, and be totally without influence at a greater diſtance. The extent of Terra del Fuego, and conſequently that of the Straits of Magalhaens, our Commander aſcertained to be leſs than has been laid down by the generality of navigators. Nor was the coaſt, upon the whole, found to be ſo dangerous as has often been repreſented. The weather, at the ſame time, was remarkably temperate. In one of the little Iſles near Staten Land, and which had been called by Captain Cook New Year's Iſles, there was obſerved a harmony between the different animals of the place, which is too curious to be omitted. It ſeemed as if they had entered into a league not to diſturb each other's tranquillity. The greater part of the ſea-coaſt is occupied by the ſea-lions; the ſea-bears take up their abode in the Iſle; the ſhags are poſted in the higheſt cliffs; the penguins fix their quarters where there is the moſt eaſy communication to and from the ſea; and the reſt of the birds chuſe more retired places. All theſe animals were occaſionally ſeen to mix together, like domeſtic cattle and poultry in a farm-yard, without one attempting to moleſt the other. Nay, the Captain had often obſerved the eagles and vultures ſitting on the hills among the ſhags, while none of the latter, whether old or young, appeared to be in the leaſt diſturbed at their preſence. It may be aſked, then, how do theſe birds of prey live? This queſtion our Commander hath anſwered, by ſuppoſing that they feed on the carcaſes of ſeals and birds which die by various cauſes. It is probable, from the immenſe quantity of animals with which the Iſle abounds, that ſuch carcaſes exiſt in great numbers (*o*).

From Staten Iſland Captain Cook ſailed, on the fourth of January, with a view, in the firſt place, of diſcovering that extenſive coaſt, laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in his chart, in

(*k*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 163—176.

(*l*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 177—187.

(*m*) Forſter's Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 488.

(*n*) The latitude of Cape Horn is 55° 58′ South, and its longitude was now aſcertained to be 67° 46′ Weſt.

(*o*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 187—206.

which is the gulph of St. Sebaſtian. In order to have all other parts before him, the Captain deſigned to make the weſtern point of that gulph. As he had ſome doubt of the exiſtence of ſuch a coaſt, this appeared to him the beſt route for determining the matter, and for exploring the ſouthern part of this ocean. When he came to the ſituations aſſigned to the different points of the gulph of St. Sebaſtian, neither land nor any unequivocal ſigns of land were diſcovered. On the contrary, it was evident that there could not be any extenſive tract of country in the direction which had been ſuppoſed. Proceeding in his voyage, land was ſeen on the fourteenth, which was at firſt miſtaken for an Iſland of ice. It was in a manner wholly covered with ſnow. From the perſon by whom it was firſt diſcovered, it obtained the name of WILLIS's ISLAND (*p*). It is a high rock, of no great extent, near to which are ſome rocky iſlots. Another Iſland, of a larger compaſs, on account of the vaſt number of birds which were upon it, was called BIRD ISLE. A more extenſive range of country had been ſeen for ſome time, which Captain Cook reached on the ſeventeenth, and where he landed, on the ſame day, in three different places. The head of the bay, in which he came to ſhore, was terminated by particular ice-cliffs, of conſiderable height. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to ſea; and while our Navigators were in the bay, a great fall happened, which made a noiſe like a cannon. No leſs ſavage and horrible were the inner parts of the country. "The wild rocks raiſed their ſummits, till they were loſt in the clouds, and the valleys lay "covered with everlaſting ſnow." There was not a tree to be ſeen, or a ſhrub found that was even big enough to make a tooth-pick. The only vegetation that was met with, was a coarſe ſtrong-bladed graſs, growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant like moſs, which ſprang from the rocks. When our Commander landed in the bay, he diſplayed the Engliſh colours; and, under a diſcharge of ſmall arms, took poſſeſſion of the country in his Majeſty's name. It was not, however, a diſcovery which was ever likely to be productive of any conſiderable benefit. In his return to the ſhip, Captain Cook brought with him a quantity of ſeals and penguins, which were an acceptable preſent to the crew; not from the want of proviſions, which were plentiful in every kind, but from a change of diet. Any ſort of freſh meat was preferred by moſt on board to ſalt. The Captain himſelf was now, for the firſt time, tired of the ſalted meats of the ſhip; and though the fleſh of the penguins could ſcarcely vie with bullock's liver, its freſhneſs was ſufficient to render it comparatively agreeable to the palate. To the bay in which he had been, he gave the name of POSSESION BAY (*q*). The land in which this bay lies, was at firſt judged by our Navigators to be part of a great continent. But, upon coaſting round the whole country, it was proved to a demonſtration that it was only an Iſland of ſeventy leagues in circuit. In honour of his Majeſty, Captain Cook called it the ISLE OF GEORGIA (*r*). It could ſcarcely have been thought that an Iſland of no greater extent than this, ſituated between the latitude of fifty-four and fifty-five, ſhould, in a manner, be wholly covered, many fathoms deep, with frozen ſnow, in the height of ſummer. The ſides and ſummits of the lofty mountains were caſed with ſnow and ice; and an incredible quantity lay in the valleys. So immenſe was the quantity, that our Commander did not think that it could be the produce of the Iſland. Some land, therefore, which he had ſeen at a diſtance, induced him to believe that it might belong to an extenſive tract; and gave him hopes of diſcovering a continent. In this reſpect, however, he was diſappointed; but the diſappointment did not ſit heavy upon him; ſince to judge of the bulk by the apprehended ſample, it would not have been worth the diſcovery. It was remarkable that our Voyagers did not ſee a river, or a ſtream of freſh water, on the whole coaſt of the Iſle of Georgia. Captain Cook judged it to be highly probable that there are no perennial ſprings in the country; and that the interior parts, in conſequence of their being much elevated, never enjoy heat enough to melt the ſnow in ſufficient quantities to produce a river or ſtream of water. In ſailing round the Iſland, our Navigators were almoſt continually involved in a thick miſt; ſo that, for any thing they knew to the contrary, they might be ſurrounded with dangerous rocks.

(*p*) It is ſituated in the latitude of 54° South, and the longitude of 38° 23′ Weſt.

(*q*) It is ſituated in latitude 54° 5′ South, and longitude of 37° 18′ Weſt.

(*r*) It is ſituated between the latitudes of 53° 57′ and 54° 57′ South, and between 38° 15′ and 35° 34′ Weſt longitude.

The Captain, on the twenty-fifth of the month, ſteered from the Iſle of Georgia, and, on the twenty-ſeventh, computed that he was in latitude ſixty, South. Farther than this he did not intend to go, unleſs ſome certain ſigns of ſoon meeting with land ſhould be diſcovered. There was now a long hollow ſwell from the Weſt, which was a ſtrong indication that no land was to be met with in that direction; and hence aroſe an additional proof of what has already been remarked, that the extenſive coaſt, laid down in Mr. Dalrymple's chart of the ocean between Africa and America, and the Gulph of St. Sebaſtian, doth not exiſt. Not to mention the various Iſlands which were ſeen in the proſecution of the voyage, and the names that were given to them, I ſhall only advert to a few of the more material circumſtances. On an elevated coaſt, which appeared in ſight upon the thirty-firſt, our Commander beſtowed the appellation of the SOUTHERN THULE. The reaſon of his giving it this name was, that it is the moſt ſouthern land that had ever yet been diſcovered (*s*). It is every where covered with ſnow, and diſplays a ſurface of vaſt height. On this day, our Voyagers were in no ſmall danger from a great weſterly ſwell, which ſet right upon the ſhore, and threatened to carry them on the moſt horrible coaſt in the world. Happily,

(*s*) Its latitude is 59° 15′ 30″ South, and its longitude 27° 48′ Weſt.

the diſcovery of a point to the North, beyond which no land could be ſeen, relieved them from their apprehenſions. To the more diſtinguiſhed tracts of country, which were diſcovered from the thirty-firſt of January to the ſixth of February, Captain Cook gave the names of CAPE BRISTOL, CAPE MONTAGU, SAUNDERS's ISLE, CANDLEMAS ISLES, and SANDWICH's LAND. The laſt is either a group of Iſlands, or elſe a point of the continent. For that there is a tract of land near the pole, which is the ſource of moſt of the ice that is ſpread over this vaſt Southern Ocean, was the Captain's firm opinion. He alſo thought it probable, that this land muſt extend fartheſt to the North where it is oppoſite to the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Ice had always been found by him farther to the North in theſe oceans than any where elſe, and this he judged could not be the caſe, if there were not land of conſiderable extent to the South. However, the greateſt part of this ſouthern continent, if it actually exiſts, muſt lie within the polar circle, where the ſea is ſo encumbered with ice, that the land is rendered inacceſſible. So great is the riſque which is run, in examining a coaſt in theſe unknown and icy ſeas, that our Commander, with a modeſt and well-grounded boldneſs, could aſſert, that no man would ever venture farther than he had done; and that the lands which may lie to the South will never be explored. Thick fogs, ſnow ſtorms, intenſe cold, and every thing beſide that can render navigation dangerous, muſt be encountered; all which difficulties are greatly heightened by the inexpreſſibly horrid aſpect of the country. It is a country doomed by nature never once to feel the warmth of the ſun's rays, but to lie buried in everlaſting ſnow and ice. Whatever ports there may be on the coaſt, they are almoſt entirely covered with frozen ſnow of a vaſt thickneſs. If, however, any one of them ſhould be ſo far open as to invite a ſhip into it, ſhe would run the riſque of being fixed there for ever, or of coming out in an ice iſland. To this it may be added, that the Iſlands and floats on the coaſt, the great falls from the ice cliffs in the port, or a heavy ſnow ſtorm, attended with a ſharp froſt, might be equally fatal. Nothing could exceed the inclination of Captain Cook, if it had been practicable, to penetrate farther to the South: but difficulties like theſe were not to be ſurmounted. If he had riſqued all that had been done during the voyage, for the ſake of diſcovering and exploring a coaſt, which, when diſcovered and explored, would have anſwered no end whatever, or have been of the leaſt uſe either to navigation or geography, or indeed to any other ſcience, he would juſtly have been charged with inexcuſable temerity. He determined, therefore, to alter his courſe to the eaſt, and to ſail in queſt of Bouvet's Land, the exiſtence of which was yet to be ſettled. Accordingly, this was the principal object of his purſuit, from the ſixth to the twenty-ſecond of the month. By that day he had run down thirteen degrees of longitude, in the very latitude aſſigned for Bouvet's Land. No ſuch land, however, was diſcovered; nor did any proofs occur of the exiſtence of Cape Circumciſion. Our Commander was at this time no more than two degrees of longitude from the route he had taken to the South, when he left the Cape of Good Hope. It would, therefore, have been to no purpoſe to proceed any farther to the Eaſt in this parallel. But being deſirous of determining the queſtion concerning ſome land that was ſuppoſed to have been ſeen more to the South, he directed his courſe for the ſituation in which the diſcovery of it might be expected. Two days were ſpent by him in this purſuit, to no effectual purpoſe. After having run over the place where the land was imagined to lie, without meeting with the leaſt ſigns of any, it became certain that the ice iſlands had deceived our Navigators as well as Mr. Bouvet (*t*). Captain Cook had now made the circuit of the ſouthern ocean in a high latitude, and traverſed it in ſuch a manner as to leave not the leaſt room for the poſſibility of there being a continent, unleſs near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. By twice viſiting the tropical ſea, he had not only ſettled the ſituation of ſome old diſcoveries, but made many new ones; and, indeed, even in that part, had left little more to be accompliſhed. The intention of the voyage had, in every reſpect, been fully anſwered, and the ſouthern hemiſphere ſufficiently explored. A final end was hereby put to the ſearching after a ſouthern continent, which, for nearly two centuries paſt, had occaſionally engroſſed the attention of ſome of the maritime powers, and had been urged with great ardour by philoſophers and geographers in different ages.

(*t*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 207—238.

The great purpoſe of his navigation round the globe being thus completed, the Captain began to direct his views towards England. He had, indeed, ſome thoughts of protracting his courſe a little longer, for the ſake of reviſiting the place where the French diſcovery is ſaid to be ſituated. But, upon mature deliberation, he determined to lay aſide his intention. He conſidered that, if this diſcovery had really been made, the end would be as fully anſwered as if it had been done by himſelf. It could only be an Iſland; and if a judgment might be formed from the degree of cold which our Voyagers had experienced in that latitude, it could not be a fertile one. Beſides, our Commander would hereby have been kept two months longer at ſea, and that in a tempeſtuous latitude, with which the ſhip was not in a condition to ſtruggle. Her ſails and rigging were ſo much worn, that ſomething was giving way every hour; and there was nothing left, either to repair or to replace them. The proviſions of the veſſel were in ſuch a ſtate of decay, that they afforded little nouriſhment, and the company had been long without refreſhments. Indeed, the crew were

were yet healthy, and would chearfully have gone wherever the Captain judged it proper to lead them; but he was fearful leſt the ſcurvy ſhould lay hold of them, at a time when none of the remedies were left by which it could be removed. He thought, likewiſe, that it would have been cruel in him to have continued the fatigues and hardſhips they were perpetually expoſed to, longer than was abſolutely neceſſary. Throughout the whole voyage, they had merited by their behaviour every indulgence which it was in his power to beſtow. Animated by the conduct of the officers, they had ſhewn that no difficulties or dangers which came in their way were incapable of being ſurmounted; nor had their activity, courage, and chearfulneſs been in the leaſt abated by the ſeparation from them of their conſort the Adventure. From all theſe conſiderations, which were evidently the dictates of wiſdom and humanity, Captain Cook was induced to ſpend no longer time in ſearching for the French diſcoveries, and to ſteer for the Cape of Good Hope. He determined, however, to direct his courſe in ſuch a manner as to look for the Iſles of Denia and Marſeveen, which are laid down in Dr. Halley's variation chart (*u*). After ſailing in the proper latitudes, from the twenty-fifth of February to the thirteenth of March, no ſuch Iſlands were diſcovered. Nothing, indeed, had been ſeen that could encourage our Voyagers to perſevere in a ſearch after them; and much time could not now be ſpared, either for the purpoſe of finding them, or of proving their non-exiſtence. Every one on board was for good reaſons impatient to get into port. The Captain, therefore, could no longer avoid yielding to the general wiſhes, and reſolving to proceed to the Cape, without farther delay (*w*). Soon after our Commander had come to this determination, he demanded of the officers and petty officers, in purſuance of his inſtructions, the log-books and journals they had kept; which were delivered to him accordingly, and ſealed up for the inſpection of the Admiralty. He enjoined them alſo, and the whole crew, not to divulge where they had been, till they were permitted to do ſo by their Lordſhips; an injunction, a compliance with which might probably be rendered ſomewhat difficult, from the natural tendency there is in men to relate the extraordinary enterpriſes and adventures wherein they have been concerned. As the Reſolution approached towards the Cape of Good Hope, ſhe fell in firſt with a Dutch Eaſt Indiaman from Bengal, commanded by Captain Boſch, and next with an Engliſh Indiaman, being the True Briton, from China, of which Captain Broadly was the Commander. Mr. Boſch very obligingly offered to our Navigators ſugar, arrack, and whatever he had to ſpare; and Captain Broadly, with the moſt ready generoſity, ſent them freſh proviſions, tea, and various articles which could not fail of being peculiarly acceptable to people in their ſituation. Even a parcel of old news-papers furniſhed no ſlight gratification to perſons who had ſo long been deprived of obtaining any intelligence concerning their country and the ſtate of Europe. From theſe veſſels Captain Cook received ſome information with regard to what had happened to the Adventure, after her ſeparation from the Reſolution. On Wedneſday the twenty-ſecond of March (*x*), he anchored in Table Bay; where he found ſeveral Dutch ſhips, ſome French, and the Ceres, an Engliſh Eaſt Indiaman, bound directly for England, under the command of Captain Newte. By this Gentleman he ſent a copy of the preceding part of his journal, ſome charts, and other drawings, to the Admiralty (*y*). During the circum-navigation of the globe, from the period of our Commander's leaving the Cape of Good Hope to his return to it again, he had ſailed no leſs than twenty thouſand leagues. This was an extent of voyage nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which had never been accompliſhed before, by any ſhip, in the ſame compaſs of duration. In ſuch a caſe, it could not be a matter of ſurpriſe, that the rigging and ſails of the Reſolution ſhould be eſſentially damaged, and even worn out: and yet, in all this great run, which had been made in every latitude between nine and ſeventy-one, ſhe did not ſpring either low-maſt, top-maſt, lower or top-ſail yard; nor did ſhe ſo much as break a lower or top-maſt ſhroud. Theſe happy circumſtances were owing to the good properties of the veſſel, and the ſingular care and abilities of her officers (*z*).

(*u*) They are laid down in the latitude of 41° 2′ South, and about 4° of longitude to the Eaſt of the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope.

(*w*) He was at this time in the latitude of 38° 38′ South, and longitude of 23° 37′ Eaſt.

(*x*) With our Navigators, who had ſailed round the world, it was Wedneſday the twenty-ſecond of March; but at the Cape of Good Hope it was Tueſday the twenty-firſt.

(*y*) Capt. Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, vol. ii. p. 239—249.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 265, 266.

On the remainder of the voyage it is not neceſſary to enlarge. Though it was conducted with the ſame attention to navigation and geography, and with the ſame ſagacity in marking whatever was worthy of obſervation, nevertheleſs, as it was not employed in traverſing unknown ſeas, or in diſcovering countries that had not been heard of before, it may be ſufficient briefly to mention the places at which Captain Cook touched, before his arrival in England. The repairs of the ſhip having been completed, and the neceſſary ſtores gotten on board, together with a freſh ſupply of proviſions and water, he left the Cape of Good Hope on the twenty-ſeventh of April, and reached the Iſland of St. Helena on the fifteenth of May. Here he ſtaid till the twenty-firſt, when he ſailed for the Iſland of Aſcenſion, where he anchored on the twenty-eighth. From this place he directed his courſe, on the thirty-firſt, for the Iſland of Fernando de Noronha, at which he arrived on the ninth of June. In the progreſs of the voyage, our Commander made an experiment upon the ſtill for procuring freſh water; and the reſult of the trial was, that the invention is uſeful upon the whole, but that to truſt entirely to it would by no means be adviſable. Indeed, provided there is not a ſcarcity of fuel, and the coppers are good, as much water may be obtained as will ſupport life; but no efforts will be able to procure a quantity

ſufficient for the preſervation of health, eſpecially in hot climates. Captain Cook was convinced, by experience, that nothing contributes more to the health of ſeamen, than having plenty of water. On the fourteenth of July, the Captain came to an anchor in the Bay of Fayal, one of the Azores Iſlands. His ſole deſign in ſtopping here, was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity of finding the rate of the watch, that hereby he might be enabled to fix the longitude of theſe Iſlands with the greater degree of certainty. No ſooner, therefore, had our Commander anchored, than he ſent an officer to wait on the Engliſh conſul, and to acquaint the Governor with the arrival of our Navigators, requeſting his permiſſion for Mr. Wales to make obſervations on ſhore, for the purpoſe now mentioned. Mr. Dent, who then acted as conſul, not only obtained this permiſſion, but accommodated Mr. Wales with a convenient place in his garden, to ſet up his inſtruments. This object being accompliſhed, Captain Cook proceeded, on the nineteenth, with all expedition for England. On the thirtieth of the ſame month, he anchored at Spithead, and landed at Portſmouth, having been abſent from Great Britain three years and eighteen days, in which time, and under all changes of climate, he had loſt but four men, and only one of them by ſickneſs (*a*).

(*a*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 268—289.

The able manner in which Captain Cook had conducted the preceding voyage, the diſcoveries he had made, and his complete determination of the grand point he had been ſent to aſcertain, juſtly and powerfully recommended him to the protection and encouragement of all thoſe who had patronized the undertaking. No alteration had occurred, during his abſence, in the Preſidency of the Admiralty department. The noble Lord, whoſe extenſive views had taken ſuch a lead in the plans of navigation and diſcovery, ſtill continued at the head of that board; and it could not be otherwiſe than a high ſatisfaction to him that ſo extraordinary a degree of ſucceſs had attended his deſigns for the enlargement of ſcience. His Lordſhip loſt no time in repreſenting Captain Cook's merits to the King: nor did his Majeſty ſtand in need of ſolicitations to ſhew favour to a man who had ſo eminently fulfilled his royal and munificent intentions. Accordingly, our Navigator, on the ninth of Auguſt, was raiſed to the rank of a Poſt Captain. Three days afterwards, he received a more diſtinguiſhed and ſubſtantial mark of the approbation of Government; for he was then appointed a Captain in Greenwich Hoſpital; a ſituation which was intended to afford him a pleaſing and honourable reward for his illuſtrious labours and ſervices (*b*).

(*b*) From the books of the Admiralty.

It will eaſily be ſuppoſed that the lovers of ſcience would, in general, be peculiarly attentive to the effects reſulting from Captain Cook's diſcoveries. The additions he had made to the knowledge of geography, navigation, and aſtronomy, and the new views he had opened of the diverſified ſtate of human life and manners, could not avoid commanding their eſteem, and exciting their admiration. With many perſons of philoſophic literature he was in the habits of intimacy and friendſhip; and he was particularly acquainted with Sir John Pringle, at that time Preſident of the Royal Society. It was natural, therefore, that his ſcientific friends ſhould wiſh him to become a Member of this learned body; the conſequence of which was, that, in the latter end of the year 1775, he was propoſed as a candidate for election. On the twenty-ninth of February, 1776, he was unanimouſly choſen; and he was admitted on the ſeventh of March (*c*). That ſame evening, a paper was read, which he had addreſſed to Sir John Pringle, containing an account of the method he had taken to preſerve the health of the crew of his Majeſty's ſhip the Reſolution, during her voyage round the world (*d*). Another paper, at the requeſt of the Preſident, was communicated by him, on the eighteenth of April, relative to the tides in the South Seas. The tides particularly conſidered were thoſe in the Endeavour River, on the Eaſt coaſt of New Holland (*e*). A ſtill greater honour was in reſerve for Captain Cook than the election of him to be a common Member of the Royal Society. It was reſolved by Sir John Pringle, and the Council of the Society, to beſtow upon him the eſtimable prize of the gold medal, for the beſt experimental paper of the year; and no determination could be founded in greater wiſdom and juſtice. If Captain Cook had made no important diſcoveries, if he had not determined the queſtion concerning a ſouthern continent, his name would have been entitled to immortality, on account of his humane attention to, and his unparalleled ſucceſs in preſerving the lives and health of his ſeamen. He had good reaſon, upon this head, to aſſume the pleaſurable, but modeſt language, with which he has concluded his narrative of his ſecond navigation round the globe: "Whatever," ſays he, "may be the public "judgment about other matters, it is with real ſatisfaction, and without claiming any "merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an obſer- "vation, which facts enable me to make, that our having diſcovered the poſſibility of "preſerving health among a numerous ſhip's company, for ſuch a length of time, in ſuch "varieties of climate, and amidſt ſuch continued hardſhips and fatigues, will make this "voyage remarkable, in the opinion of every benevolent perſon, when the diſputes about "the Southern Continent ſhall have ceaſed to engage the attention, and to divide the "judgment of Philoſophers (*f*)." It was the cuſtom of Sir John Pringle, at the delivery of Sir Godfrey Copley's annual medal, to give an elaborate diſcourſe, containing the hiſtory of that part of ſcience for the improvement of which the medal was conferred. Upon

(*c*) From the regiſter of the Royal Society, and the information of Mr. Planta.

(*d*) Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. lxvi. p. 402—406.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 447—449.

(*f*) Cook's ſecond Voyage, vol. ii. p. 293.

the preſent occaſion, the Preſident had a ſubject to enlarge upon, which was perfectly congenial to his diſpoſition and ſtudies. His own life had been much employed in pointing out the means which tended not only to cure, but to prevent, the diſeaſes of mankind; and, therefore, it was with peculiar pleaſure and affection that he celebrated the conduct of his friend, who, by precautions equally wiſe and ſimple, had rendered the circumnavigation of the globe, ſo far as health is concerned, quite a harmleſs undertaking (*g*). Towards the beginning of his diſcourſe, Sir John juſtly aſks, "What enquiry can be ſo "uſeful as that, which hath for its object, the ſaving the lives of men? and when ſhall we "find one more ſucceſsful than that before us? Here," adds the Preſident, "are no "vain boaſtings of the empiric, nor ingenious and deluſive theories of the dogmatiſt; but "a conciſe and artleſs, and an incontеſted relation of the means, by which, under Divine "favour, Captain Cook, with a company of a hundred and eighteen men, performed a "voyage of three years and eighteen days, throughout all the climates, from fifty-two de-"grees North to ſeventy-one degrees South, with the loſs of only one man by ſickneſs [*Y*]. "—I would now enquire," proceeds Sir John Pringle, "of the moſt converſant in the "ſtudy of bills of mortality, whether, in the moſt healthful climate, and in the beſt con-"dition of life, they have ever found ſo ſmall a number of deaths, within that ſpace of "time? How great and agreeable then muſt our ſurprize be, after peruſing the hiſtories "of long navigations in former days, when ſo many periſhed by Marine diſeaſes, to find "the air of the ſea acquitted of all malignity, and, in fine, that a voyage round the world "may be undertaken with leſs danger, perhaps, to health, than a common tour in "Europe!" In the progreſs of his diſcourſe, the Preſident recounted the dreadful calamities and deſtruction the ſcurvy had heretofore brought upon Mariners in voyages of great length; after which he pointed out at large, and illuſtrated with his own obſervations, the methods purſued by Captain Cook for preſerving the health of his men. In concluſion, Sir John remarked, that the Royal Society never more cordially or more meritoriouſly beſtowed the gold medal, that faithful ſymbol of their eſteem and affection. "For if," ſays he, "Rome decreed the *civic crown* to him who ſaved the life of a ſingle "citizen, what wreaths are due to that man, who having himſelf ſaved many, perpetuates "in your Tranſactions the means by which Britain may now, on the moſt diſtant voyages, "preſerve numbers of her intrepid ſons, her *mariners*; who, braving every danger, have "ſo liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the maritime empire, of "their country (*h*) [*Z*]!" One circumſtance alone was wanting to complete the pleaſure and

(*g*) Life of Sir John Pringle, prefixed to his Six Diſcourſes, p. xlii. xliii.

(*h*) Sir John Pringle's Six Diſcourſes, p. 145—147, 199.

[*Y*] *With the loſs of only one man by ſickneſs.*] Mr. Patten, Surgeon to the Reſolution, informed Sir John Pringle, that this one man, who died of a conſumption terminating in a dropſy, began ſo early to complain of a cough and other conſumptive ſymptoms, which had never left him, that his lungs muſt have been affected before he came on board.

[*Z*] *And to the maritime empire, of their country.*] It cannot but be acceptable to inſert here, from the concluſion of Captain Cook's ſecond voyage, his enumeration of the ſeveral cauſes, to which, under the care of Providence, the uncommon good ſtate of health, experienced by his people, was owing. "In "the Introduction," ſays he, "mention has been "made of the extraordinary attention paid by the "Admiralty, in cauſing ſuch articles to be put on "board, as either from experience or ſuggeſtion it "was judged would tend to preſerve the health of "the ſeamen. I ſhall not treſpaſs upon the reader's "time in mentioning them all, but confine myſelf to "ſuch as were found the moſt uſeful.

"We were furniſhed with a quantity of malt, of "which was made *Sweet Wort*. To ſuch of the men "as ſhewed the leaſt ſymptoms of the ſcurvy; and "alſo to ſuch as were thought to be threatened with "that diſorder, this was given, from one to two or "three pints a day each man; or in ſuch proportion "as the Surgeon found neceſſary, which ſometimes "amounted to three quarts. This is, without doubt, "one of the beſt antiſcorbutic ſea-medicines yet diſ-"covered; and, if uſed in time, will, with proper "attention to other things, I am perſuaded, prevent "the ſcurvy from making any great progreſs for a "conſiderable while. But I am not altogether of "opinion that it will cure it at ſea.

"*Sour Krout*, of which we had a large quantity, is "not only a wholeſome vegetable food, but, in my "judgment, highly antiſcorbutic; and it ſpoils not "by keeping. A pound of this was ſerved to each "man, when at ſea, twice a week, or oftener, as was "thought neceſſary.

"*Portable Broth* was another great article, of which "we had a large ſupply. An ounce of this to each "man, or ſuch other proportion as circumſtances "pointed out, was boiled in their peaſe, three days "in the week; and when we were in places where "vegetables were to be got, it was boiled with them, "and wheat or oatmeal, every morning for breakfaſt; "and alſo with peaſe and vegetables for dinner. It "enabled us to make ſeveral nouriſhing and whole-"ſome meſſes, and was the means of making the "people eat a greater quantity of vegetables than "they would otherwiſe have done.

"*Rob of Lemon* and *Orange*, is an antiſcorbutic we "were not without. The Surgeon made uſe of it in "many caſes, with great ſucceſs.

"Amongſt the articles of victualling, we were "ſupplied with *Sugar* in the room of *Oil*, and with "*Wheat* for a part of our *Oatmeal*; and were certainly "gainers by the exchange. Sugar, I apprehend, is "a very good antiſcorbutic; whereas oil (ſuch as the "navy is uſually ſupplied with), I am of opinion has "the contrary effect.

"But the introduction of the moſt ſalutary articles, "either as proviſions or medicines, will generally "prove unſucceſsful, unleſs ſupported by certain "regulations. On this principle, many years ex-"perience, together with ſome hints I had from Sir "Hugh Palliſer, Captains Campbell, Wallis, and "other intelligent officers, enabled me to lay a plan "whereby all was to be governed.

"The crew were at three watches, except upon "ſome extraordinary occaſions. By this means they "were not ſo much expoſed to the weather as if they "had been at watch and watch; and had generally "dry cloaths to ſhift themſelves, when they happened "to get wet. Care was alſo taken to expoſe them "as little to wet weather as poſſible.

"Proper methods were uſed to keep their perſons, "hammocks, bedding, cloaths, &c. conſtantly clean "and dry. Equal care was taken to keep the ſhip "clean and dry betwixt decks. Once or twice a

"week

and celebrity arising from the aſſignment of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal. Captain Cook was not himſelf preſent, to hear the diſcourſe of the Preſident, and to receive the honour conferred upon him. Some months before the anniverſary of St. Andrew's day, he had ſailed on his laſt expedition. The medal, therefore, was delivered into the hands of Mrs. Cook, whoſe ſatisfaction at being entruſted with ſo valuable a pledge of her huſband's reputation cannot be queſtioned. Neither can it be doubted, but that the Captain, before his departure from England, was fully apprized of the mark of diſtinction which was intended for him by the Royal Society.

Captain Cook, after the concluſion of his ſecond voyage, was called upon to appear in the world in the character of an author. In the account that was publiſhed, by authority, of his former circum-navigation of the globe, as well as of thoſe which had been performed by the Captains Byron, Carteret, and Wallis, it was thought requiſite to procure the aſſiſtance of a profeſſed literary man, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould be to draw up a narrative from the ſeveral journals of theſe Commanders. Accordingly, Dr. Hawkeſworth, as is univerſally known, was employed for the purpoſe. In the preſent caſe, it was not eſteemed neceſſary to have recourſe to ſuch an expedient. Captain Cook was juſtly regarded as ſufficiently qualified to relate his own ſtory. His journal only required to be divided into chapters, and perhaps to be amended by a few verbal corrections. It is not ſpeaking extravagantly to ſay, that, in point of compoſition, his hiſtory of his voyage reflects upon him no ſmall degree of credit. His ſtile is natural, clear, and manly; being well adapted to the ſubject and to his own character: and it is poſſible that a pen of more ſtudied elegance would not have given any additional advantage to the narration. It was not till ſome time after Captain Cook's leaving England that the work was publiſhed; but, in the mean while, the ſuperintendence of it was undertaken by his learned and valuable friend, Dr. Douglas, whoſe late promotion to the mitre hath afforded pleaſure to every literary man, of every denomination. When the Voyage appeared, it came recommended by the accuracy and excellence of its charts, and by a great variety of engravings, from the curious and beautiful drawings of Mr. Hodges. This work was followed by the publication of the original aſtronomical obſervations, which had been made by Mr. Wales in the Reſolution, and by Mr. Bayley in the Adventure. It was at the expence of the Commiſſioners of Longitude that theſe obſervations were made, and it was by their order that they were printed. The book of Mr. Wales and Mr. Bayley diſplays, in the ſtrongeſt light, the ſcientific uſe and value of Captain Cook's voyage [*AA*]. Some of the circumſtances which have now been mentioned, have deſignedly been brought forward more early in point of time than ſhould otherwiſe have been done, in order to prevent any interruption in the courſe of the ſubſequent narrative.

" week ſhe was aired with fires; and when this could " not be done, ſhe was ſmoked with gunpowder, " mixed with vinegar or water. I had alſo, fre- " quently, a fire made in an iron pot, at the bottom " of the well, which was of great uſe in purifying " the air in the lower parts of the ſhip. To this, " and to cleanlineſs, as well in the ſhip as amongſt " the people, too great attention cannot be paid: the " leaſt neglect occaſions a putrid and diſagreeable " ſmell below, which nothing but fires will remove.

" Proper attention was paid to the ſhip's coppers, " ſo that they were kept conſtantly clean.

" The fat, which boiled out of the ſalt beef and " pork, I never ſuffered to be given to the people; " being of opinion that it promotes the ſcurvy.

" I was careful to take in water wherever it was to " be got, even though we did not want it. Becauſe " I look upon freſh water from the ſhore, to be more " wholeſome than that which had been kept ſome " time on board a ſhip. Of this eſſential article we " were never at an allowance, but had always plenty " for every neceſſary purpoſe. Navigators in gene- " ral cannot, indeed, expect, nor would they wiſh " to meet with ſuch advantages in this reſpect, as fell " to my lot. The nature of our voyage carried us " into very high latitudes. But the hardſhips and " dangers inſeparable from that ſituation, were in " ſome degree compenſated by the ſingular felicity " we enjoyed, of extracting inexhauſtible ſupplies of " freſh water from an ocean ſtrewed with ice.

" We came to few places, where either the art of " man, or the bounty of nature, had not provided " ſome ſort of refreſhment or other, either in the " animal or vegetable way. It was my firſt care to " procure whatever of any kind could be met with, " by every means in my power; and to oblige our " people to make uſe thereof, both by my example " and authority; but the benefits ariſing from re- " freſhments of any kind ſoon became ſo obvious, " that I had little occaſion to recommend the one, or " to exert the other (7)."

(7) Vol. ii. p. 289—292.

In a letter which Captain Cook wrote to Sir John Pringle, juſt before he embarked on his laſt voyage, dated Plymouth Sound, July 7, 1776, he expreſſed himſelf as follows: " I entirely agree with you, that the " dearneſs of the rob of lemons and of oranges will " hinder them from being furniſhed in large quan- " tities. But I do not think this ſo neceſſary; for, " though they may aſſiſt other things, I have no " great opinion of them alone. Nor have I a higher " opinion of vinegar. My people had it very ſpar- " ingly during the late voyage, and, towards the " latter part, none at all; and yet we experienced " no ill effect from the want of it. The cuſtom of " waſhing the inſide of the ſhip with vinegar, I ſel- " dom obſerved; thinking that fire and ſmoke an- " ſwered the purpoſe much better (8)."

(8) Sir John Pringle's Six Diſcourſes, p. 200.

[*AA*] *The ſcientific uſe and value of Captain Cook's Voyage.*] Beſide the works which came from authority, Mr. George Forſter publiſhed, in two volumes, quarto, " A Voyage round the World, in his Bri- " tannic Majeſty's ſloop, Reſolution." This appeared in 1777. The next year, Dr. John Reinhold Forſter communicated to the public, in one volume, quarto, " Obſervations made during a Voyage round " the World, on Phyſical Geography, Natural " Hiſtory, and Ethic Philoſophy." It need not be ſaid, that theſe works contain much curious and uſeful information. Mr. George Forſter having been thought to be guilty of ſome miſrepreſentations with regard to certain facts, Mr. Wales wrote remarks upon his book, to which Mr. Forſter replied. As to one or two haſty and premature attempts to gratify the public curioſity, they are not worthy to be noticed.

Though Captain Cook was expected to ſit down in repoſe, after his toils and labours, the deſign of farther diſcoveries was not laid aſide. The illuſion, indeed, of a *terra Auſtralis incognita*, to any purpoſes of commerce, colonization, and utility, had been diſpelled: but there was another grand queſtion which remained to be determined; and that was the practicability of a northern paſſage to the Pacific Ocean. It had long been a favourite object with navigators, and particularly with the Engliſh, to diſcover a ſhorter, a more commodious, and a more profitable courſe of ſailing to Japan and China, and, indeed, to the Eaſt Indies in general, than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. To find a weſtern paſſage round North America, had been attempted by ſeveral bold adventurers, from Frobiſher's firſt voyage, in 1576, to thoſe of James and of Fox, in 1631. By theſe expeditions a large addition was made to the knowledge of the northern extent of America, and Hudſon's and Baffin's Bays were diſcovered. But the wiſhed-for paſſage, on that ſide, into the Pacific Ocean, was ſtill unattained. Nor were the various attempts of our countrymen, and of the Dutch, to find ſuch a paſſage, by ſailing round the North of Aſia, in an eaſtern direction, attended with better ſucceſs. Wood's failure, in 1676, appears to have concluded the long liſt of unfortunate expeditions in that century. The diſcovery, if not abſolutely deſpaired of, had been unſucceſsful in ſuch a number of inſtances, that it ceaſed, for many years, to be an object of purſuit (*i*). The queſtion was again revived in the preſent century. Mr. Dobbs, a warm advocate for the probability of a North-weſt paſſage through Hudſon's Bay, once more recalled the attention of this country to that undertaking. In conſequence of the ſpirit by him excited, Captain Middleton was ſent out by Government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746. But, though an act of Parliament had been paſſed, which ſecured a reward of twenty thouſand pounds to the diſcovery of a paſſage, the accompliſhment of this favourite object continued at as great a diſtance as ever (*k*). To aſcertain a matter of ſuch importance and magnitude in navigation, was reſerved to be another glory of his preſent Majeſty's reign. The idea was peculiarly ſuited to the enlightened mind of the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, and he adopted it with ardour. Preparatory to the execution of the deſign, Lord Mulgrave ſailed with two ſhips, to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole. In this expedition, his Lordſhip met with the ſame inſuperable difficulties which had been experienced by former voyagers. Nevertheleſs, the expectation of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a northerly courſe, was not abandoned; and it was reſolved that a voyage ſhould be undertaken for that purpoſe (*l*). For the conduct of an enterprize, the operations of which were intended to be ſo new, ſo extenſive, and ſo various, it was evident that great ability, ſkill, and experience were indiſpenſably neceſſary (*m*). That Captain Cook was of all men the beſt qualified for carrying it into execution, was a matter that could not be called in queſtion. But, however ardently it might be wiſhed that he would take upon him the command of the ſervice, no one (not even his friend and patron, Lord Sandwich himſelf) preſumed to ſolicit him upon the ſubject. The benefits he had already conferred on ſcience and navigation, and the labours and dangers he had gone through, were ſo many and great, that it was not deemed reaſonable to aſk him to engage in freſh perils. At the ſame time, nothing could be more natural than to conſult him upon every thing relative to the buſineſs; and his advice was particularly requeſted with regard to the propereſt perſon for conducting the voyage. To determine this point, the Captain, Sir Hugh Palliſer, and Mr. Stephens were invited to Lord Sandwich's to dinner. Here, beſides taking into conſideration what officer ſhould be recommended to his Majeſty for accompliſhing the purpoſes in view, many things were ſaid concerning the nature of the deſign. Its grandeur and dignity, the conſequences of it to navigation and ſcience, and the completion it would give to the whole ſyſtem of diſcoveries, were enlarged upon in the courſe of the converſation. Captain Cook was ſo fired with the contemplation and repreſentation of the object, that he ſtarted up, and declared, that he himſelf would undertake the direction of the enterprize. It is eaſy to ſuppoſe, with what pleaſure the noble Lord, and the other Gentlemen, received a propoſal which was ſo agreeable to their ſecret wiſhes, and which they thought of the higheſt importance towards attaining the ends of the voyage (*n*). No time was loſt by the Earl of Sandwich, in laying the matter before the King; and Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the expedition, on the tenth of February, 1776 (*o*). At the ſame time, it was agreed, that, on his return to England, he ſhould be reſtored to his ſituation at Greenwich; and, if no vacancy occurred during the interval, the officer who ſucceeded him was to reſign in his favour (*p*).

The command and the direction of the enterprize being thus happily ſettled, it became an object of great importance to determine what might be the beſt courſe that could be given to the voyage. All former navigators round the globe had returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. But to Captain Cook the arduous taſk was now aſſigned of attempting it by reaching the high northern latitudes between Aſia and America; and the adoption of this reſolution was, I believe, the reſult of his own reflections upon the ſubject. The uſual plan, therefore, of diſcovery was reverſed; ſo that inſtead of a paſſage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. Whatever

(*i*) Introduction to Capt. Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. xxviii.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. xxix.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. xxix, xxx.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) From the information of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich.

(*o*) From the books of the Admiralty.

(*p*) From Lord Sandwich's information.

openings or inlets there might be on the Eaſt ſide of America, that lie in a direction which could afford any hopes of a paſſage, it was wiſely foreſeen that the ultimate ſucceſs of the expedition would depend upon there being an open ſea between the Weſt ſide of that continent and the extremities of Aſia. Accordingly Captain Cook was ordered to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of the new Iſlands which had been viſited by him in the ſouthern tropic. After having croſſed the equator into the northern parts of that ocean, he was then to hold ſuch a courſe as might probably fix many intereſting points in geography, and produce intermediate diſcoveries, in his progreſs northward to the principal ſcene of his operations (*q*). With regard to his grand object, it was determined, for the wiſeſt reaſons, and after the moſt mature deliberation and enquiry, that upon his arrival on the coaſt of New Albion, he ſhould proceed northward as far as the latitude of 65°, and not loſe any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until he had gotten into that latitude [*BB*]. To give every poſſible encouragement to the proſecution of the great deſign in view, the motives of intereſt were added to the obligations of duty. In the act of Parliament which paſſed in 1745, the reward of twenty thouſand pounds had been only held out to the ſhips *belonging to any of his Majeſty's ſubjects*, while his Majeſty's own ſhips were excluded. Another, and more capital defect of this act was, that it confined the reward to ſuch ſhips alone as ſhould diſcover a paſſage through Hudſon's Bay. By a new law, which paſſed in 1776, both theſe deficiencies were effectually remedied. It was now enacted, "That if any ſhip belonging to any of his "Majeſty's ſubjects, or *to his Majeſty*, ſhall find out, and ſail through, any paſſage by ſea, "between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in *any direction*, or parallel of the northern "hemiſphere, to the northward of the 52° of northern latitude, the owners of ſuch ſhips, "if belonging to any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, or *the commander, officers, and ſeamen of "ſuch ſhip belonging to his Majeſty*, ſhall receive, as a reward for ſuch diſcovery, the ſum "of twenty thouſand pounds (*r*)." That every thing might be done which could facilitate the ſucceſs of the grand expedition, Lieutenant Pickerſgill was ſent out, in 1776, with directions to explore the coaſts of Baffin's Bay; and, in the next year, Lieutenant Young was commiſſioned not only to examine the weſtern parts of that bay, but to endeavour to find a paſſage, on that ſide, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Nothing was performed by either of theſe Gentlemen that promoted the purpoſes of Captain Cook's voyage (*s*). Two veſſels were fixed upon by Government for the intended ſervice; the Reſolution, and the Diſcovery. The command of the former was given to Captain Cook, and of the other to Captain Clerke. To the Reſolution was aſſigned the ſame complement of officers and men which ſhe had during her preceding voyage; and the only difference in the eſtabliſhment of the Diſcovery from that of the Adventure, was in the ſingle inſtance of her having no marine officer on board.

(*q*) Introduction, *ubi ſupra*, p. xxx, xxxi.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. xxxv. xxxvi.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. xxxvi—xl.

From the time of the two ſhips being put into commiſſion, the greateſt degree of attention and zeal was exerted by the Earl of Sandwich, and the reſt of the Board of Admiralty, to have them equipped in the moſt complete manner. Both the veſſels were ſupplied with as much of every neceſſary article as could conveniently be ſtowed, and with the beſt of each kind that could be procured. Whatever, likewiſe, the experience of the former voyages had ſhewn to be of any utility in preſerving the health of ſeamen, was provided in a large abundance. That ſome permanent benefit might be conveyed to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other Iſlands of the Pacific Ocean, whom our Navigators might happen to viſit, it was graciouſly commanded by his Majeſty that an aſſortment of uſeful animals ſhould be carried out to thoſe countries. Accordingly, a bull, two cows with their calves, and ſeveral ſheep, with hay and corn for their ſubſiſtence, were taken on board; and it was intended to add other ſerviceable animals to theſe, when Captain Cook ſhould arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. With the ſame benevolent purpoſes, the Captain was furniſhed with a ſufficient quantity of ſuch of our European garden ſeeds, as could not fail of being a valuable preſent to the newly-diſcovered Iſlands, by adding freſh ſupplies of food to their own vegetable productions. By order of the Board of Admiralty, many articles beſides were delivered to our Commander, which were calculated, in various ways, to improve the condition of the natives of the other hemiſphere. Still farther to promote a friendly intercourſe with them, and to carry on a traffic that might be profitable on both ſides, an ample aſſortment was provided of iron tools and trinkets. An attention no leſs humane was extended to the wants of our own people. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for the crews of the two ſhips; and nothing was denied to our Navigators that could be ſuppoſed to be in the leaſt conducive to their health, or even to their convenience. It was not to theſe things only that the extraordinary care of Lord Sandwich, and of the other Gentlemen at the head of the naval department, was confined. They were equally ſolicitous to afford every aſſiſtance that

[*BB*] *Until he had gotten into that latitude.*] See theſe reaſons repreſented at large in the admirable Introduction to Captain Cook's laſt voyage; together with a curious and intereſting account, never before publiſhed, of the methods which have been taken by the Hudſon's Bay Company, to explore the weſtern parts of North America, extending from that bay, p. xl—li.

was calculated to render the expedition of publie utility. Several aſtronomical and nautical inſtruments were intruſted, by the Board of Longitude, to Captain Cook, and Mr. King his ſecond Lieutenant; who had undertaken to make the neceſſary obſervations, during the voyage, for the improvement of aſtronomy and navigation. It was originally intended that a profeſſed obſervator ſhould be ſent out in the Reſolution; but the ſcientific abilities of the Captain and his Lieutenant rendered the appointment of ſuch a perſon abſolutely unneceſſary. The caſe was ſomewhat different with regard to the Diſcovery. Mr. W. Bayley, who had already given ſatisfactory proofs of his ſkill and diligence as an Obſervator, while he was employed in Captain Furneaux's ſhip, during the late voyage, was engaged a ſecond time, in that capacity, and appointed to ſail on board Captain Clerke's veſſel. The department of natural hiſtory was aſſigned to Mr. Anderſon, the Surgeon of the Reſolution, who was as willing as he was well qualified, to deſcribe every thing in that branch of ſcience which ſhould occur worthy of notice. From the remarks of this Gentleman, Captain Cook had derived conſiderable aſſiſtance in his laſt navigation; eſpecially with regard to the very copious vocabulary of the language of Otaheite, and the comparative ſpecimen of the languages of the other Iſlands which had then been viſited. There were ſeveral young men among our Commander's ſea officers, who, under his direction could be uſefully employed in conſtructing charts, in taking views of the coaſts and headlands near which our Voyagers might paſs, and in drawing plans of the bays and harbours in which they ſhould anchor. Without a conſtant attention to this object, the Captain was ſenſible that his diſcoveries could not be rendered profitable to future navigators. That he might go out with every help which could ſerve to make the reſult of the voyage entertaining to the generality of readers, as well as inſtructive to the ſailor and the ſcholar, Mr. Webber was fixed upon, and engaged to embark in the Reſolution, for the expreſs purpoſe of ſupplying the unavoidable imperfections of written accounts, by enabling our people to preſerve, and to bring home, ſuch drawings of the moſt memorable ſcenes of their tranſactions, as could only be executed by a profeſſed and ſkilful artiſt. As the laſt mark of the extraordinary attention which the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliſer, and others of the Board of Admiralty had uniformly ſhewn to the preparations for the expedition, they went down to Long Reach, and paid a viſit to the ſhips, on the eighth of June, to examine whether every thing was completed conformably to their intentions and orders, and to the ſatisfaction of all who were to embark in the voyage. His Lordſhip and the reſt of the Admiralty Board, together with ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen of their acquaintance, honoured Captain Cook, on that day, with their company at dinner. Both upon their coming on board and their going aſhore, they were ſaluted with ſeventeen guns, and with three cheers. As the ſhips were to touch at Otaheite and the Society Iſlands, it had been determined not to omit the only opportunity which might ever offer of carrying Omai back to his native country. Accordingly, he left London, on the twenty-fourth of June, in company with Captain Cook; and it was with a mixture of regret and ſatisfaction that he took his departure. When England, and thoſe who, during his ſtay, had honoured him with their protection or friendſhip were ſpoken of, his ſpirits were ſenſibly affected, and it was with difficulty that he could refrain from tears. But his eyes began to ſparkle with joy, as ſoon as ever the converſation was turned to his own Iſlands. The good treatment he received in England had made a deep impreſſion upon his mind; and he entertained the higheſt ideas of the country and of the people. Nevertheleſs, the pleaſing proſpect he now had before him of returning home, loaded with what, he well knew, would there be eſteemed invaluable treaſures, and the flattering hope which the poſſeſſion of theſe afforded him of attaining to a diſtinguiſhed ſuperiority among his countrymen, were conſiderations which operated, by degrees, to ſuppreſs every uneaſy ſenſation. By the time he had gotten on board the ſhip, he appeared to be quite happy. His Majeſty had furniſhed Omai with an ample proviſion of every article which our Engliſh Navigators, during their former intercourſe with Otaheite and the Society Iſlands, had obſerved to be in any eſtimation there, either as uſeful or ornamental. Many preſents, likewiſe, of the ſame nature, had been made him by Lord Sandwich, Sir Joſeph Banks, and ſeveral other Gentlemen and Ladies of his acquaintance. In ſhort, both during his reſidence in England, and at his departure from it, no method had been neglected, which could be calculated to render him the inſtrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the Iſlands of the Pacific Ocean, the moſt exalted ideas of the greatneſs and generoſity of the Britiſh nation (*t*).

(*t*) Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 2—7.

Every preparation for the voyage being completed, Captain Cook received an order to proceed to Plymouth, and to take the Diſcovery under his command. Having, accordingly, given the proper directions to Captain Clerke, he ſailed from the Nore to the Downs, on the twenty-fifth of June. On the thirtieth of the ſame month, he anchored in Plymouth Sound, where the Diſcovery was already arrived. It was the eighth of July before our Commander received his inſtructions for the voyage; and, at the ſame time, he was ordered to proceed, with the Reſolution, to the Cape of Good Hope. Captain Clerke, who was detained in London by ſome unavoidable circumſtances, was to follow, as ſoon as he ſhould join his ſhip. In the evening of the twelfth, Captain Cook ſtood out of Plymouth Sound,

Sound, and purſued his courſe down the channel. It was very early that he began his judicious operations for preſerving the health of his crew; for, on the ſeventeenth, the ſhip was ſmoked between the decks with gunpowder, and the ſpare ſails were well aired. On the thirtieth, the moon being totally eclipſed, the Captain obſerved it with a night teleſcope. He had not, on this occaſion, an opportunity of making many obſervations. The reaſon was, that the moon was hidden behind the clouds the greater part of the time; and this was particularly the caſe, when the beginning and the end of total darkneſs, and the end of the eclipſe, happened. It being found that there was not hay and corn ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the ſtock of animals on board, till the arrival of our people at the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Cook determined to touch at Teneriffe. This Iſland he thought better adapted to the purpoſes of procuring theſe articles, and other refreſhments, than Madeira. On the firſt of Auguſt, he anchored in the road of Santa Cruz, and immediately diſpatched an officer to the Governor, who, with the utmoſt politeneſs, granted every thing which our Commander requeſted. Were a judgment to be formed from the appearance of the country in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, it might be concluded that Teneriffe is ſo barren a ſpot, as to be inſufficient for the maintenance even of its own inhabitants. It was proved, however, by the ample ſupplies which our Navigators received, that the Iſlanders had enough to ſpare for viſiters. The neceſſary articles of refreſhment were procured at ſuch moderate prices, as to confirm Captain Cook in his opinion, that Teneriffe is a more eligible place than Madeira, for ſhips to touch at which are bound on long voyages. Indeed, the wine of the latter Iſland is far ſuperior to that of the former; but then it can only be purchaſed by a ſum of money proportionally larger. During the ſhort ſtay which the Captain made at Teneriffe, he continued with great aſſiduity his aſtronomical obſervations; and Mr. Anderſon has not a little contributed to the farther knowledge of the country, by his remarks on its general ſtate, its natural appearances, its productions, and its inhabitants. He learned from a ſenſible and well-informed Gentleman, who reſided in the Iſland, that a ſhrub is common there, which agrees exactly with the deſcription given by Tournefort and Linnæus, of the *tea-ſhrub*, as growing in China and Japan. It is reckoned a weed, and every year is rooted out in large quantities from the vineyards. The Spaniards, however, ſometimes uſe it as tea, and aſcribe to it all the qualities of that which is imported from China. They give it alſo the name of tea, and ſay that it was found in the country when the Iſlands were firſt diſcovered. Another botanical curioſity is called the *impregnated lemon*; which is a perfect and diſtinct lemon, encloſed within another, and differing from the outer one only in being a little more globular. The air and climate of Teneriffe are, in general, remarkably healthful, and particularly adapted to give relief in pulmonary complaints. This the Gentleman before-mentioned endeavoured to account for from its being always in a perſon's power to procure a different temperature of the air, by reſiding at different heights in the Iſland. He expreſſed, therefore, his ſurprize that the phyſicians of England ſhould never have thought of ſending their conſumptive patients to Teneriffe, inſtead of Nice or Liſbon. Although it is not underſtood that there is any great ſimilarity between the manners of the Engliſh and thoſe of the Spaniards, it was obſervable, that the difference between them was very little perceived by Omai. He only ſaid, that the Spaniards did not appear to be ſo friendly as the Engliſh; and that, in their perſons, they approached to ſome reſemblance of his own countrymen (*u*). On the fourth, Captain Cook ſailed from Teneriffe, and proceeded on his voyage. Such was his attention, both to the diſcipline and the health of his company, that twice in the ſpace of five days, he exerciſed them at great guns and ſmall arms, and cleared and ſmoaked the ſhip below decks. On the evening of the tenth, when the Reſolution was at a ſmall diſtance from the Iſland of Bonaviſta, ſhe ran ſo cloſe upon a number of ſunken rocks, that ſhe did but juſt weather the breakers. The ſituation of our Voyagers, for a few minutes, was very alarming. In this ſituation the Captain, with the intrepid coolneſs which diſtinguiſhed his character, did not chooſe to ſound, as that, without any poſſibility of leſſening, might have heightened the danger. While our Commander was near the Cape de Verde Iſlands, he had an opportunity of correcting an aſſertion of Mr. Nichelſon's, with regard to the manner of ſailing by thoſe Iſlands, which, if implicitly truſted to, might prove of dangerous conſequence. On the thirteenth, our Navigators arrived before Port Praya, in the Iſland of St. Jago; but as the Diſcovery was not there, and little water had been expended in the paſſage from Teneriffe, Captain Cook did not think proper to go in; but ſtood to the ſouthward. In the courſe of the voyage, between the latitudes of 12° and 7° North, the weather was generally dark and gloomy. The rains were frequent, and accompanied with that cloſe and ſultry weather which too often brings on ſickneſs, in this paſſage. At ſuch a time the worſt conſequences are to be apprehended; and commanders of ſhips cannot be too much upon their guard. It is neceſſary for them to purify the air between decks with fires and ſmoke, and to oblige their people to dry their clothes at every opportunity. The conſtant obſervance of theſe precautions on board the Reſolution, was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Captain had now fewer ſick men than on either of his former voyages. This was the more remarkable, as, in conſequence of the ſeams of the veſſel having opened ſo wide as to admit the rain

(*u*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 8—28.

when it fell, there was ſcarcely a man who could lie dry in his bed; and the officers in the gun-room were all driven out of their cabbins by the water that came through the ſides. When ſettled weather returned, the caulkers were employed in repairing theſe defects, by caulking the decks and inſide weather-works of the ſhip; for the humanity of our Commander would not truſt the workmen over the ſides, while the Reſolution was at ſea. On the firſt of September, our Navigators croſſed the equator (*w*). While, on the eighth, Captain Cook was near the eaſtern coaſt of Brazil, he was at conſiderable pains to ſettle its longitude, which, till ſome better aſtronomical obſervations are made on ſhore in that country, he concluded to be thirty-five degrees and a half, or thirty-ſix degrees Weſt, at moſt. As our people proceeded on their voyage, they frequently ſaw, in the night, thoſe luminous marine animals which have formerly been mentioned and deſcribed. Some of them appeared to be conſiderably larger than any which the Captain had met with before; and ſometimes they were ſo numerous, that hundreds of them were viſible at the ſame moment.

(*w*) This was in the longitude of 27° 38′ Weſt.

On the eighteenth of October, the Reſolution came to an anchor in Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope; and the uſual compliments having been paid to Baron Plettenberg the Governor, Captain Cook immediately applied himſelf to his cuſtomary operations. Nothing remarkable occurred till the evening of the thirty-firſt, when a tempeſt aroſe from the South-eaſt, which laſted three days, and which was ſo violent, that the Reſolution was the only ſhip in the bay that rode out the gale without dragging her anchors. The effects of the ſtorm were ſenſibly felt by our people on ſhore; for their tents and obſervatory were torn to pieces, and their aſtronomical quadrant narrowly eſcaped irreparable damage. On the third of November, the tempeſt ceaſed, and the next day the Engliſh were enabled to reſume their different employments. It was not till the tenth of the month that Captain Cook had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Diſcovery arrive in the bay, and effect her junction with the Reſolution. She had ſailed from England on the firſt of Auguſt, and would have reached the Cape of Good Hope a week ſooner, if ſhe had not been driven from the coaſt by the late ſtorm. Every aſſiſtance was immediately given to put her into a proper condition for proceeding on the voyage. While the neceſſary preparations for the future navigation were completing, a diſaſter happened with regard to the cattle which had been carried out in the Reſolution. They had been conveyed on ſhore for the purpoſe of grazing. The bull, and two cows, with their calves, had been ſent to graze along with ſome other cattle; but Captain Cook was adviſed to keep the ſheep, which were ſixteen in number, cloſe to the tents, where they were penned up every evening. During the night preceding the fourteenth, ſome dogs having gotten in among them, forced them out of the pen, killed four, and diſperſed the reſt. Six of them were recovered the next day; but the two rams, and two of the fineſt ewes in the whole flock, were amongſt thoſe which were miſſing. Baron Plettenberg being at this time in the country, our Commander applied to Mr. Hemmy, the Lieutenant Governor, and to the fiſcal, for redreſs; and both theſe Gentlemen promiſed to uſe their endeavours for the recovery of the loſt ſheep. It is the boaſt of the Dutch, that the Police at the Cape is ſo carefully executed, that it is ſcarcely poſſible for a ſlave, with all his cunning and knowledge of the country, to effectuate his eſcape. Nevertheleſs, Captain Cook's ſheep evaded all the vigilance of the fiſcal's officers and people. At length, after much trouble and expence, by employing ſome of the meaneſt and loweſt ſcoundrels in the place, he recovered all but the two ewes, of which he never could hear the leaſt tidings. The character given of the fellows to whom the Captain was obliged to have recourſe, by the perſon who recommended their being applied to, was, that for a ducatoon they would cut their Maſter's throat, burn the houſe over his head, and bury him and the whole family in the aſhes. During the ſtay of our Voyagers at the Cape, ſome of the officers, accompanied by Mr. Anderſon, made a ſhort excurſion into the neighbouring country. This Gentleman, as uſual, was very diligent in recording every thing which appeared to him worthy of obſervation. His remarks, however, in the preſent caſe, will be deemed of little conſequence, compared with the full, accurate, and curious account of the Cape of Good Hope, with which Dr. Sparrman hath lately favoured the literary world. With reſpect to Captain Cook, beſides the unavoidable care which lay upon him, in providing his ſhips with whatever was requiſite for the commodious and ſucceſsful proſecution of the voyage, his attention was eminently directed to ſcientific objects. He was anxious to aſcertain the currents, the variations of the compaſs, and the latitude and longitude of the places to which he came. The obſervations which he collected, and recorded in his journal, while he was at the Cape of Good Hope, will be eſteemed of the greateſt importance by judicious navigators (*x*). After the diſaſter which had happened to the ſheep, it may well be ſuppoſed that our Commander did not long truſt on ſhore thoſe which remained. Accordingly, he gave orders to have them, and the other cattle, conveyed on board as faſt as poſſible. He made an addition, alſo, to the original ſtock, by the purchaſe of two young bulls, two heifers, two young ſtone-horſes, two mares, two rams, ſeveral ewes and goats, and ſome rabbits and poultry. All theſe animals were intended for New Zealand, Otaheite, and the neighbouring Iſlands; and, indeed, for any other places, in the courſe of the voyage, where the leaving of any of them might be of ſervice

(*x*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 29—50.

ſervice to poſterity. In the ſupplies which were provided at the Cape, Captain Cook paid a particular regard to the nature and extent of his undertaking. As it was impoſſible to tell when, or where, he might meet with a place which could ſo amply contribute to his neceſſities, he thought proper to lay in ſuch a ſtore of proviſions for both ſhips, as would be ſufficient to laſt them for two years and upwards.

Our Commander having given a copy of his inſtructions to Captain Clerke, and an order directing him how to proceed in caſe of a ſeparation, weighed from Table Bay on the thirtieth of November, though it was not till the third of December that he got clear of the land. On the ſixth, the ſhips paſſed through ſeveral ſpots of water, nearly of a red colour. When ſome of this was taken up, it was found to contain a large quantity of ſmall animals, of a reddiſh hue, and which the microſcope diſcovered to reſemble a cray-fiſh. As our Navigators purſued their courſe to the South-eaſt, a very ſtrong gale, which they had from the weſtward, was followed by a mountainous ſea, in conſequence of which the Reſolution rolled and tumbled ſo much, that the cattle on board were preſerved with the utmoſt difficulty. Soon after, ſeveral of the goats, eſpecially the males, together with ſome ſheep, died, notwithſtanding all the care to prevent it that was exerciſed by our people. This misfortune was chiefly owing to the coldneſs of the weather, which now began to be felt in the moſt ſenſible manner. On the twelfth, land was ſeen, which, upon a nearer approach, was found to conſiſt of two Iſlands. That which lies moſt to the South, and is the largeſt, was judged by Captain Cook to be about fifteen leagues in circuit. The northerly one is about nine leagues in circuit; and the two Iſlands are at the diſtance of five leagues from each other (*y*). As the ſhips paſſed through the channel between them, our Voyagers could not diſcover, with the aſſiſtance of their beſt glaſſes, either tree or ſhrub on either of them. They ſeemed to have a rocky and bold ſhore, and their ſurface is for the moſt part compoſed of barren mountains, the ſummits and ſides of which were covered with ſnow. Theſe two Iſlands, together with four others, which lie from nine to twelve degrees of longitude more to the Eaſt, and nearly in the ſame latitude, had been diſcovered by Captains Marion du Freſne, and Crozet, French navigators, in January 1772, on their paſſage, in two ſhips, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippine Iſlands. As no names had been aſſigned to them in a chart of the Southern Ocean, which Captain Crozet communicated to Captain Cook in 1775, our Commander diſtinguiſhed the two larger ones by calling them PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLANDS, after his Majeſty's fourth ſon. To the other four, with a view of commemorating the diſcoverers, he gave name of MARION'S and CROZET'S ISLANDS. Though it was now the middle of ſummer in this hemiſphere, the weather was not leſs ſevere than what is generally met with in England in the very depth of winter. Inſtead, however, of being diſcouraged by this circumſtance, the Captain ſhaped his courſe in ſuch a manner as to paſs to the ſouthward of Marion's and Crozet's Iſlands, that he might get into the latitude of land which had been diſcovered by Monſieur de Kerguelen, another French navigator. It was part of our Commander's inſtructions to examine whether a good harbour might not here be found. As our Voyagers, on the twenty-fourth, were ſteering to the eaſtward, a fog clearing up a little, which had involved them for ſome time, and which had rendered their navigation both tedious and dangerous, land was ſeen, bearing South-ſouth-eaſt. Upon a nearer approach, it was found to be an Iſland of conſiderable height, and about three leagues in circuit. Another Iſland, of the ſame magnitude, was ſoon after diſcovered, and in a ſhort ſpace a third, beſides ſome ſmaller ones. At times, as the fog broke away, there was the appearance of land over the ſmall Iſlands, and Captain Cook entertained thoughts of ſteering for it, by running in between them. But, on drawing nearer, he found that, ſo long as the weather continued foggy, this would be a perilous attempt. For if there ſhould be no paſſage, or if our people ſhould meet with any ſudden danger, there was ſuch a prodigious ſea, breaking on all the ſhores in a frightful ſurf, that it would have been impoſſible for the veſſels to be gotten off. At the ſame time, the Captain ſaw another Iſland; and, as he did not know how many more might ſucceed, he judged it prudent, in order to avoid getting entangled among unknown lands in a thick fog, to wait for clearer weather. The Iſland laſt mentioned is a high round rock, which was named BLIGH'S CAP (*z*). Our Commander had received ſome very ſlight information concerning it at Teneriffe, and his ſagacity in tracing it was ſuch as immediately led him to determine that it was the ſame that Monſieur de Kerguelen had called the Iſle of Rendezvous. His reaſon for giving it that name is not very apparent; for nothing can rendezvous upon it but fowls of the air, it being certainly inacceſſible to every other animal. The weather beginning to clear up, Captain Cook ſteered in for the land, of which a faint view had been obtained in the morning. This was Kerguelen's Land. No ſooner had our Navigators gotten off Cape François, than they obſerved the coaſt, to the ſouthward, to be much indented by projecting points and bays; from which circumſtance they were ſure of finding a good harbour. Accordingly, ſuch a harbour was ſpeedily diſcovered, in which the ſhips came to an anchor on the twenty-fifth, being Chriſtmas Day. Upon landing, our Commander found the ſhore almoſt entirely covered with penguins and other birds, and with ſeals. The latter, which were not numerous, having been unaccuſtomed to viſiters, were ſo inſenſible of

(*y*) The largeſt Iſland lies in latitude 46° 53′ South, and in longitude 37° 46′ Eaſt; and the ſmaller one in latitude 46° 4′ South, and in 38° 8′ Eaſt longitude.

(*z*) The latitude of Bligh's Cap is 48° 29′ South, and its longitude 68° 40′ Eaſt.

fear, that as many as were wanted, for the purpoſe of making uſe of their fat or blubber, were killed without difficulty. Freſh water was ſo plentiful, that every gully afforded a large ſtream; but not a ſingle tree or ſhrub, or the leaſt ſign of it, could be met with, and but very little herbage of any ſort. Before Captain Cook returned to his ſhip, he aſcended the firſt ridge of rocks, that riſe in a kind of amphitheatre, above one another, in hopes of obtaining a view of the country; in which, however, he was diſappointed; for, previouſly to his reaching the top, there came on ſo thick a fog, that he could ſcarcely find his way down again. In the evening, the ſeine was hauled at the head of the harbour, but only half a dozen ſmall fiſh were caught. As no better ſucceſs attended a trial which was made the next day with hook and line, the only reſource for freſh proviſion was in birds, the ſtore of which was inexhauſtible. The people having wrought hard for two days, and nearly completed their water, the Captain allowed them the twenty-ſeventh, as a day of reſt, to celebrate Chriſtmas. Many of them, in conſequence of this indulgence, went on ſhore, and made excurſions, in different directions, into the country, which they found barren and deſolate in the higheſt degree. One of them, in his ramble, diſcovered, and brought to our Commander, in the evening, a quart bottle, faſtened with ſome wire to a projecting rock on the North ſide of the harbour. This bottle contained a piece of parchment, on which was written the following inſcription:

Ludovico XV. Galliarum
rege et d. (a) de Boynes
regi a Secretis ad Res
maritimas annis 1772 *et*
1773.

(a) The (d) is doubtleſs a contraction for the word *Dominus*. Monſieur de Boynes was then the Secretary of the French Marine.

It was clear, from this inſcription, that our Engliſh Navigators were not the firſt who had been in the place. As a memorial of our people's having touched at the ſame harbour, Captain Cook wrote, as follows, on the other ſide of the parchment:

Naves Reſolution
et Diſcovery
de Rege Magnæ Britanniæ,
Decembris 1776.

He then put it again into a bottle, together with a ſilver two-penny piece of 1772. Having covered the mouth of the bottle with a leaden cap, he placed it, the next morning, in a pile of ſtones erected for the purpoſe, upon a little eminence on the North ſhore of the harbour, and near to the place where it was firſt found. In this poſition it cannot eſcape the notice of any European, whom accident or deſign may bring into the port. Here the Captain diſplayed the Britiſh flag, and named the place CHRISTMAS HARBOUR, from our Voyagers having arrived in it on that feſtival. After our Commander had finiſhed the buſineſs of the inſcription, he went in his boat round the harbour, to examine what the ſhore afforded. His more particular object was to look for drift-wood; but he did not find a ſingle piece throughout the whole extent of the place. On the ſame day, accompanied by Mr. King, his ſecond Lieutenant, he went upon Cape François, with the hope, that, from this elevation, he might obtain a view of the ſea-coaſt, and of the adjoining Iſlands. But when he had gotten up, he found that every diſtant object below him was obſcured in a thick fog. The land on the ſame plain, or of a greater height, was ſufficiently viſible, and appeared naked and deſolate in the higheſt degree; ſome hills to the ſouthward excepted, which were covered with ſnow. On the twenty-ninth, Captain Cook departed from Chriſtmas Harbour, and proceeded to range along the coaſt, with a view of diſcovering its poſition and extent. In purſuing his courſe, he met with ſeveral promontories and bays, together with a peninſula, all of which he has deſcribed and named, chiefly in honour of his various friends. Such was the danger of the navigation, that the ſhips had more than once a very narrow eſcape. On the ſame day, another harbour was diſcovered, in which the veſſels came to an anchor for one night. Here the Captain, Mr. Gore, and Mr. Bayley went on ſhore, to examine the country, which they found, if poſſible, more barren and deſolate than the land that lies about Chriſtmas harbour: and yet, if the leaſt fertility were any where to be expected, it ought to have exiſted in this place, which is completely ſheltered from the bleak and predominating ſoutherly and weſterly winds. Our Commander obſerved, with regret, that there was neither food nor covering for cattle of any ſort; and that, if he left any, they muſt inevitably periſh. Finding no encouragement to continue his reſearches, he weighed anchor and put to ſea on the thirtieth, having given to the harbour the name of PORT PALLISER (*b*). On the ſame day he came to a point, which proved to be the very eaſtern extremity of Kerguelen's Land (*c*). In a large bay, near this point, there was a prodigious quantity of ſea-weed, ſome of which is of a moſt extraordinary length. It ſeemed to be ſame kind of vegetable production that Sir Joſeph Banks had formerly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Fucus Giganteus*. Although the ſtem is

(*b*) It is ſituated in the latitude of 49° 3′ South, and the longitude of 69° 37′ Eaſt.

(*c*) This point, which Captain Cook called Cape Digby, is ſituated in the latitude of 49° 23′ South, and the longitude of 70° 34′ Eaſt.

is not much thicker than a man's hand, Capt. Cook thought himſelf well warranted to ſay, that the length of part of it grows to ſixty fathoms and upward. The reſult of the examination of Kerguelen's Land was, that the quantity of latitude which it occupies doth not much exceed one degree and a quarter. Its extent, from Eaſt to Weſt, ſtill remains undecided. At its firſt diſcovery, it was probably ſuppoſed to belong to a ſouthern continent; but, in fact, it is an Iſland, and that of no great extent (*d*). If our Commander had not been unwilling to deprive Monſieur Kerguelen of the honour of its bearing his name, he would have been diſpoſed, from its ſterility, to call it the Iſland of Deſolation. It ſhould here be mentioned, that Monſieur de Kerguelen made two viſits to the coaſt of this country; one in 1772, and another in 1773. With the firſt of theſe voyages Captain Cook had only a very ſlight acquaintance, and to the ſecond he was totally a ſtranger; ſo that he ſcarcely had any opportunity of comparing his own diſcoveries with thoſe of the French Navigator. Monſieur de Kerguelen was peculiarly unfortunate, in having done but little to complete what he had begun; for though he diſcovered a new land, he could not, in two expeditions to it, once bring his ſhips to an anchor upon any part of its coaſts. Captain Cook had either fewer difficulties to ſtruggle with, or was more ſucceſsful in ſurmounting them. During the ſhort time in which our Voyagers lay in Chriſtmas Harbour, Mr. Anderſon loſt no opportunity of ſearching the country in every direction. Perhaps no place, hitherto diſcovered, under the ſame parallel of latitude, affords ſo ſcanty a field for a natural hiſtorian. All that could be known in the ſpace of time allotted him, and probably all that will ever be worthy to be known, was collected by this Gentleman. A verdure, which had been ſeen at a little diſtance from the ſhore, gave our people the flattering expectation of meeting with a variety of herbage: but in this they were greatly deceived. On landing, it was perceived that the lively colour which had impoſed upon them, was occaſioned only by one ſmall plant, not unlike ſome ſorts of *Saxifrage*. It grows in large ſpreading tufts, a conſiderable way up the hills. The whole catalogue of plants does not exceed ſixteen or eighteen, including ſeveral kinds of moſs, and a beautiful ſpecies of lichen, which riſes higher up from the rocks than the reſt of the vegetable productions. There is not the appearance of a ſhrub in the whole country. Nature has been ſomewhat more bountiful in furniſhing it with animals; though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, they are not inhabitants of the place, being all of the marine kind. In general, the land is only uſed by them for breeding, and as a reſting-place. Of theſe animals the moſt conſiderable are ſeals; being of that ſort which is called the Urſine Seal. The birds, which have already been mentioned as very numerous, chiefly conſiſt of penguins, ducks, petrels, albatroſſes, ſhags, gulls and ſea ſwallows. Penguins, which are far ſuperior in number to the reſt, are of three kinds, one of which had never been ſeen by any of our Voyagers before. The rocks, or foundations of the hills, are principally compoſed of that dark blue, and very hard ſtone, which ſeems to be one of the moſt univerſal productions of nature. Nothing was diſcovered that had the leaſt appearance of ore or metal (*e*).

(*d*) Kerguelen, who was acquainted with nearly fourſcore leagues of its coaſt, ſays, that he has reaſon to believe that it is about two hundred leagues in circuit.

From this deſolate coaſt Captain Cook took his departure on the thirty-firſt, intending, agreeably to his inſtructions, to touch next at New Zealand; that he might obtain a recruit of water, take in wood, and make hay for the cattle. Their number was now conſiderably diminiſhed; for two young bulls, one of the heifers, two rams, and ſeveral of the goats, had died while our Navigators were employed in exploring Kerguelen's Land. For ſome time they had freſh gales, and tolerably clear weather. But on the third of January, 1777, the wind veered to the North, where it continued eight days, and was attended with ſo thick a fog, that the ſhips ran above three hundred leagues in the dark. Occaſionally the weather would clear up, and give our people a ſight of the ſun; but this happened very ſeldom, and was always of ſhort continuance. However, amidſt all the darkneſs produced by the fog, the veſſels, though they ſeldom ſaw each other, were ſo fortunate, in conſequence of frequently firing guns as ſignals, that they did not loſe company. On the twelfth, the northerly winds ended in a calm (*f*). This was ſucceeded, in a little time, by a wind from the ſouthward, which brought on a rain, that continued for twenty-four hours. At the end of the rain, the wind freſhened, and veering to the Weſt and North-weſt, was followed by fair and clear weather. Nothing very remarkable occurred to our Voyagers till the twenty-fourth, when they diſcovered the coaſt of Van Diemen's Land; and, on the twenty-ſixth, the ſhips came to an anchor in Adventure Bay. Captain Cook, as ſoon as he had anchored, ordered the boats to be hoiſted out; in one of which he went himſelf, to look for the moſt commodious place for obtaining the neceſſary ſupplies. Wood and water were found in abundance, and in places ſufficiently convenient; but graſs, which was moſt wanted, was ſcarce, and, at the ſame time, very coarſe. Neceſſity, however, obliged our people to take up with ſuch as could be procured. On the twenty-eighth, the Engliſh who were employed in cutting wood were agreeably ſurprized with a viſit from ſome of the natives. They conſiſted of eight men and a boy, who approached our Voyagers not only without fear, but with the moſt perfect confidence and freedom. There was only a ſingle perſon among them who had any thing which bore the leaſt appearance of a weapon, and that was no more than a ſtick about two feet long, and pointed at one end. Theſe people were quite naked, and wore no kind of ornaments; unleſs

(*e*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 52—90.

(*f*) The ſhips were then in latitude 48° 40 South, and in longitude 110° 26′ Eaſt.

unleſs ſome large punctures or ridges raiſed in different parts of their bodies, either in ſtrait or curved lines, may be conſidered in that light. Moſt of them had their hair and beards ſmeared with a red ointment; and the faces of ſome of them were painted with the ſame compoſition. Every preſent which Captain Cook made them they received without the leaſt appearance of ſatisfaction. Of bread and elephant fiſh, which were offered them, they refuſed to taſte, but ſhewed that they were fond of birds as an article of food. Two pigs, which the Captain had brought on ſhore, having come within their reach, they ſeized them by the ears, as a dog would have done, and would have carried them off immediately, apparently with no other intention than to kill them. Our Commander being deſirous of knowing the uſe of the ſtick which one of the Indians had in his hands, he ſignified, by ſigns, his wiſhes to that purpoſe. His intimations ſo far ſucceeded, that one of them ſet up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it, at the diſtance of about twenty yards. There was but little reaſon to commend his dexterity; for, after repeated trials, he was ſtill very wide from his object. Omai, to convince the natives how much our weapons were ſuperior to theirs, then fired his muſquet at the mark, by which they were ſo greatly terrified, that, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Engliſh to quiet their minds, they ran inſtantly into the woods. After the retreat of the Indians, Captain Cook, judging that their fears would prevent their remaining near enough to obſerve what paſſed, ordered the two pigs, being a boar and a ſow, to be carried about a mile within the head of the bay, and ſaw them left there, by the ſide of a freſh-water brook. It was, at firſt, his benevolent intention to make an additional preſent to Van Diemen's Land, of a young bull and cow, together with ſome ſheep and goats. But, upon reflection, he laid aſide this deſign; being perſuaded that the natives would deſtroy them, from their incapacity of entering into his views with regard to the improvement of their country. As pigs are animals which ſoon become wild, and are fond of the thickeſt cover of the woods, there was the greater probability of their being preſerved. For the accommodation of the other cattle an open place muſt have been choſen; in which ſituation they could not poſſibly have been concealed many days. On the twenty-ninth, about twenty of the inhabitants, men and boys, joined Captain Cook and ſuch of his people as had landed with him, without manifeſting the leaſt ſign of fear or diſtruſt. It was remarkable, that one of the Indians was conſpicuouſly deformed; nor was he more diſtinguiſhed by the hump upon his back, than by the drollery of his geſtures, and the humour of his ſpeeches, which had the appearance of being intended for the entertainment of our Voyagers. Unfortunately, the language in which he ſpake to them was wholly unintelligible. To each of the preſent group the Captain gave a ſtring of beads and a medal, which they ſeemed to receive with ſome ſatisfaction. On iron, and on iron tools, they appeared to ſet no value. There was reaſon to believe that they were even ignorant of fiſh-hooks; and yet it is difficult to ſuppoſe that a people who inhabit a ſea-coaſt, and who were not obſerved to derive any part of their ſuſtenance from the productions of the ground, ſhould be unacquainted with ſome mode of catching fiſh. However, they were never ſeen to be thus employed; nor was any canoe or veſſel diſcovered by which they could go upon the water. Though they had rejected the kind of fiſh which had been offered them, it was evident that ſhell-fiſh made a part of their food. After Captain Cook had left the ſhore, ſeveral women and children made their appearance, and were introduced to Lieutenant King by ſome of the men that attended them. Theſe females (a *Kangooroo* ſkin excepted, which was tied over their ſhoulders, and ſeemed to be intended to ſupport their infants) were as naked and as black as the men, and had their bodies marked with ſcars in the ſame manner. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought to be pretty; but a leſs favourable report was made of the women, and eſpecially of thoſe who were advanced in years. Some of the Gentlemen, however, belonging to the Diſcovery, as our Commander was informed, paid their addreſſes, and made liberal offers of preſents, which were rejected with great diſdain. It is certain that this gallantry was not very agreeable to the men: for an elderly man, as ſoon as he obſerved it, ordered the women to retire. The order was obeyed; but, on the part of ſome of the females, with the appearance of a little reluctance. On the preſent occaſion, Captain Cook made ſome proper and pertinent reflections, which I ſhall deliver in his own words. "This conduct," ſays he, "of Europeans among Savages, to their "women, is highly blameable; as it creates a jealouſy in their men, that may be attended "with conſequences fatal to the ſucceſs of the common enterprize, and to the whole body "of adventurers, without advancing the private purpoſe of the individual, or enabling "him to gain the object of his wiſhes. I believe it has generally been found, amongſt "uncivilized people, that where the women are eaſy of acceſs, the men are the firſt to "offer them to ſtrangers; and that, where this is not the caſe, neither the allurement of "preſents, nor the opportunity of privacy, will be likely to have the deſired effect. This "obſervation, I am ſure, will hold good throughout all the parts of the South Sea where "I have been. Why then ſhould men act ſo abſurd a part, as to riſk their own ſafety, "and that of all their companions, in purſuit of a gratification which they have no proba-"bility of obtaining?" While our Navigators were at Van Diemen's Land, they were ſucceſsful in obtaining a plentiful crop of graſs for their cattle, and ſuch as was far more

excellent than what they had met with at their firſt going on ſhore. The quantity collected was judged by the Captain to be ſufficient to laſt till his arrival in New Zealand. Van Diemen's Land had been viſited twice before. That name had been given it by Taſman, who diſcovered it in 1642; from which time it had eſcaped all notice of European Navigators, till Captain Furneaux touched at it in 1773. It is well known, that it is the ſouthern point of New Holland, which is by far the largeſt Iſland in the world; indeed, ſo large an Iſland as almoſt to deſerve the appellation of a continent. While Captain Cook was at this country, he neglected nothing which could promote the knowledge of ſcience and navigation. Here, as every where elſe, he ſettled the latitude and longitude of places (*g*); marked the variations of the compaſs, and recorded the nature of the tides. He corrected, likewiſe, an error of Captain Furneaux, with reſpect to the ſituation of Maria's Iſlands; on which ſubject he hath candidly remarked, that his own idea is not the reſult of a more faithful, but merely of a ſecond examination. Mr. Anderſon, during the few days in which the ſhips remained in Adventure Bay, exerted his uſual diligence in collecting as full an account as could be obtained, in ſo ſhort a period of time, of the natural productions and the inhabitants of the country. Little can be ſaid concerning either the perſonal activity or genius of the natives. The firſt they do not ſeem to poſſeſs in any remarkable degree; and, to all appearance, they have leſs of the laſt than even the half-animated inhabitants of Terra del Fuego. Their not expreſſing that ſurprize which might have been expected, from their ſeeing men ſo much unlike themſelves, and things to which they had hitherto been utter ſtrangers; their indifference for the preſents of our people; and their general inattention; were ſufficient teſtimonies that they were not endued with any acuteneſs of underſtanding. What the ancient poets tell us of *Fauns* and *Satyrs* living in hollow trees, is realized at Van Diemen's Land. Some wretched conſtructions of ſticks covered with bark, and which did not deſerve the name of huts, were indeed found near the ſhore; but theſe ſeemed only to have been erected for temporary purpoſes. The moſt comfortable habitations of the natives were afforded by the largeſt trees. Theſe had their trunks hollowed out by fire, to the height of ſix or ſeven feet; and there was room enough in them for three or four perſons to ſit round a hearth, made of clay. At the ſame time, theſe places of ſhelter are durable; for the people take care to leave one ſide of the tree ſound, which is ſufficient to keep it in luxuriant growth. The inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land are undoubtedly from the ſame ſtock with thoſe of the northern parts of New Holland. Their language, indeed, appeared to be different; but how far the difference extended, our Voyagers could not have an opportunity of determining. With regard to the New Hollanders in general, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that they originally came from the ſame place with all the Indians of the South Sea (*h*).

(*g*) Adventure Bay is in the latitude of 43° 21′ 20″ South, and in the longitude of 147° 29′ Eaſt.

(*h*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 91—116.

On the thirtieth of January, 1777, Captain Cook ſailed from Adventure Bay, and on the twelfth of February came to an anchor at his old ſtation of Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand. Being unwilling to loſe any time, he commenced his operations that very afternoon. By his order, ſeveral of the empty water caſks were immediately landed, and a place was begun to be cleared for ſetting up the two obſervatories, and the erection of tents to accommodate a guard, and the reſt of the company, whoſe buſineſs might require them to remain on ſhore. Our Navigators had not long been at anchor, before a number of canoes, filled with natives, came alongſide of the ſhips. However, very few of them would venture on board; which appeared the more extraordinary, as the Captain was well known to them all, and they could not be inſenſible how liberally he had behaved to them on former occaſions. There was one man in particular, whom he had treated with remarkable kindneſs, during the whole of his laſt ſtay in this place; and yet, neither profeſſions of friendſhip, nor preſents, could prevail upon him to enter the Reſolution. There was a real cauſe for this ſhyneſs on the part of the New Zealanders. A dreadful event had happened to ſome of Captain Furneaux's crew, while he lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, after he had finally ſeparated from Captain Cook, in the former voyage. Ten men, who had been ſent out in the large cutter to gather wild greens for the ſhip's company, were killed in a ſkirmiſh with the natives. What was the cauſe of the quarrel could not be aſcertained, as not one of the company ſurvived to relate the ſtory. Lieutenant Burney, who was ordered to go in ſearch of them, found only ſome fragments of their bodies, from which it appeared, that they had been converted into the food of the inhabitants. It was the remembrance of this event, and the fear of its being revenged, which now rendered the New Zealanders ſo fearful of entering the Engliſh veſſels. From the converſation of Omai, who was on board the Adventure when the melancholy affair happened, they knew that it could not be unknown to Captain Cook. The Captain, therefore, judged it neceſſary, to uſe every endeavour to aſſure them of the continuance of his friendſhip, and that he ſhould not diſturb them on account of the cataſtrophe. It was moſt probably in conſequence of this aſſurance, that they ſoon laid aſide all manner of reſtraint and diſtruſt. In the mean while, the operations for refitting the ſhips, and for obtaining proviſions, were carried on with great vigour. For the protection of the party on ſhore, our Commander appointed a guard of ten marines, and ordered arms for all the workmen; with whom Mr. King, and two or three petty officers, conſtantly remained. A boat was never ſent

to a conſiderable diſtance without being armed, or without being under the direction of ſuch officers as might be depended upon, and who were well acquainted with the natives. In Captain Cook's former viſits to this country, he had never made uſe of ſuch precautions; nor was he now convinced of their abſolute neceſſity. But, after the tragical fate of the crew of the Adventure's boat in this ſound, and of Captain Marion du Freſne, and ſome of his people, in the Bay of Iſlands (in 1772), it was impoſſible to free our Navigators from all apprehenſions of experiencing a ſimilar calamity. Whatever ſuſpicions the inhabitants might at firſt entertain, that their acts of barbarity would be revenged, they very ſpeedily became ſo perfectly eaſy upon the ſubject, as to take up their reſidence cloſe to our Voyagers; and the advantage of their coming to live with the Engliſh was not inconſiderable. Every day, when the weather would permit, ſome of them went out to catch fiſh, and our people generally obtained, by exchanges, a good ſhare of the produce of their labours, in addition to the ſupply which was afforded by our own nets and lines. Nor was there a deficiency of vegetable refreſhments; to which was united ſpruce-beer for drink; ſo that if the ſeeds of the ſcurvy had been contracted by any of the crew, they would ſpeedily have been removed by ſuch a regimen. The fact, however, was, that there were only two invalids upon the ſick liſts in both ſhips. Curioſities, fiſh, and women were the articles of commerce ſupplied by the New Zealanders. The two firſt always came to a good market; but the latter did not happen, at this time, to be an acceptable commodity. Our ſeamen had conceived a diſlike to theſe people, and were either unwilling or afraid to aſſociate with them; the good effect of which was, that our Commander knew no inſtance of a man's quitting his ſtation, to go to the habitations of the Indians. A connection with women it was out of Captain Cook's power to prevent; but he never encouraged it, and always was fearful of its conſequences. Many, indeed, are of opinion, that ſuch an intercourſe is a great ſecurity among ſavages. But if this ſhould ever be the caſe with thoſe who remain and ſettle among them, it is generally otherwiſe with reſpect to travellers and tranſient viſiters. In ſuch a ſituation as was that of our Navigators, a connection with the women of the natives betrays more men than it ſaves. "What elſe," ſays the Captain, "can reaſonably be expected, ſince all their views are ſelfiſh, without the leaſt "mixture of regard or attachment? My own experience, at leaſt, which hath been pretty "extenſive, hath not pointed out to me one inſtance to the contrary." Amongſt the perſons who occaſionally viſited the Engliſh, was a Chief of the name of Kahoora, who, as Captain Cook was informed, had headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and had himſelf killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. This man our Commander was ſtrongly ſolicited to put to death, even by ſome of the natives; and Omai was particularly eager and violent upon the ſubject. To theſe ſolicitations the Captain paid not the leaſt degree of attention. He even admired Kahoora's courage, and was not a little pleaſed with the confidence with which he had put himſelf into his power. Kahoora had placed his whole ſafety in the declarations that Captain Cook had uniformly made to the New Zealanders; which were, that he had always been a friend to them all, and would continue to be ſo, unleſs they gave him cauſe to act otherwiſe; that as to their inhuman treatment of our people, he ſhould think no more of it, the tranſaction having happened long ago, and when he was not preſent; but that, if ever they made a ſecond attempt of the ſame kind, they might reſt aſſured of feeling the weight of his reſentment. While our Commander, on the ſixteenth, was making an excurſion for the purpoſe of collecting food for his cattle, he embraced the opportunity to enquire, as accurately as poſſible, into the circumſtances which had attended the melancholy fate of our countrymen. Omai was his interpreter on this occaſion. The reſult of the enquiry was, that the quarrel firſt took its riſe from ſome thefts, in the commiſſion of which the natives were detected; that there was no premeditated plan of bloodſhed; and that if theſe thefts had not, unfortunately, been too haſtily reſented, no miſchief would have happened. Kahoora's greateſt enemies, and even the very men that had moſt earneſtly ſolicited his deſtruction, confeſſed, at the ſame time, that he had no intention of quarrelling with Captain Furneaux's people, and much leſs of killing any of them, till the fray had actually commenced. Captain Cook continued, in this his laſt viſit to New Zealand, the ſolicitude he had formerly ſhewn to be of ſome eſſential future ſervice to the country. To one Chief he gave two goats, a male and female, with a kid; and to another two pigs, a boar and a ſow. Although he obtained a promiſe from both theſe Chiefs, that they would not kill the animals which had been preſented to them, he could not venture to place any great reliance upon their aſſurances. It was his full intention, on his preſent arrival in Queen Charlotte's Sound, to have left not only goats and hogs, but ſheep, together with a young bull and two heifers. The accompliſhment, however, of this reſolution depended either upon his finding a Chief who was powerful enough to protect and keep the cattle, or upon his meeting with a place where there might be a probability of their being concealed from thoſe who would ignorantly attempt to deſtroy them. Neither of theſe circumſtances happened to be conformable to his wiſhes. At different times he had left in New Zealand ten or a dozen hogs, beſides thoſe which had been put on ſhore by Captain Furneaux. It will, therefore, be a little extraordinary, if this race of animals ſhould not increaſe and be preſerved either in a wild

(f) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 118—163.

or a domeſtic ſtate, or in both. Our Commander was informed, that Tiratou, a popular Chief among the natives, had a number of cocks and hens, and one ſow, in his ſeparate poſſeſſion. With regard to the gardens which had formerly been planted, though they had almoſt entirely been neglected, and ſome of them deſtroyed, they were not wholly unproductive. They were found to contain cabbages, onions, leeks, purſlain, radiſhes, muſtard, and a few potatoes. The potatoes, which had firſt been brought from the Cape of Good Hope, were greatly meliorated by change of ſoil; and, with proper cultivation, would be ſuperior to thoſe produced in moſt other countries. A great addition of knowledge was obtained, during this voyage, with reſpect to the productions of New Zealand, and the manners and cuſtoms of its inhabitants. The zeal of Captain Cook upon the ſubject was admirably ſeconded by the ſedulous diligence of Mr. Anderſon, who omitted no opportunity of collecting every kind and degree of information. I ſhall only ſo far treſpaſs on the patience of my readers, as to mention a few circumſtances tending to delineate the character of the natives. They ſeem to be a people perfectly ſatisfied with the little they already poſſeſs; nor are they remarkably curious either in their obſervations or their enquiries. New objects are ſo far from ſtriking them with ſuch a degree of ſurprize as might naturally be expected, that they ſcarcely fix their attention even for a moment. In the arts with which they are acquainted, they ſhew as much ingenuity, both in invention and execution, as any uncivilized nations under ſimilar circumſtances. Without the leaſt uſe of thoſe tools which are formed of metal, they make every thing that is neceſſary to procure their ſubſiſtence, clothing, and military weapons; and all this is done by them with a neatneſs, a ſtrength, and a convenience that are well adapted to the accompliſhment of the ſeveral purpoſes they have in view. No people can have a quicker ſenſe of an injury done to them than the New Zealanders, or be more ready to reſent it: and yet they want one characteriſtic of true bravery; for they will take an opportunity of being inſolent when they think that there is no danger of their being puniſhed. From the number of their weapons, and their dexterity in uſing them, it appears that war is their principal profeſſion. Indeed, their public contentions are ſo frequent, or rather ſo perpetual, that they muſt live under continual apprehenſions of being deſtroyed by each other. From their horrid cuſtom of eating the fleſh of their enemies, not only without reluctance, but with peculiar ſatisfaction, it would be natural to ſuppoſe that they muſt be deſtitute of every humane feeling, even with regard to their own party. This, however, is not the caſe: for they lament the loſs of their friends with a violence of expreſſion which argues the moſt tender remembrance of them. At a very early age, the children are initiated into all the practices, whether good or bad, of their fathers; ſo that a boy or girl, when only nine or ten years old, can perform the motions, and imitate the frightful geſtures, by which the more aged are accuſtomed to inſpire their enemies with terror. They can keep, likewiſe, the ſtricteſt time in their ſong; and it is with ſome degree of melody that they ſing the traditions of their forefathers, their actions in war, and other ſubjects. The military atchievements of their anceſtors the New Zealanders celebrate with the higheſt pleaſure, and ſpend much of their time in diverſions of this ſort, and in playing upon a muſical inſtrument, which partakes of the nature of a flute. With reſpect to their language, it is far from being harſh or diſagreeable, though the pronunciation of it is frequently guttural; nor, if we may judge from the melody of ſome kinds of their ſongs, is it deſtitute of thoſe qualities which fit it to be aſſociated with muſic. Of its identity with the languages of the other Iſlands throughout the South Sea freſh proofs were exhibited during the preſent voyage. At the requeſt of Omai, Captain Cook conſented to take with him two youths from New Zealand. That they might not quit their native country under any deluding ideas of viſiting it again, the Captain took care to inform their parents, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that they would never return. This declaration ſeemed, however, to make no kind of impreſſion. The father of the youngeſt lad reſigned him with an indifference which he would ſcarcely have ſhewn at parting with his dog, and even ſtripped the boy of the little clothing he poſſeſſed, delivering him quite naked into the hands of our voyagers. This was not the caſe with the mother of the other youth. She took her leave of him with all the marks of tender affection that might be expected between a parent and a child on ſuch an occaſion; but ſhe ſoon reſumed her chearfulneſs, and went away wholly unconcerned (*i*).

(*i*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 118—163.

On the twenty-fifth of the month, Captain Cook ſtood out of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and by the twenty-ſeventh got clear of New Zealand. No ſooner had the ſhips loſt ſight of the land, than the two young adventurers from that country, one of whom was nearly eighteen years of age, and the other about ten, began deeply to repent of the ſtep they had taken. It was the experience of the ſea-ſickneſs which gave this turn to their reflections; and all the ſoothing encouragement the Engliſh could think of, was but of little avail. They wept, both in public and in private, and made their lamentation in a kind of ſong, that ſeemed to be expreſſive of the praiſes of their country and people, from which they were to be ſeparated for ever. In this diſpoſition they continued for many days: but as their ſea-ſickneſs wore off, and the tumult of their minds ſubſided, the fits of lamentation became leſs and leſs frequent, and at length entirely ceaſed. By degrees, their native country

country and their friends were forgotten, and they appeared to be as firmly attached to our Navigators as if they had been born in England. In the profecution of the voyage, Captain Cook met with unfavourable winds; and it was not till the twenty-ninth of March that land was difcovered. It was found to be an inhabited Iſland, the name of which, as was learned from two of the natives, who came off in a canoe, is Mangeea. Our Commander examined the coaſt with his boats, and had a ſhort intercourſe with ſome of the inhabitants. Not being able to find a proper harbour for bringing the ſhips to an anchorage, he was obliged to leave the country unviſited, though it ſeemed capable of ſupplying all the wants of our Voyagers. The Iſland of Mangeea is full five leagues in circuit, and of a moderate and pretty equal height (*k*). It has, upon the whole, a pleaſing aſpect, and might be made a beautiful ſpot by cultivation. The inhabitants, who appeared to be both numerous and well fed, ſeemed to reſemble thoſe of Otaheite and the Marqueſas in the beauty of their perſons; and the reſemblance, as far as could be judged in ſo ſhort a compaſs of time, takes place with reſpect to their general diſpoſition and character. From the coaſt of Mangeea our Commander ſailed in the afternoon of the thirtieth, and on the next day land was again ſeen, within four leagues of which the ſhips arrived on the firſt of April. Our people could then pronounce it to be an Iſland, nearly of the ſame appearance and extent with that which had ſo lately been left. Some of the natives ſpeedily put off in their canoes, and three of them were perſuaded to come on board the Reſolution; on which occaſion, their whole behaviour marked that they were quite at their eaſe, and felt no kind of apprehenſion that they ſhould be detained, or ill uſed. In a viſit from ſeveral others of the inhabitants, they manifeſted a dread of approaching near the cows and horſes; nor could they form the leaſt conception of their nature. But the ſheep and goats did not, in their opinion, ſurpaſs the limits of their ideas; for they gave our Navigators to underſtand that they knew them to be birds. As there is not the moſt diſtant reſemblance between a ſheep or goat, and any winged animal, this may be thought to be almoſt an incredible example of human ignorance. But it ſhould be remembered, that, excepting hogs, dogs, and birds, theſe people were ſtrangers to the exiſtence of any other land animals. In a farther intercourſe with the natives, who had brought a hog, together with ſome plantains and cocoa-nuts, they demanded a dog from our Voyagers, and refuſed every thing beſides which was offered in exchange. One of the Gentlemen on board happened to have a dog and a bitch, which were great nuiſances in the ſhip; and theſe he might now have diſpoſed of in a manner that would have been of real future utility to the Iſland. But he had no ſuch views in making them the companions of his voyage. Omai, however, with a good-nature that reflects honour upon him, parted with a favourite dog which he had brought from England; and with this acquiſition the people departed highly ſatisfied. On the third of April, Captain Cook diſpatched Mr. Gore, with three boats, to endeavour to get upon the Iſland. Mr. Gore himſelf, Omai, Mr. Anderſon, and Mr. Burney, were the only perſons that landed. The tranſactions of the day, of which Mr. Anderſon drew up an ingenious and entertaining account, added to the ſtock of knowledge gained by our Navigators, but did not accompliſh Captain Cook's principal object. Nothing was procured by the Gentlemen, from the Iſland, that ſupplied the wants of the ſhips. In this expedition, Omai diſplayed that turn for exaggeration, with which travellers have ſo frequently been charged. Being aſked by the natives concerning the Engliſh, their ſhips, their country, and the arms they made uſe of, his anſwers were not a little marvellous. He told theſe people that our country had ſhips as large as their Iſland; on board of which were inſtruments of war (deſcribing our guns) of ſuch dimenſions, that ſeveral perſons might ſit within them. At the ſame time, he aſſured the inhabitants that one of theſe guns was ſufficient to cruſh their whole Iſland at a ſingle ſhot. Though he was obliged to acknowledge that the guns on board the veſſels upon their coaſt were but ſmall, he contrived, by an exploſion of gunpowder, to inſpire them with a formidable idea of their nature and effect. It is probable that this repreſentation of things contributed to the preſervation of the Gentlemen, in their enterprize on ſhore; for a ſtrong diſpoſition to retain them had been ſhewn by the natives. It ſeemed deſtined that this day ſhould give Omai more occaſions than one of bearing a principal part in its tranſactions. The Iſland, though never viſited by Europeans before, happened to have other ſtrangers reſiding in it; and it was entirely owing to Omai's having attended on the expedition, that a circumſtance ſo curious came to the knowledge of the Engliſh. Scarcely had he been landed upon the beach, when he found, among the crowd which had aſſembled there, three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Iſlands. That at the diſtance of about two hundred leagues from thoſe Iſlands, an immenſe, unknown ocean intervening, with the wretched boats their inhabitants are known to make uſe of, and fit only for a paſſage where ſight of land is ſcarcely ever loſt, ſuch a meeting, at ſuch a place, ſo accidentally viſited, ſhould occur, may well be regarded as one of thoſe unexpected ſituations, with which the writers of feigned adventures love to ſurprize their readers. When events of this kind really happen in common life, they deſerve to be recorded for their ſingularity. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed with what mutual ſurprize and ſatisfaction this interview of Omai with his countrymen was attended. Twelve years before, about twenty perſons in number, of both ſexes, had

(*k*) Mangeea lies in the latitude of 21° 57′ South, and in the longitude of 201° 53′ Eaſt.

had embarked on board a canoe at Otaheite, to croſs over to the neighbouring Iſland of Ulietea. A violent ſtorm having ariſen, which drove them out of their courſe, and their proviſions being very ſcanty, they ſuffered incredible hardſhips, and the greateſt part of them periſhed by famine and fatigue. Four men only ſurvived, when the boat overſet, and then the deſtruction of this ſmall remnant appeared to be inevitable. However, they kept hanging by the ſide of the veſſel, which they continued to do for ſome days, when they were providentially brought within ſight of the people of this Iſland, who immediately ſent out canoes, and brought them on ſhore. The three men who now ſurvived, expreſſed a ſtrong ſenſe of the kind treatment they had received; and ſo well ſatisfied were they with their preſent ſituation, that they refuſed an offer which was made them of being conveyed to their native country. A very important inſtruction may be derived from the preceding narrative. It will ſerve to explain, better than a thouſand conjectures of ſpeculative reaſoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the Iſlands of the South Sea though lying remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other, may have originally been peopled. Similar adventures have occurred in the hiſtory of navigation and ſhipwrecks. The Iſland on which Meſſieurs Gore, Anderſon, Burney, and Omai, had landed, is called Wateeoo by the natives, and is a beautiful ſpot, having a ſurface compoſed of hills and plains, which are covered with a verdure rendered extremely pleaſant by the diverſity of its hues (*l*). Its inhabitants are very numerous; and many of the young men were perfect models in ſhape; beſides which, they had complexions as delicate as thoſe of the women, and appeared to be equally amiable in their diſpoſitions. In their manners, their general habits of life, and their religious ceremonies and opinions, theſe Iſlanders have a near reſemblance to the people of Otaheite and its neighbouring iſles; and their language was well underſtood, both by Omai and the two New Zealanders. The next place viſited by Captain Cook was a ſmall Iſland, called Wennooa ette, or Otakootaia (*m*), to which Mr. Gore was ſent, at the head of a party, who procured about a hundred cocoa-nuts for each ſhip, and ſome graſs, together with a quantity of the leaves and branches of young trees, for the cattle. Though, at this time, no inhabitants were found in Wennooa-ette, yet, as there remained indubitable marks of its being, at leaſt, occaſionally frequented, Mr. Gore left a hatchet, and ſeveral nails, to the full value of what had been taken away. On the fifth, our Commander directed his courſe for Harvey's Iſland, which was only at the diſtance of fifteen leagues, and where he hoped to procure ſome refreſhments. This Iſland had been diſcovered by him, in 1773, during his laſt voyage, when no traces were diſcerned of its having any inhabitants. It was now experienced to be well peopled, and by a race of men who appeared to differ much, both in perſon and diſpoſition, from the natives of Wateeoo. Their behaviour was diſorderly and clamorous; their colour was of a deeper caſt; and ſeveral of them had a fierce and rugged aſpect. It was remarkable, that not one of them had adopted the practice, ſo generally prevalent among the people of the Southern Ocean, of puncturing or *tatooing* their bodies. But, notwithſtanding this ſingularity, the moſt unequivocal proofs were exhibited of their having the ſame common origin; and their language, in particular, approached ſtill nearer to the dialect of Otaheite, than that of Wateeoo, or Mangeea. No anchorage for the ſhips being found in Harvey's Iſland, Captain Cook quitted it without delay.

The Captain being thus diſappointed at all the Iſlands he had met with, ſince his leaving New Zealand, and his progreſs having unavoidably been retarded by unfavourable winds, and other unforeſeen circumſtances, it became impoſſible to think of doing any thing this year in the high latitudes of the northern hemiſphere, from which he was ſtill at ſo great a diſtance, though the ſeaſon for his operations there was already begun. In this ſituation, it was abſolutely neceſſary, in the firſt place, to purſue ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to preſerve the cattle that were on board. A ſtill more capital object was to ſave the ſtores and proviſions of the ſhips, that he might the better be enabled to proſecute his diſcoveries to the North, which could not now be commenced till a year later than was originally intended. If he had been ſo fortunate as to have procured a ſupply of water, and of graſs, at any of the Iſlands he had lately viſited, it was his purpoſe to have ſtood back to the South, till he had met with a weſterly wind. But the certain conſequence of doing this, without ſuch a ſupply, would have been the loſs of all the cattle; while, at the ſame time, not a ſingle advantage would have been gained with regard to the grand ends of the voyage. He determined, therefore, to bear away for the Friendly Iſlands, where he was ſure of being abundantly provided. In purſuing his courſe, agreeably to this reſolution, our Commander, on the fourteenth, reached Palmerſton Iſland, where, and at a neighbouring Iſlot, both of which were uninhabited, ſome little relief was obtained. The boats ſoon procured a load of ſcurvy-graſs and young cocoa-nut trees, which was a feaſt for the cattle; and the ſame feaſt, with the addition of palm-cabbage, and the tender branches of the *Wharra* tree, was continued for ſeveral days. On the ſixteenth, Omai, being on ſhore with the Captain, caught, with a ſcoop-net, in a very ſhort time, as much fiſh as ſerved the whole party for dinner, beſides ſending a quantity to both the ſhips. Birds, too, and particularly men-of-war and tropic birds, were plenti-

(*l*) Wateeoo lies in the latitude of 20° 1′ South, and in the longitude of 201° 45′ Eaſt, and is about ſix leagues in circumference.

(*m*) It lies in the latitude of 19° 15′ South, and in the longitude of 201° 37′ Eaſt.

fully obtained; ſo that our Navigators had ſumptuous entertainment. Omai acted as cook upon the occaſion. The fiſh and the birds he dreſſed with heated ſtones, after the manner of his country; and performed the operation with a dexterity and good humour which were greatly to his credit. From the Iſlot before mentioned, twelve hundred cocoa-nuts were procured, which, being equally divided among the crew, were of great uſe to them, both on account of the juice and the kernel. There is no water in the Iſlots which are comprehended under the name of Palmerſton Iſland. If that article could be obtained, and good anchorage could be accompliſhed within the reef, Captain Cook would prefer this Iſland to any of the uninhabited ones, for the mere purpoſe of refreſhment. The quantity of fiſh that might be caught, would be ſufficient; and a ſhip's company could roam about, unmoleſted by the petulance of the inhabitants. Different opinions have been entertained concerning the formation of the low Iſlands in the great ocean. From the obſervations which our Commander now made, he was convinced that ſuch Iſlands are formed from ſhoals, or coral banks, and, conſequently, that they are always increaſing. His reaſons for embracing this hypotheſis, are related by him, in his Voyage, with his uſual good ſenſe and ſagacity.

After leaving Palmerſton's Iſland, Captain Cook ſteered to the Weſt, with a view of making the beſt of his way to Annamooka. During his courſe, the ſhowers were ſo copious, that our Navigators ſaved a conſiderable quantity of water. Finding that a greater ſupply could be obtained by the rain, in one hour, than could be gotten by diſtillation in a month, the Captain laid aſide the ſtill, as a thing which was attended with more trouble than profit. At this time, the united heat and moiſture of the weather, in addition to the impoſſibility of keeping the ſhips dry, threatened to be noxious to the health of our people. It was, however, remarkable, that neither the conſtant uſe of ſalt food, nor the viciſſitudes of climate, were productive of any evil effects. Though the only material refreſhment our Voyagers had received, ſince their leaving the Cape of Good Hope, was that which they had procured at New Zealand, there was not, as yet, a ſingle ſick perſon on board. This happy ſituation of things was undoubtedly owing to the unremitting attention of our Commander, in ſeeing that no circumſtance was neglected which could contribute to the preſervation of the health of his company (*n*). On the twenty-eighth of April, Captain Cook touched at the Iſland of Komango; and, on the firſt of May, he arrived at Annamooka. The ſtation he took was the very ſame which he had occupied when he viſited the country three years before; and it was probably, almoſt in the ſame place where Taſman, the firſt diſcoverer of this and ſome of the neighbouring Iſlands, anchored in 1643. A friendly intercourſe was immediately opened with the natives, and every thing was ſettled to the Captain's ſatisfaction. He received the greateſt civilities from Toobou, the Chief of Annamooka; and Taipa, a Chief from the Iſland of Komango, attached himſelf to the Engliſh in ſo extraordinary a manner, that, in order to be near them in the night, as well as in the day, he had a houſe brought on men's ſhoulders, a full quarter of a mile, and placed cloſe to the ſhed which was occupied by our party on ſhore. On the ſixth, our Commander was viſited by a great Chief from Tongataboo, whoſe name was Feenou, and who was falſely repreſented, by Tapia, to be the King of all the Friendly Iſles. The only interruption to the harmony which ſubſiſted between our people and the natives of Annamooka, aroſe from the thieviſh diſpoſition of many of the inhabitants. They afforded frequent opportunities of remarking how expert they were in the buſineſs of ſtealing. Even ſome of the Chiefs did not think the profeſſion unbecoming their dignity. One of them was detected in carrying a bolt out of the ſhip, concealed under his clothes; for which Captain Cook ſentenced him to receive a dozen laſhes, and kept him confined till he had paid a hog for his liberty. After this act of juſtice, our Navigators were no longer troubled with thieves of rank: but their ſervants, or ſlaves, were ſtill employed in the dirty work; and upon them a flogging ſeemed to make no greater impreſſion than it would have done upon the main-maſt. When any of them happened to be caught in the act, ſo far were their maſters from interceding in their favour, that they often adviſed our Gentlemen to kill them. This, however, being a puniſhment too ſevere to be inflicted, they generally eſcaped without being puniſhed at all; for of the ſhame, as well as of the pain of corporal chaſtiſement, they appeared to be equally inſenſible. At length, Captain Clerke invented a mode of treatment, which was thought to be productive of ſome good effect. He put the thieves into the hands of the barber, and completely ſhaved their heads. In conſequence of this operation, they became objects of ridicule to their own countrymen; and our people, by keeping them at a diſtance, were enabled to deprive them of future opportunities for a repetition of their rogueries.

(*n*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 167—224.

The Iſland of Annamooka being exhauſted of its articles of food, Captain Cook propoſed, on the eleventh, to proceed directly for Tongataboo. From this reſolution, however, he was diverted, at the inſtance of Feenou, who warmly recommended, in preference to it, an Iſland, or rather a group of Iſlands, called Hapaee, lying to the North-eaſt. There, he aſſured our Voyagers, they could be plentifully ſupplied with every refreſhment, in the eaſieſt manner; and he enforced his advice by engaging to attend them thither in perſon. Accordingly, Hapaee was made choice of for the next ſtation; and the examination of it

became an object with the Captain, as it had never been viſited by any European ſhips. On the ſeventeenth, our Commander arrived at Hapaee, where he met with a moſt friendly reception from the inhabitants, and from Earoupa, the Chief of the Iſland. During the whole ſtay of our Navigators, the time was ſpent in a reciprocation of preſents, civilities, and ſolemnities. On the part of the natives were diſplayed ſingle combats with clubs, wreſtling and boxing matches, female combatants, dances performed by men, and night entertainments of ſinging and dancing. The Engliſh, on the other hand, gave pleaſure to the Indians by exerciſing the Marines, and excited their aſtoniſhment by the exhibition of fire works. After curioſity had, on both ſides, been ſufficiently gratified, Captain Cook applied himſelf to the examination of Hapaee, Lefooga, and other neighbouring Iſlands. As the ſhips were returning, on the thirty-firſt, from theſe Iſlands to Annamooka, the Reſolution was very near running full upon a low ſandy Iſle, called Pootoo Pootooa, ſurrounded with breakers. It fortunately happened, that the men had juſt been ordered upon deck to put the veſſel about, and were moſt of them at their ſtations; ſo that the neceſſary movements were executed not only with judgment, but alſo with alertneſs. This alone ſaved the ſhip and her company from deſtruction. "Such hazardous ſituations," ſays the Captain, "are the unavoidable companions of the man who goes upon a voyage of "diſcovery." During our Commander's expedition to Hapaee, he was introduced to Poulaho, the real King of the Friendly Iſles; in whoſe preſence it inſtantly appeared how groundleſs had been Feenou's pretenſions to that character. Feenou, however, was a Chief of great note and influence. By Poulaho Captain Cook was invited to paſs over to Tongataboo, which requeſt he complied with, after he had touched, for two or three days, at Annamooka. In the paſſage, the Reſolution was inſenſibly drawn upon a large flat, on which lay innumerable coral rocks, of different depths, below the ſurface of the water. Notwithſtanding all the care and attention of our people to keep her clear of them, they could not prevent her from ſtriking on one of theſe rocks. The ſame event happened to the Diſcovery; but fortunately, neither of the ſhips ſtuck faſt, or received any damage. On the tenth of June, Captain Cook arrived at Tongataboo, where the King was waiting for him upon the beach, and immediately conducted him to a ſmall, but neat houſe, which, he was told, was at his ſervice, during his ſtay in the Iſland. The houſe was ſituated a little within the ſkirts of the woods, and had a fine large area before it; ſo that a more agreeable ſpot could not have been provided. Our Commander's arrival at Tongataboo was followed by a ſucceſſion of entertainments, ſimilar to thoſe which had occurred at Hapaee, though ſomewhat diverſified in circumſtances, and exhibited with additional ſplendour. The pleaſure, however, of the viſit was occaſionally interrupted by the thieveries of many of the inhabitants. Nothing could prevent their plundering our Voyagers, in every quarter; and they did it in the moſt daring and inſolent manner. There was ſcarcely any thing which they did not attempt to ſteal; and yet, as the crowd was always great, the Captain would not permit the centinels to fire, leſt the innocent ſhould ſuffer with the guilty. Captain Cook, on the nineteenth, made a diſtribution of the animals which he had ſelected as preſents for the principal men of the Iſland. To Poulaho, the King, he gave a young Engliſh bull and cow, together with three goats; to Mareewagee, a Chief of conſequence, a Cape ram and two ewes [*CC*]; and to Feenou a horſe and a mare. Omai, at the ſame time, was inſtructed to repreſent the importance of theſe animals, and to explain, as far as he was capable of doing it, the manner in which they ſhould be preſerved and treated. Even the generoſity of the Captain was not without its inconveniences. It ſoon appeared that ſome were diſſatisfied with the allotment of the animals; for, next morning, two kids and two turkey-cocks were miſſing. As our Commander could not ſuppoſe that this was an accidental loſs, he determined to have them again. The firſt ſtep he took was to ſeize on three canoes that happened to be alongſide the ſhips; after which, he went on ſhore, and having found the King, his brother, Feenou, and ſome other Chiefs, he immediately put a guard over them, and gave them to underſtand, that they muſt remain under reſtraint till not only the kid and the turkeys, but the reſt of the things which, at different times, had been ſtolen from our Voyagers, ſhould be reſtored. This bold ſtep of Captain Cook was attended with a very good effect. Some of the articles which had been loſt were inſtantly brought back, and ſuch good aſſurances were given with regard to the remainder, that, in the afternoon, the Chiefs were releaſed. It was a happy circumſtance, with reſpect to this tranſaction, that it did not abate the future confidence of Poulaho and his friends in the Captain's kind and generous treatment. On the fifth of July was an eclipſe of the ſun, which, however, in conſequence of unfavourable weather, was very imperfectly obſerved. Happily, the diſappointment was of little conſequence, as the longitude was more than ſufficiently determined by lunar obſervations (*o*). Captain Cook ſailed from Tongataboo on the tenth, and, two days after, came to an anchor at the Iſland of Middleburgh, or Eooa, as it is called by the inhabitants. Here he was immediately viſited by Taoofa, the Chief,

(*o*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 225—328.

[*CC*] *A Cape ram and two ewes.*] As none of the natives took the leaſt notice or care of the three ſheep allotted to Mareewagee, Captain Cook afterwards ordered them to be carried back to the ſhips. Beſides the animals above-mentioned, he left in the Iſland a young boar, and three young ſows, of the Engliſh breed; and two rabbits, a buck and a doe.

with

with whom he had formerly been acquainted. The intercourſe now renewed was friendly in the higheſt degree, both with Taoofa and the reſt of the natives; and our Commander endeavoured to meliorate their condition by planting a pine-apple, and ſowing the ſeeds of melons, and other vegetables, in the Chief's plantation. To this he was encouraged by a proof that his paſt endeavours had not been wholly unſucceſsful. He had, one day, ſerved up to him at his dinner, a diſh of turnips, being the produce of the ſeeds which he had left at Eooa in his laſt voyage.

The ſtay which Captain Cook made at the Friendly Iſlands was between two and three months; during which time, ſome accidental differences excepted, there ſubſiſted the utmoſt cordiality between the Engliſh and the natives. Theſe differences were never attended with any fatal conſequences; which happy circumſtance was principally owing to the unremitting attention of the Captain, who directed all his meaſures with a view to the prevention of ſuch quarrels as would be injurious either to the inhabitants or to his own people. So long as our Navigators ſtayed at the Iſlands, they expended very little of their ſea proviſions, ſubſiſting, in general, upon the produce of the country, and carrying away with them a quantity of refreſhments ſufficient to laſt till their arrival at another ſtation, where they could depend upon a freſh ſupply. It was a ſingular pleaſure to our Commander, that he poſſeſſed an opportunity of adding to the happineſs of theſe good Indians, by the uſeful animals which he left among them. Upon the whole, the advantages of having touched at the Friendly Iſlands were very great; and Captain Cook reflected upon it with peculiar ſatisfaction, that theſe advantages were obtained without retarding, for a ſingle moment, the proſecution of the great object of his voyage; the ſeaſon for proceeding to the North having been previouſly loſt. Beſides the immediate benefits which both the natives and the Engliſh derived from their mutual intercourſe on the preſent occaſion, ſuch a large addition was now made to the geographical knowledge of this part of the Pacific Ocean, as may render no ſmall ſervice to future navigators. Under the denomination of the Friendly Iſlands, muſt be included not only the group at Hapaee, but all thoſe Iſlands that have been diſcovered nearly under the ſame meridian, to the North, as well as ſome others, which, though they have never hitherto been ſeen by any European voyagers, are under the dominion of Tongataboo. From the information which our Commander received, it appears that this Archipelago is very extenſive. Above one hundred and fifty Iſlands were reckoned up by the natives, who made uſe of bits of leaves to aſcertain their number; and Mr. Anderſon, with his uſual diligence, procured all their names. Fifteen of them are ſaid to be high or hilly, and thirty-five of them large. Concerning the ſize of the thirty-two which were unexplored, it can only be mentioned, that they muſt be larger than Annamooka, which was ranked amongſt the ſmaller Iſles. Several, indeed, of thoſe which belong to this latter denomination, are mere ſpots, without inhabitants. Sixty-one of theſe Iſles have their proper places and names marked upon the chart of the Friendly Iſlands, and the ſketch of the harbour of Tongabatoo, which are given in the Voyage. Captain Cook had not the leaſt doubt but that Prince William's Iſlands, diſcovered and ſo named by Taſman, were comprehended in the liſt furniſhed by the natives. He had alſo good authority for believing, that Keppel's and Boſcawen's Iſlands, two of Captain Wallis's diſcoveries in 1765, were included in the ſame liſt; and that they were under the ſovereignty of Tongataboo, which is the grand ſeat of government. It muſt be left to future navigators to extend the geography of this part of the South Pacific Ocean, by aſcertaining the exact ſituation and ſize of nearly a hundred Iſlands, in the neighbourhood, which our Commander had no opportunity of exploring. During the preſent viſit to the Friendly Iſlands, large additions were made to the knowledge which was obtained, in the laſt voyage, of the natural hiſtory and productions of the country, and the manners and cuſtoms of its inhabitants. Though it does not fall within the plan of this narrative to enter into a detail of the particulars recorded, I cannot help taking notice of the explanation which Captain Cook has given of the thieviſh diſpoſition of the natives. It is an explanation which reflects honour upon his ſagacity, humanity, and candour; and therefore I ſhall relate it in his own words: "The only defect," ſays he, "ſullying their "character, that we know of, is a propenſity to thieving; to which we found thoſe of all "ages, and both ſexes, addicted; and to an uncommon degree. It ſhould, however, be "conſidered, that this exceptionable part of their conduct ſeemed to exiſt merely with "reſpect to us; for, in their general intercourſe with one another, I had reaſon to be of "opinion, that thefts do not happen more frequently (perhaps leſs ſo) than in other "countries, the diſhoneſt practices of whoſe worthleſs individuals are not ſuppoſed to "authorize any indiſcriminate cenſure on the whole body of the people. Great allowances "ſhould be made for the foibles of theſe poor natives of the Pacific Ocean, whoſe minds "we overpowered with the glare of objects, equally new to them as they were captivating. "Stealing, among the civilized nations of the world, may well be conſidered as denoting "a character deeply ſtained with moral turpitude, with avarice unreſtrained by the known "rules of right, and with profligacy producing extreme indigence, and neglecting the "means of relieving it. But at the Friendly and other Iſlands which we viſited, the thefts, "ſo frequently committed by the natives, of what we had brought along with us, may

" be fairly traced to leſs culpable motives. They ſeemed to ariſe ſolely from an intenſe " curioſity or deſire to poſſeſs ſomething which they had not been accuſtomed to before, " and belonging to a ſort of people ſo different from themſelves. And, perhaps, if it were " poſſible, that a ſet of beings, ſeemingly as ſuperior in our judgment, as we are in theirs, " ſhould appear amongſt us, it might be doubted, whether our natural regard to juſtice " would be able to reſtrain many from falling into the ſame error. That I have aſſigned " the true motive for their propenſity to this practice, appears from their ſtealing every " thing indiſcriminately at firſt ſight, before they could have the leaſt conception of " converting their prize to any one uſeful purpoſe. But, I believe, with us, no perſon " would forfeit his reputation, or expoſe himſelf to puniſhment, without knowing, before " hand, how to employ the ſtolen goods. Upon the whole, the pilfering diſpoſition of " theſe Iſlanders, though certainly diſagreeable and troubleſome to ſtrangers, was the " means of affording us ſome information as to the quickneſs of their intellects." With reſpect to the religion of theſe Indians, Mr. Anderſon maintains, that they have very proper ſentiments concerning the immateriality and immortality of the ſoul; and thinks himſelf ſufficiently authorized to aſſert, that they do not worſhip any thing which is the work of their own hands, or any viſible part of the creation. The language of the Friendly Iſlands has the greateſt imaginable conformity with that of New Zealand, of Wateeoo, and Mangeea. Several hundreds of the words of it were collected by Mr. Anderſon; and, amongſt theſe, are terms that expreſs numbers reaching to a hundred thouſand. Beyond this limit they never went, and probably were not able to go farther; for it was obſerved, that when they had gotten thus far, they commonly uſed a word which expreſſes an indefinite number. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that Captain Cook, during his whole ſtay at the Friendly Iſlands, neglected nothing which could be the ſubject of aſtronomical and nautical obſervation. Hence the latitude and longitude of the different places he touched at, the variations of the needle, and the ſtate of the tides, are recorded for the improvement of ſcience, and the benefit of future navigators (*p*).

(*p*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 355. 359. 367—370. 385, 386. 404, 405. 414—421.

On the ſeventeenth of July, our Commander took his final leave of the Friendly Iſlands, and reſumed his voyage. An eclipſe was obſerved in the night between the twentieth and the twenty-firſt; and on the eighth of Auguſt, land was diſcovered. Some of the inhabitants, who came off in canoes, ſeemed earneſtly to invite our people to go on ſhore; but Captain Cook did not think proper to run the riſk of loſing the advantage of a fair wind, for the ſake of examining an Iſland which appeared to be of little conſequence. Its name, as was learned from the natives, who ſpake the Otaheite language, is Toobouai (*q*). Purſuing his courſe, the Captain reached Otaheite on the twelfth, and ſteered for Oheitepeha Bay, with an intention to anchor there, in order to draw what refreſhments he could from the South-eaſt part of the Iſland, before he went down to Matavai. Omai's firſt reception amongſt his countrymen was not entirely of a flattering nature. Though ſeveral perſons came on board who knew him, and one of them was his brother-in-law, there was nothing remarkably tender or ſtriking in their meeting. An interview which Omai had, on the thirteenth, with his ſiſter, was agreeable to the feelings of nature; for their meeting was marked with expreſſions of tender affection, more eaſy to be conceived than deſcribed. In a viſit, likewiſe, which he received from an aunt, the old Lady threw herſelf at his feet, and plentifully bedewed them with tears of joy. Captain Cook was informed by the natives, that, ſince he was laſt at the Iſland, in 1774, two ſhips had been twice in Oheitepeha Bay, and had left animals in the country. Theſe, on farther enquiry, were found to be hogs, dogs, goats, one bull, and a ram. That the veſſels which had viſited Otaheite were Spaniſh, was plain from an inſcription that was cut upon a wooden croſs, ſtanding at ſome diſtance from the front of a houſe which had been occupied by the ſtrangers. On the tranſverſe part of the croſs was inſcribed,

(*q*) Toobouai is ſituated in the latitude of 23° 25' South, and in the longitude of 210° 37' Eaſt. Its greateſt extent is not above five or ſix miles.

Chriſtus vincit.

And on the perpendicular part,

Carolus III. imperat. 1774.

Our Commander took this occaſion to preſerve the memory of the prior viſits of the Engliſh, by inſcribing, on the other ſide of the poſt,

Georgius tertius Rex,
Annis 1767,
1769, 1773, 1774, & 1777.

Whatever might be the intentions of the Spaniards in their viſits to the Iſland, it ought to be remembered to their honour, that they had behaved ſo well to the inhabitants, as always to be ſpoken of in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of eſteem and veneration.

Captain Cook had at this time an important affair to ſettle. As he knew that he could now be furniſhed with a plentiful ſupply of cocoa-nuts, the liquor of which is an excellent and wholeſome beverage, he was deſirous of prevailing upon his people to conſent to their being abridged, during their ſtay at Otaheite and the neighbouring Iſlands, of their ſtated allowance of ſpirits to mix with water. But as this ſtoppage of a favourite article, without aſſigning ſome reaſon for it, might occaſion a general murmur, he thought it moſt prudent to aſſemble the ſhip's company, and to make known to them the deſign of the voyage, and the extent of the future operations. To animate them in undertaking with chearfulneſs and perſeverance what lay before them, he took notice of the rewards offered by Parliament, to ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects as ſhould firſt diſcover a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in any direction whatever, in the northern hemiſphere; and alſo to ſuch as ſhould firſt penetrate beyond the eighty-ninth degree of northern latitude. The Captain made no doubt, he told them, that he ſhould find them willing to co-operate with him in attempting, as far as might be poſſible, to become entitled to one or both of theſe rewards; but that to give the beſt chance of ſucceſs, it would be neceſſary to obſerve the utmoſt œconomy in the expenditure of the ſtores and proviſions, particularly the latter, as there was no probability of getting a ſupply, any where, after leaving theſe Iſlands. He ſtrengthened his argument by reminding them, that, in conſequence of the opportunity's having been loſt of getting to the North this ſummer, the voyage muſt laſt at leaſt a year longer than had originally been ſuppoſed. He entreated them to conſider the various obſtructions and difficulties they might ſtill meet with, and the aggravated hardſhips they would endure, if it ſhould be found neceſſary to put them to ſhort allowance, of any ſpecies of proviſions, in a cold climate. For theſe very ſubſtantial reaſons, he ſubmitted to them, whether it would not be better to be prudent in time, and, rather than to incur the hazard of having no ſpirits left, when ſuch a cordial would moſt be wanted, to conſent to give up their grog now, when ſo excellent a liquor as that of cocoa-nuts could be ſubſtituted in its place. In concluſion, our Commander left the determination of the matter entirely to their own choice. This ſpeech, which certainly partook much of the nature of true eloquence, if a diſcourſe admirably calculated for perſuaſion be entitled to that character, produced its full effect on the generous minds of Engliſh ſeamen. Captain Cook had the ſatisfaction of finding, that his propoſal did not remain a ſingle moment under conſideration; being unanimouſly and immediately approved of, without the leaſt objection. By our Commander's order, Captain Clerke made the ſame propoſal to his people; to which they, likewiſe, agreed. Accordingly, grog was no longer ſerved, excepting on Saturday nights; when the companies of both ſhips had a full allowance of it, that they might drink the healths of their friends in England.

On the twenty-fourth, Captain Cook quitted the South-eaſt part of Otaheite, and reſumed his old ſtation in Matavai Bay. Immediately upon his arrival, he was viſited by Otoo, the King of the whole Iſland, and their former friendſhip was renewed; a friendſhip which was continued without interruption, and cemented by a perpetual ſucceſſion of civilities, good offices, and entertainments. One of our Commander's firſt objects was to diſpoſe of all the European animals which were in the ſhips. Accordingly, he conveyed to Oparre, Otoo's place of reſidence, a peacock and hen; a turkey cock and hen; one gander, and three geeſe; a drake, and four ducks. The geeſe and ducks began to breed before our Navigators left their preſent ſtation. There were already at Otoo's, ſeveral goats, and the Spaniſh bull; which was one of the fineſt animals of the kind that was ever ſeen. To the bull Captain Cook ſent the three cows he had on board, together with a bull of his own; to all which were added the horſe and mare, and the ſheep that had ſtill remained in the veſſels. The Captain found himſelf lightened of a very heavy burthen, in having diſpoſed of theſe paſſengers. It is not eaſy to conceive the trouble and vexation which had attended the conveyance of this living cargo, through ſuch various hazards, and to ſo immenſe a diſtance. But the ſatisfaction which our Commander felt, in having been ſo fortunate as to fulfil his Majeſty's humane deſigns, in ſending ſuch valuable animals, to ſupply the wants of two worthy nations, afforded him an ample recompence for the many anxious hours he had paſſed, before this ſubordinate object of his voyage could be carried into execution. At this time a war was on the point of breaking out, between the inhabitants of Eimeo and thoſe of Otaheite; and by the latter Captain Cook was requeſted to take a part in their favour. With this requeſt, however, though enforced by frequent and urgent ſolicitations, the Captain, according to his uſual wiſdom, refuſed to comply. He alledged, that, as he was not thoroughly acquainted with the diſpute, and the people of Eimeo had never offended him, he could not think himſelf at liberty to engage in hoſtilities againſt them. With theſe reaſons Otoo and moſt of the Chiefs appeared to be ſatisfied; but one of them, Towha, was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that our Commander never afterward recovered his friendſhip. Upon the preſent occaſion Captain Cook had full and undeniable proof that the offering of human ſacrifices forms a part of the religious inſtitutions of Otaheite. Indeed, he was a witneſs to a ſolemnity of this kind; the proceſs of which he has particularly deſcribed, and has related it with the juſt ſentiments of indignation and abhorrence. The unhappy victim, who was now offered to the object of worſhip,

ſeemed to be a middle-aged man, and was ſaid to be one of the loweſt claſs of the people. But the Captain could not learn, after all his enquiries, whether the wretch had been fixed upon, on account of his having committed any crime which was ſuppoſed to be deſerving of death. It is certain that a choice is generally made either of ſuch guilty perſons for the ſacrifices, or of common, low fellows, who ſtroll about, from place to place, without any viſible methods of obtaining an honeſt ſubſiſtence. Thoſe who are devoted to ſuffer, are never apprized of their fate till the blow is given that puts an end to their being. Whenever, upon any particular emergency, one of the great Chiefs conſiders a human ſacrifice to be neceſſary, he pitches upon the victim, and then orders him to be ſuddenly fallen upon and killed, either with clubs or ſtones. Although it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that no more than one perſon is ever devoted to deſtruction on any ſingle occaſion, at Otaheite, it will ſtill be found that theſe occurrences are ſo frequent, as to cauſe a ſhocking waſte of the human race; for our Commander counted no leſs than forty-nine ſkulls of former victims, lying before the *Morai* where he had ſeen another added to the number. It was apparent, from the freſhneſs of theſe ſkulls, that no great length of time had elapſed, ſince the wretches to whom they belonged had been offered upon the altar of blood. There is reaſon to fear, that this cuſtom is as extenſive as it is horrid. It is highly probable that it prevails throughout the widely-diffuſed Iſlands of the Pacific Ocean; and Captain Cook had particular evidence of its ſubſiſting at the Friendly Iſlands. To what an extent the practice of human ſacrifices was carried in the ancient world, is not unknown to the learned. Scarcely any nation was free from it in a certain ſtate of ſociety; and, as religious reformation is one of the laſt efforts of the human mind, the practice may be continued, even when the manners are otherwiſe far removed from ſavage life. It may have been a long time before civilization has made ſuch a progreſs as to deprive ſuperſtition of its cruelty, and to divert it from barbarous rites to ceremonies, which, though fooliſh enough, are comparatively mild, gentle, and innocent. On the fifth of September, an accident happened, which, though ſlight in itſelf, was of ſome conſequence from the ſituation of things. A young ram of the Cape breed, which had been lambed and brought up with great care on board the ſhip, was killed by a dog. Deſirous as Captain Cook was of propagating ſo uſeful a race, among the Society Iſlands, the loſs of a ram was a ſerious misfortune. It was the only one he had of that breed; and of the Engliſh breed a ſingle ram was all that remained. Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, on the fourteenth, mounted on horſeback, and took a ride round the plain of Matavai, to the great ſurprize of a large number of the natives, who attended upon the occaſion, and gazed upon the Gentlemen with as much aſtoniſhment as if they had been Centaurs. What the two Captains had begun, was afterwards repeated every day, by one and another of our people; notwithſtanding which, the curioſity of the Otaheitans ſtill continued unabated. They were exceedingly delighted with theſe animals, after they had ſeen the uſe which was made of them. Not all the novelties, put together, which European viſiters had carried amongſt the inhabitants, inſpired them with ſo high an idea of the greatneſs of diſtant nations. Though Captain Cook would not take a part in the quarrels between the Iſlands, he was ready to protect his particular friends, when in danger of being injured. Towha, who commanded the expedition againſt Eimeo, had been obliged to ſubmit to a diſgraceful accommodation. Being full of reſentment on account of his not having been properly ſupported, he was ſaid to have threatened, that, as ſoon as the Captain ſhould leave the Iſland, he would join his forces to thoſe of Tiaraboo, and attack Otoo at Matavai or Oparre. This induced our Commander to declare, in the moſt public manner, that he was determined to eſpouſe the intereſt of his friend, againſt any ſuch combination; and that whoever preſumed to aſſault him, ſhould feel the weight of his heavy diſpleaſure, when he returned again to Otaheite. Captain Cook's declaration had probably the deſired effect; for, if Towha had formed hoſtile intentions, no more was heard of the matter.

The manner in which our Commander was freed from a rheumatic complaint, that conſiſted of a pain extending from the hip to the foot, deſerves to be recorded. Otoo's mother, his three ſiſters, and eight other women, went on board for the expreſs purpoſe of undertaking the cure of his diſorder. He accepted of their friendly offer, had a bed ſpread for them on the cabbin floor, and ſubmitted himſelf to their directions. Being deſired to lay himſelf down amongſt them, then, as many of them as could get round him began to ſqueeze him with both hands, from head to foot, but more particularly in the part where the pain was lodged, till they made his bones crack, and his fleſh became a perfect mummy. After undergoing this diſcipline about a quarter of an hour, he was glad to be releaſed from the women. The operation, however, gave him immediate relief; ſo that he was encouraged to ſubmit to another rubbing-down before he went to bed; the conſequence of which was, that he was tolerably eaſy all the ſucceeding night. His female phyſicians repeated their preſcription the next morning, and again in the evening; after which his pains were entirely removed, and the cure was perfected. This operation, which is called *Romee*, is univerſally practiſed among theſe Iſlanders; being ſometimes performed by the men, but more generally by the women. Captain Cook, who now had come to the reſolution of departing ſoon from Otaheite, accompanied, on the twenty-

ſeventh,

ſeventh, Otoo to Oparre, and examined the cattle and poultry, which he had conſigned to his friend's care at that place. Every thing was in a promiſing way, and properly attended. The Captain procured from Otoo four goats; two of which he deſigned to leave at Ulietea, where none had yet been introduced; and the other two he propoſed to reſerve for the uſe of any Iſlands he might chance to meet with in his paſſage to the North. On the next day, Otoo came on board, and informed our Commander, that he had gotten a canoe, which he deſired him to carry home, as a preſent to the *Earee rahie no Pretane*. This, he ſaid, was the only thing he could ſend which was worthy of his Majeſty's acceptance. Captain Cook was not a little pleaſed with Otoo, for this mark of his gratitude; and the more, as the thought was entirely his own. Not one of our people had given him the leaſt hint concerning it; and it ſhewed that he was fully ſenſible to whom he ſtood indebted for the moſt valuable preſents that he had received. As the canoe was too large to be taken on board, the Captain could only thank him for his good intentions; but it would have given him a much greater ſatisfaction if his preſent could have been accepted. During this viſit of our Voyagers to Otaheite, ſuch a cordial friendſhip and confidence ſubſiſted between them and the natives, as never once to be interrupted by any untoward accident. Our Commander had made the Chiefs fully ſenſible, that it was their intereſt to treat with him on fair and equitable terms, and to keep their people from plundering or ſtealing. So great was Otoo's attachment to the Engliſh, that he ſeemed pleaſed with the idea of their having a permanent ſettlement at Matavai; not conſidering that from that time he would be deprived of his kingdom, and the inhabitants of their liberties. Captain Cook had too much gratitude and regard for theſe Iſlanders, to wiſh that ſuch an event ſhould ever take place. Though our occaſional viſits may, in ſome reſpects, have been of advantage to the natives, he was afraid that a durable eſtabliſhment among them, conducted as moſt European eſtabliſhments amongſt Indian nations have unfortunately been, would give them juſt cauſe to lament that they had been diſcovered by our Navigators. It is not, indeed, likely that a meaſure of this kind ſhould at any time ſeriouſly be adopted, becauſe it cannot ſerve either the purpoſes of public ambition, or private avarice; and, without ſuch inducements, the Captain has ventured to pronounce that it will never be undertaken.

From Otaheite our Voyagers ſailed, on the thirtieth, to Eimeo, where they came to an anchor, on the ſame day. At this Iſland, the tranſactions which happened were, for the moſt part, very unpleaſant. A goat, which was ſtolen, was recovered without any extraordinary difficulty, and one of the thieves was, at the ſame time, ſurrendered; being the firſt inſtance of the kind that our Commander had met with in his connections with the Society Iſlands. The ſtealing of another goat was attended with an uncommon degree of perplexity and trouble. As the recovery of it was a matter of no ſmall importance, Captain Cook was determined to effect this at any rate; and accordingly he made an expedition croſs the Iſland, in the courſe of which he ſet fire to ſix or eight houſes, and burnt a number of war canoes. At laſt, in conſequence of a peremptory meſſage to Maheine, the Chief of Eimeo, that not a ſingle canoe ſhould be left in the country, or an end be put to the conteſt, unleſs the animal in his poſſeſſion ſhould be reſtored, the goat was brought back. This quarrel was as much regretted on the part of the Captain, as it could be on that of the natives. It grieved him to reflect, that, after refuſing the preſſing ſolicitations of his friends at Otaheite to favour their invaſion of this Iſland, he ſhould find himſelf ſo ſpeedily reduced to the neceſſity of engaging in hoſtilities againſt its inhabitants; and in ſuch hoſtilities as, perhaps, had been more injurious to them than Towha's expedition. On the eleventh of October, the ſhips departed from Eimeo, and the next day arrived at Owharre harbour, on the Weſt ſide of Huaheine. The grand buſineſs of our Commander at this Iſland was the ſettlement of Omai. In order to obtain the conſent of the Chiefs of the Iſland, the affair was conducted with great ſolemnity. Omai dreſſed himſelf very properly on the occaſion; brought with him a ſuitable aſſortment of preſents; went through a variety of religious ceremonies; and made a ſpeech, the topics of which had been dictated to him by our Commander. The reſult of the negociation was, that a ſpot of ground was aſſigned him, the extent of which, along the ſhore of the harbour, was about two hundred yards; and its depth, to the foot of the hill, ſomewhat more. A proportionable part of the hill was included in the grant. This buſineſs having been adjuſted in a ſatisfactory manner, the Carpenters of both ſhips were employed in building a ſmall houſe for Omai, in which he might ſecure his European commodities. At the ſame time, ſome of the Engliſh made a garden for his uſe, in which they planted ſhaddocks, vines, pine-apples, melons, and the ſeeds of ſeveral other vegetable articles. All of theſe Captain Cook had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing in a flouriſhing ſtate before he left the Iſland. At Huaheine Omai found a brother, a ſiſter, and a brother-in law, by whom he was received with great regard and tenderneſs. But though theſe people were faithful and affectionate in their attachment to him, the Captain diſcovered, with concern, that they were of too little conſequence in the Iſland to be capable of rendering him any poſitive ſervice. They had not either authority or influence to protect his perſon or property; and, in ſuch a ſituation, there was reaſon to apprehend, that he might be in danger of being ſtripped of all his poſſeſſions, as ſoon as he ſhould ceaſe to be ſupported by the power of the Engliſh. To

prevent

prevent this evil, if poſſible, our Commander adviſed him to conciliate the favour and engage the patronage and protection of two or three of the principal Chiefs, by a proper diſtribution of ſome of his moveables; with which advice he prudently complied. Captain Cook, however, did not entirely truſt to the operations of gratitude, but had recourſe to the more forcible motive of intimidation. With this view, he took every opportunity of ſignifying to the inhabitants, that it was his intention to return to the Iſland again, after being abſent the uſual time; and that, if he did not find Omai in the ſame ſtate of ſecurity in which he left him, all thoſe whom he ſhould then diſcover to have been his enemies ſhould feel the weight of his reſentment. As the natives had now formed an opinion that their country would be viſited by the ſhips of England at ſtated periods, there was ground to hope that this threatening declaration would produce no inconſiderable effect. When Omai's houſe was nearly finiſhed, and many of his moveables were carried aſhore, a box of toys excited the admiration of the multitude in a much higher degree than articles of a more uſeful nature. With regard to his pots, kettles, diſhes, plates, drinking-mugs, glaſſes, and the whole train of domeſtic accommodations, which in our eſtimation are ſo neceſſary and important, ſcarcely any one of his countrymen would condeſcend to look upon them. Omai himſelf, being ſenſible that theſe pieces of Engliſh furniture would be of no great conſequence in his preſent ſituation, wiſely ſold a number of them, among the people of the ſhips, for hatchets, and other iron tools, which had a more intrinſic value in this part of the world, and would give him a more diſtinguiſhed ſuperiority over thoſe with whom he was to paſs the remainder of his days. Omai's family, when he ſettled at Huaheine, conſiſted of eight or ten perſons; if that can be called a family, to which a ſingle female did not as yet belong, nor was likely to belong, unleſs its maſter ſhould become leſs volatile. There was nothing in his preſent temper which ſeemed likely to diſpoſe him to look out for a wife; and, perhaps, it is to be apprehended, that his reſidence in England had not contributed to improve his taſte for the ſober felicity of a domeſtic union with ſome woman of his own country. The European weapons of Omai conſiſted of a muſquet, bayonet, and cartouch-box; a fowling-piece; two pair of piſtols; and two or three ſwords or cutlaſſes. With the poſſeſſion of theſe warlike implements, he was highly delighted; and it was only to gratify his eager deſire for them, that Captain Cook was induced to make him ſuch preſents. The Captain would otherwiſe have thought it happier for him to be without fire-arms, or any European weapons, leſt an imprudent uſe of them (and prudence was not his moſt diſtinguiſhed talent) ſhould rather encreaſe his dangers than eſtabliſh his ſuperiority. Though it was no ſmall ſatisfaction to our Commander to reflect, that he had brought Omai ſafe back to the very ſpot from which he had been taken, this ſatisfaction was, nevertheleſs, ſomewhat diminiſhed by the conſideration, that his ſituation might now be leſs deſirable than it was before his connection with the Engliſh. It was to be feared, that the advantages which he had derived from his viſit to England would place him in a more hazardous ſtate with reſpect to his perſonal ſafety. Whatever faults belonged to Omai's character, they were overbalanced by his good-nature and his gratitude. He had a tolerable ſhare of underſtanding, but it was not accompanied with application and perſeverance; ſo that his knowledge of things was very general, and in moſt inſtances imperfect; nor was he a man of much obſervation. He would not, therefore, be able to introduce many of the arts and cuſtoms of England among his countrymen, or greatly to improve thoſe to which they have long been habituated. Captain Cook, however, was confident that he would endeavour to bring to perfection the fruits and vegetables which had been planted in the garden. This of itſelf would be no ſmall acquiſition to the natives. But the greateſt benefit which theſe Iſlands are likely to receive from Omai's travels, will be in the animals that are left upon them; and which, had it not been for his coming to England, they might probably never have obtained. When theſe multiply, of which Captain Cook thought there was little reaſon to doubt, Otaheite, and the Society Iſlands, will equal, if not exceed, any country in the known world, for plenty of proviſions. Before our Commander ſailed from Huaheine, he had the following inſcription cut on the outſide of Omai's houſe:

Georgius Tertius, Rex, 2 Novembris, 1777.
Naves { *Reſolution, Jac. Cook, Pr.*
{ *Diſcovery, Car. Clerke, Pr.*

On the ſame day, Omai took his final leave of our Navigators, in doing which he bade farewel to all the officers in a very affectionate manner. He ſuſtained himſelf with a manly reſolution till he came to Captain Cook, when his utmoſt efforts to conceal his tears failed; and he continued to weep all the time that the boat was conveying him to ſhore. Not again to reſume the ſubject, I ſhall here mention, that when the Captain was at Ulietea, a fortnight after this event, Omai ſent two men with the ſatisfactory intelligence, that he remained undiſturbed by the people of Huaheine, and that every thing ſucceeded well with him, excepting in the loſs of his goat, which had died in kidding. This intelligence was accompanied with a requeſt that another goat might be given him, together with two axes.

Our Commander eſteeming himſelf happy in having an additional opportunity of ſerving him, diſpatched the meſſengers back with the axes, and a couple of kids, male and female, which were ſpared for him out of the Diſcovery. The fate of the two youths who had been brought from New Zealand muſt not be forgotten. As they were extremely deſirous of continuing with our people, Captain Cook would have carried them to England with him, if there had appeared the moſt diſtant probability of their ever being reſtored to their own country. Tiarooa, the eldeſt of them, was a very well-diſpoſed young man, with ſtrong natural ſenſe, and a capacity of receiving any inſtruction. He ſeemed to be fully convinced of the inferiority of New Zealand to theſe Iſlands, and reſigned himſelf, though not without ſome degree of reluctance, to end his days, in eaſe and plenty, in Huaheine. The other had formed ſo ſtrong an attachment to our Navigators, that it was neceſſary to take him out of the ſhip, and carry him aſhore by force. This neceſſity was the more painful, as he was a witty, ſmart boy; and, on that account, a great favourite on board. Both theſe youths became a part of Omai's family.

Whilſt our Voyagers were at Huaheine, the atrocious conduct of one particular thief occaſioned ſo much trouble, that the Captain puniſhed him more ſeverely than he had ever done any culprit before. Beſides having his head and beared ſhaved, he ordered both his ears to be cut off, and then diſmiſſed him. It can ſcarcely be reflected upon without regret, that our Commander ſhould have been compelled to ſuch an act of ſeverity. On the third of November, the ſhips came to an anchor in the harbour of Ohamaneno, in the Iſland of Ulietea. The obſervatories being ſet up on the ſixth, and the neceſſary inſtruments having been carried on ſhore, the two following days were employed in making aſtronomical obſervations. In the night between the twelfth and thirteenth, John Harriſon, a Marine, who was ſentinel at the obſervatory, deſerted, taking with him his arms and accoutrements. Captain Cook exerted himſelf, on this occaſion, with his uſual vigour. He went himſelf in purſuit of the deſerter, who, after ſome evaſion on the part of the inhabitants, was ſurrendered. He was found ſitting between two women, with the muſquet lying before him; and all the defence he was able to make was, that he had been enticed away by the natives. As this account was probably the truth, and as it appeared beſides, that he had remained upon his poſt till within ten minutes of the time when he was to have been relieved, the puniſhment which the Captain inflicted upon him was not very ſevere. Some days after, a ſtill more troubleſome affair happened, of the ſame nature. On the morning of the twenty-fourth, the Captain was informed that a midſhipman, and a ſeaman, both belonging to the Diſcovery, were miſſing; and it ſoon appeared that they had gone away in a canoe, in the preceding evening, and had now reached the other end of the Iſland. As the midſhipman was known to have expreſſed a deſire of remaining at theſe Iſlands, it was evident that he and his companion had gone off with that intention. Though Captain Clerke immediately ſet out in queſt of them, with two armed boats, and a party of marines, his expedition proved fruitleſs, the natives having amuſed him the whole day with falſe intelligence. The next morning an account was brought that the deſerters were at Otaha. As they were not the only perſons in the ſhips who wiſhed to ſpend their days at theſe favourite Iſlands, it became neceſſary, for the purpoſe of preventing any farther deſertion, to recover them at all events. Captain Cook, therefore, in order to convince the inhabitants that he was in earneſt, reſolved to go after the fugitives himſelf; to which meaſure he was determined, from having obſerved, in repeated inſtances, that the natives had ſeldom offered to deceive him with falſe information. Agreeably to this reſolution, the Captain ſet out, the next morning, with two armed boats, being accompanied by Oreo, the Chief of Ulietea, and proceeded immediately to Otaha. But when he had gotten to the place where the deſerters were expected to be found, he was acquainted that they were gone over to Bolabola. Thither our Commander did not think proper to follow them, having determined to purſue another meaſure, which he judged would more effectually anſwer his purpoſe. This meaſure was, to put the Chief's ſon, daughter, and ſon-in-law, into confinement, and to detain them till the fugitives ſhould be reſtored. As to Oreo, he was informed, that he was at liberty to leave the ſhip whenever he pleaſed, and to take ſuch methods as he eſteemed beſt calculated to get our two men back; that, if he ſucceeded, his friends ſhould be releaſed; if not, that Captain Cook was reſolved to carry them away with him. The Captain added, that the Chief's own conduct, as well as that of many of his people, in aſſiſting the runaways to eſcape, and in enticing others to follow them, would juſtify any ſtep that could be taken to put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings. In conſequence of this explanation of our Commander's views and intentions, Oreo zealouſly exerted himſelf to recover the deſerters; for which purpoſe he diſpatched a canoe to Bolabola, with a meſſage to Opoony, the Sovereign of that Iſland, acquainting him with what had happened, and requeſting him to ſeize the two fugitives, and ſend them back. The meſſenger, who was no leſs a perſon than the father of Pootoe, Oreo's ſon-in-law, came, before he ſet out, to Captain Cook, to receive his commands; which were, not to return without the runaways, and to inform Opoony, that, if they had left Bolabola, he muſt diſpatch canoes in purſuit of them, till they ſhould finally be reſtored. Theſe vigorous meaſures were, at length, ſucceſsful. On the twenty-eighth, the deſerters were

brought back; and, as ſoon as they were on board, the three priſoners were releaſed. Our Commander would not have acted ſo reſolutely on the preſent occaſion, had he not been peculiarly ſolicitous to ſave the ſon of a brother officer from being loſt to his country. While this affair was in ſuſpence, ſome of the natives, from their anxiety on account of the confinement of the Chief's relations, had formed a deſign of a very ſerious nature; which was no leſs than to ſeize upon the perſons of Captain Clerke and Captain Cook. With regard to Captain Clerke, they made no ſecret of ſpeaking of their ſcheme, the day after it was diſcovered. But their firſt and grand plan of operations was to lay hold of Captain Cook. It was his cuſtom to bathe, every evening, in freſh water; in doing which he frequently went alone, and always without arms. As the inhabitants expected him to go, as uſual, on the evening of the twenty-ſixth, they had determined at that time to make him a priſoner. But he had thought it prudent, after confining Oreo's family, to avoid putting himſelf in their power; and had cautioned Captain Clerke, and the officers, not to venture themſelves far from the ſhips. In the courſe of the afternoon, the Chief aſked Captain Cook, three ſeveral times, if he would not go to the bathing-place; and when he found, at laſt, that the Captain could not be prevailed upon, he went off, with all his people. He was apprehenſive, without doubt, that the deſign was diſcovered; though no ſuſpicion of it was then entertained by our Commander, who imagined that the natives were ſeized with ſome ſudden fright, from which, as uſual, they would quickly recover. On one occaſion, Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore were in particular danger. A party of the inhabitants, armed with clubs, advanced againſt them; and their ſafety was principally owing to Captain Clerke's walking with a piſtol in his hand, which he once fired. The diſcovery of the conſpiracy, eſpecially ſo far as reſpected Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore, was made by a girl, whom one of the officers had brought from Huaheine. On this account, thoſe who were charged with the execution of the deſign were ſo greatly offended with her, that they threatened to take away her life, as ſoon as our Navigators ſhould leave the Iſland: but proper methods were purſued for her ſecurity. It was a happy circumſtance that the affair was brought to light; ſince ſuch a ſcheme could not have been carried into effect, without being, in its conſequences, productive of much diſtreſs and calamity to the natives. Whilſt Captain Cook was at Ulietea, he was viſited by his old friend Oree, who, in the former voyages, was Chief, or rather Regent, of Huaheine. Notwithſtanding his now being, in ſome degree, reduced to the rank of a private perſon, he ſtill preſerved his conſequence; never appeared without a numerous body of attendants; and was always provided with ſuch preſents as indicated his wealth, and were highly acceptable.

The laſt of the Society Iſlands to which our Commander ſailed, was Bolabola, where he arrived on the eighth of December. His chief view in paſſing over to this Iſland was to procure from its Monarch, Opoony, an anchor which Monſ. de Bougainville had loſt at Otaheite, and which had been conveyed to Bolabola. It was not from a want of anchors that Captain Cook was deſirous of making the purchaſe, but to convert the iron of which it conſiſted into a freſh aſſortment of trading articles, theſe being now very much exhauſted. The Captain ſucceeded in his negociation, and amply rewarded Opoony for giving up the anchor. Whilſt our Commander was at Bolabola, he received an account of thoſe military expeditions of the people of this country, which he had heard much of in each of his three voyages, and which had ended in the complete conqueſt of Ulietea and Otaha. The Bolabola men, in conſequence of theſe enterprizes, were in the higheſt reputation for their valour; and, indeed, were deemed ſo invincible as to be objects of terror to all the neighbouring Iſlands. It was an addition to their fame that their country was of ſuch ſmall extent; being not more than eight leagues in compaſs, and not half ſo large as Ulietea. Captain Cook continued to the laſt his zeal for furniſhing the natives of the South Sea with uſeful animals. At Bolabola, where there was already a ram, which had originally been left by the Spaniards at Otaheite, he carried aſhore an ewe, that had been brought from the Cape of Good Hope; and he rejoiced in the proſpect of laying a foundation, by this preſent, for a breed of ſheep in the Iſland. He left alſo at Ulietea, under the care of Oreo, an Engliſh boar and ſow, and two goats. It may, therefore, be regarded as certain, that not only Otaheite, but all the neighbouring Iſlands, will, in a few years, have their race of hogs conſiderably improved; and it is probable, that they will be ſtocked with all the valuable animals, which have been tranſported thither by their European viſiters. When this ſhall be accompliſhed, no part of the world will equal theſe Iſlands, in the variety and abundance of the refreſhments which they will be able to afford to Navigators; nor did the Captain know any place that excelled them, even in their preſent ſtate.

It is an obſervation of great importance, that the future felicity of the inhabitants of Otaheite, and the Society Iſlands, will not a little depend on their continuing to be viſited from Europe. Our Commander could not avoid expreſſing it as his real opinion, that it would have been far better for theſe poor people, never to have known our ſuperiority in the accommodations and arts which render life comfortable, than, after once knowing it, to be again left and abandoned to their original incapacity of improvement. If the intercourſe between them and us ſhould wholly be diſcontinued, they cannot be reſtored to that happy mediocrity in which they lived before they were firſt diſcovered. It ſeemed to Captain

tain Cook that it was become, in a manner, incumbent upon the Europeans to viſit theſe Iſlands once in three or four years, in order to ſupply the natives with thoſe conveniences which we have introduced among them, and for which we have given them a predilection. Perhaps they may heavily feel the want of ſuch occaſional ſupplies, when it may be too late to go back to their old and leſs perfect contrivances; contrivances which they now deſpiſe, and which they have diſcontinued ſince the introduction of ours. It is, indeed, to be apprehended, that by the time that the iron tools, of which they had become poſſeſſed, are worn out, they will have almoſt loſt the knowledge of their own. In this laſt voyage of our Commander, a ſtone hatchet was as rare a thing among the inhabitants as an iron one was eight years before; and a chiſſel of bone or ſtone was not to be ſeen. Spike-nails had ſucceeded in their place; and of ſpike-nails the natives were weak enough to imagine that they had gotten an inexhauſtible ſtore. Of all our commodities, axes and hatchets remained the moſt unrivalled; and they muſt ever be held in the higheſt eſtimation through the whole of the Iſlands. Iron tools are ſo ſtrikingly uſeful, and are now become ſo neceſſary to the comfortable exiſtence of the inhabitants, that, ſhould they ceaſe to receive ſupplies of them, their ſituation, in conſequence of their neither poſſeſſing the materials, nor being trained up to the art of fabricating them, would be rendered completely miſerable. It is impoſſible to reflect upon this repreſentation of things without ſtrong feelings of ſympathy and concern. Sincerely is it to be wiſhed, that ſuch may be the order of events, and ſuch the intercourſe carried on with the ſouthern Iſlanders, that, inſtead of finally ſuffering by their acquaintance with us, they may riſe to a higher ſtate of civilization, and permanently enjoy bleſſings far ſuperior to what they had heretofore known.

Amidſt the various ſubordinate employments which engaged the attention of Captain Cook and his aſſociates, the great objects of their duty were never forgotten. No opportunity was loſt of making aſtronomical and nautical obſervations; the conſequence of which was, that the latitude and longitude of the places where the ſhips anchored, the variations of the compaſs, the dips of the needle, and the ſtate of the tides, were aſcertained with an accuracy that forms a valuable addition to philoſophical ſcience, and will be of eminent ſervice to future navigators. Our Commander was now going to take his final departure from Otaheite and the Society Iſlands. Frequently as they had been viſited, it might have been imagined that their religious, political, and domeſtic regulations, manners, and cuſtoms, muſt, by this time, be thoroughly underſtood. A great acceſſion of knowledge was undoubtedly gained in the preſent voyage; and yet it was confeſſed, both by Captain Cook and Mr. Anderſon, that their accounts of things were ſtill imperfect in various reſpects; and that they continued ſtrangers to many of the moſt important inſtitutions which prevail among the natives. There was one part of the character of ſeveral of theſe people, on which the well-regulated mind of the Captain would not permit him to enlarge. "Too much," ſays he, "ſeems to have been already known, and publiſhed in our former "relations, about ſome of the modes of life, that made Otaheite ſo agreeable an abode "to many on board our ſhips; and if I could now add any finiſhing ſtrokes to a picture, "the outlines of which have been already drawn with ſufficient accuracy, I ſhould ſtill "have heſitated to make this journal the place for exhibiting a view of licentious man-"ners, which could only ſerve to diſguſt thoſe for whoſe information I write (*r*)." From Mr. Anderſon's account of the Otaheitans, it appears, that their religious ſyſtem is extenſive, and, in various inſtances, ſingular. They do not ſeem to pay reſpect to one God as poſſeſſing pre-eminence, but believe in a plurality of divinities, all of whom are ſuppoſed to be very powerful. In different parts of the Iſland, and in the neighbouring Iſlands, the inhabitants chooſe thoſe deities for the objects of their worſhip, who, they think, are moſt likely to protect them, and to ſupply all their wants. If, however, they are diſappointed in their expectations, they eſteem it no impiety to change their divinity, by having recourſe to another, whom they hope to find more propitious and ſucceſsful. In general, their notions concerning Deity are extravagantly abſurd. With regard to the ſoul, they believe it, according to Mr. Anderſon, to be both immaterial and immortal; but he acknowledges, that they are far from entertaining thoſe ſublime expectations of future happineſs which the Chriſtian Revelation affords, and which even reaſon alone, duly exerciſed, might teach us to expect (*s*). Although ſeventeen months had elapſed ſince Captain Cook's departure from England, during which time he had not, upon the whole, been unprofitably employed, he was ſenſible that, with reſpect to the principal object of his inſtructions, it was now only the commencement of his voyage; and that, therefore, his attention was to be called anew, to every circumſtance which might contribute towards the ſafety of his people, and the ultimate ſucceſs of the expedition. Accordingly, he had examined into the ſtate of the proviſions, whilſt he was at the Society Iſlands; and, as ſoon as he had left them, and had gotten beyond the extent of his former diſcoveries, he ordered a ſurvey to be taken of all the Boatſwain's and Carpenter's ſtores which were in the ſhips, that he might be fully informed of their quantity and condition; and, by that means, know how to uſe them to the greateſt advantage. It was on the eighth of December, the very day on which he had touched there, that our Commander ſailed from Bolabola. In the night between the twenty-ſecond and twenty-third, he croſſed the line, in the longitude of 203° 15′ Eaſt;

(*r*) Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 1—146.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 162—165.

and on the twenty-fourth, land was diſcovered, which was found to be one of thoſe low uninhabited Iſlands that are ſo frequent in this ocean. Here our Voyagers were ſucceſsful in catching a large quantity of turtle, which ſupplied them with an agreeable refreſhment; and here, on the twenty-eighth, an eclipſe of the ſun was obſerved by Mr. Bayly, Mr. King, and Captain Cook. On account of the ſeaſon of the year, the Captain called the land where he now was, and which he judged to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference, CHRISTMAS ISLAND (*t*). By his order, ſeveral cocoa-nuts and yams were planted, and ſome melon-ſeeds ſown, in proper places; and a bottle was left, containing this inſcription:

(*t*) The Weſt ſide of it, on which the eclipſe was obſerved, lies in the latitude of 1° 59′ North, and in the longitude of 202° 30′ Eaſt.

Georgius Tertius, Rex, 31 Decembris, 1777.
Naves { *Reſolution, Jac. Cook, Pr.*
{ *Diſcovery, Car. Clerke, Pr.* (*u*)

(*u*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 179—189.

On the Second of January, 1778, the ſhips reſumed their courſe to the northward, and though ſeveral evidences occurred of the vicinity of land, none was diſcovered till the eighteenth, when an Iſland made its appearance, bearing North-eaſt by Eaſt. Soon after, more land was ſeen, lying towards the North, and entirely detached from the former. The ſucceeding day was diſtinguiſhed by the diſcovery of a third Iſland, in the direction of Weſt-north-weſt, and as far diſtant as the eye could reach. In ſteering towards the ſecond Iſland, our Voyagers had ſome doubt whether the land before them was inhabited; but this matter was ſpeedily cleared up, by the putting off of ſome canoes from the ſhore, containing from three to ſix men each. Upon their approach, the Engliſh were agreeably ſurpriſed to find, that they ſpoke the language of Otaheite, and of the other countries which had lately been viſited. Theſe people were at firſt fearful of going on board; but when, on the twentieth, ſome of them took courage, and ventured to do it, they expreſſed an aſtoniſhment, on entering the ſhip, which Captain Cook had never experienced in the natives of any place, during the whole courſe of his ſeveral voyages. Their eyes continually flew from object to object; and, by the wildneſs of their looks and geſtures, they fully manifeſted their entire ignorance with relation to every thing they ſaw, and ſtrongly marked to our Navigators, that, till this time, they had never been viſited by Europeans, or been acquainted with any of our commodities, excepting iron. Even with reſpect to iron, it was evident that they had only heard of it, or, at moſt, had known it in ſome ſmall quantity, brought to them at a diſtant period; for all they underſtood concerning it was, that it was a ſubſtance much better adapted to the purpoſes of cutting, or the boring of holes, than any thing their own country produced. Their ceremonies on entering the ſhip, their geſtures and motions, and their manner of ſinging, were ſimilar to thoſe which our Voyagers had been accuſtomed to ſee in the places lately viſited. There was, likewiſe, a farther circumſtance in which theſe people perfectly reſembled the other Iſlanders; and that was, in their endeavouring to ſteal whatever came within their reach; or rather to take it openly, as what would either not be reſented, or not hindered. The Engliſh ſoon convinced them of their miſtake, by keeping ſuch a watchful eye over them, that they afterwards were obliged to be leſs active in appropriating to themſelves every object that ſtruck upon their fancy, and excited the deſire of poſſeſſion. One order given by Captain Cook at this Iſland was, that none of the boats crews ſhould be permitted to go on ſhore; the reaſon of which was, that he might do every thing in his power to prevent the importation of a fatal diſeaſe, which, unhappily, had already been communicated in other places. With the ſame view, he directed that all female viſiters ſhould be excluded from the ſhips. Another neceſſary precaution, taken by the Captain, was a ſtrict injunction, that no perſon, known to be capable of propagating diſorder, ſhould be ſent upon duty out of the veſſels. Thus zealous was the humanity of our Commander, to prevent an irreparable injury from being done to the natives. There are men who glory in their ſhame, and who do not care how much evil they communicate. Of this there was an inſtance at Tongataboo, in the Gunner of the Diſcovery, who had been ſtationed on ſhore to manage the trade for that ſhip; and who, though he was well acquainted with his own ſituation, continued to have connections with different women. His companions expoſtulated with him without effect, till Captain Clerke, hearing of the dangerous irregularity of his conduct, ordered him on board. If I knew the raſcal's name, I would hang it up, as far as lies in my power, to everlaſting infamy.

Mr. Williamſon being ſent with the boats to ſearch for water, and attempting to land, the inhabitants came down in ſuch numbers, and were ſo violent in their endeavours to ſeize upon the oars, muſquets and, in ſhort, every thing they could lay hold of, that he was obliged to fire, by which one man was killed. This unhappy circumſtance was not known to Captain Cook till after he had left the Iſland; ſo that all his meaſures were directed as if nothing of the kind had happened. When the ſhips were brought to an anchor, our Commander went on ſhore; and at the very inſtant of his doing it, the collected body of the natives all fell flat upon their faces, and continued in that humble poſture, till, by expreſſive ſigns, he prevailed upon them to riſe. Other ceremonies followed; and the next day a trade was ſet on foot for hogs and potatoes, which the people of the Iſland gave

in exchange for nails and pieces of iron, formed into ſomething like chiſſels. So far was any obſtruction from being met with in watering, that, on the contrary, the inhabitants aſſiſted our men in rolling the caſks to and from the pool; and readily performed whatever was required. Affairs thus going on to the Captain's ſatisfaction, he made an excurſion into the country, accompanied by Mr. Anderſon and Mr. Webber, the former of whom was as well qualified to deſcribe with the pen, as the latter was to repreſent with his pencil, whatever might occur worthy of obſervation. In this excurſion, the Gentlemen, among other objects that called for their attention, found a *Morai*, a particular deſcription of which, together with drawings of it, are given in the Voyage. On the return of our Commander, he had the pleaſure of finding that a briſk trade for pigs, fowls, and roots was carrying on with the greateſt good order, and without any attempt to cheat, or ſteal, on the part of the natives. The rapacious diſpoſition they at firſt diſplayed, was entirely corrected by their conviction that it could not be exerciſed with impunity. Among the articles which they brought to barter, the moſt remarkable was a particular ſort of cloak and cap, that might be reckoned elegant, even in countries where dreſs is eminently the object of attention. The cloak was richly adorned with red and yellow feathers, which in themſelves were highly beautiful, and the newneſs and freſhneſs of which added not a little to their beauty. On the twenty-ſecond, a circumſtance occurred, which gave the Engliſh room to ſuſpect that the people of the Iſland are eaters of human fleſh. Not, however, to reſt the belief of the exiſtence of ſo horrid a practice on the foundation of ſuſpicion only, Captain Cook was anxious to enquire into the truth of the fact, the reſult of which was its being fully confirmed. An old man, in particular, who was aſked upon the ſubject, anſwered in the affirmative, and ſeemed to laugh at the ſimplicity of ſuch a queſtion. His anſwer was equally affirmative on a repetition of the enquiry; and he added that the fleſh of men was excellent food, or, as he expreſſed it, "ſavoury eating." It is underſtood that enemies ſlain in battle are the ſole objects of this abominable cuſtom. The Iſland at which our Voyagers had now touched, was called Atooi by the natives. Near it was another Iſland, named Oneeheow, where our Commander came to an anchor on the twenty-ninth of the month. The inhabitants were found to reſemble thoſe of Atooi in their diſpoſitions, manners, and cuſtoms; and proofs, too convincing, appeared that the horrid banquet of human fleſh is here as much reliſhed, amidſt plenty, as it is at New Zealand. From a deſire of benefiting theſe people, by furniſhing them with additional articles of food, the Captain left with them a ram-goat and two ewes, a boar and ſow pig of the Engliſh breed, and the ſeeds of melons, pumkins, and onions. Theſe benevolent preſents would have been made to Atooi, the larger Iſland, had not our Navigators been unexpectedly driven from it by ſtreſs of weather. Though the ſoil of Oneeheow ſeemed, in general, poor, it was obſervable, that the ground was covered with ſhrubs and plants, ſome of which perfumed the air with a more delicious fragrancy than what Captain Cook had met with at any other of the countries that had been viſited by him in this part of the world.

It is a curious circumſtance, with regard to the Iſlands in the Pacific Ocean which the late European voyages have added to the geography of the globe, that they have generally been found to lie in groups, or cluſters. The ſingle intermediate Iſlands, which have as yet been diſcovered, are few in proportion to the others; though there are probably many more of them that are ſtill unknown, and may ſerve as ſteps, by which the ſeveral cluſters are, in ſome degree, connected together. Of the Archipelago now firſt viſited, there were five only with which our Commander became at this time acquainted. The names of theſe, as given by the natives, were Woahoo, Atooi, Oneeheow, Oreehoua, and Tahoora. To the whole group Captain Cook gave the appellation of SANDWICH ISLANDS, in honour of his great friend and patron, the Earl of Sandwich [*DD*]. Concerning the Iſland of Atooi, which is the largeſt of the five, and which was the principal ſcene of the Captain's operations, he collected, in conjunction with Mr. Anderſon, a conſiderable degree of information. The land, as to its general appearance, does not in the leaſt reſemble any of the Iſlands that our Voyagers had hitherto viſited within the tropic, on the South ſide of the equator; excepting ſo far as regards its hills near the centre, which ſlope gently towards the ſea. Hogs, dogs, and fowls, were the only tame or domeſtic animals that were here found; and theſe were of the ſame kind with thoſe which exiſt in the countries of the South Pacific Ocean. Among the inhabitants (who are of a middle ſtature, and firmly made), there is a more remarkable equality in the ſize, colour, and figure of both ſexes, than our Commander had obſerved in moſt other places. They appeared to be bleſt with a frank and chearful diſpoſition; and, in Captain Cook's opinion, they are equally free from the fickle levity which diſtinguiſhes the natives of Otaheite, and the ſedate caſt diſcernible amongſt many of thoſe of Tongataboo. It is a very pleaſing circumſtance in their character, that they pay a particular attention to their women, and readily lend aſſiſtance to their wives, in the tender offices of maternal duty. On all occaſions, they ſeemed to be

[*DD*] *The Earl of Sandwich.*] The Iſlands that were ſeen by Captain Cook, are ſituated in the latitude of 21° 30′ and 22° 15′ North, and between the longitude of 199° 20′ and 201° 30′ Eaſt. It was in conſequence of ſeventy-two ſets of lunar obſervations that the longitude was determined.

deeply

deeply impreſſed with a conſciouſneſs of their own inferiority; being alike ſtrangers to the prepoſterous pride of the more poliſhed Japoneſe, and of the ruder Greenlander. Contrary to the general practice of the countries that had hitherto been diſcovered in the Pacific Ocean, the people of the Sandwich Iſlands have not their ears perforated; nor have they the leaſt idea of wearing ornaments in them, though, in other reſpects, they are ſufficiently fond of adorning their perſons. In every thing manufactured by them there is an uncommon degree of neatneſs and ingenuity; and the elegant form and poliſh of ſome of their fiſhing-hooks could not be exceeded by any European artiſt, even if he ſhould add all his knowledge in deſign to the number and convenience of his tools. From what was ſeen of their agriculture, ſufficient proofs were afforded that they are not novices in that art; and that the quantity and goodneſs of their vegetable productions may as much be attributed to ſkilful culture, as to natural fertility of ſoil. Amidſt all the reſemblances between the natives of Atooi, and thoſe of Otaheite, the coincidence of their languages was the moſt ſtriking; being, almoſt word for word, the ſame. Had the Sandwich Iſlands been diſcovered by the Spaniards, at an early period, they would undoubtedly have taken advantage of ſo excellent a ſituation, and have made uſe of them as refreſhing places to their ſhips, which ſail annually from Acapulco for Manilla. Happy, too, would it have been for Lord Anſon, if he had known that there exiſted a group of Iſlands, half way between America and Tinian, where all his wants could effectually have been ſupplied, and the different hardſhips to which he was expoſed have been avoided (*w*).

(*w*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 179—252.

On the ſecond of February, our Navigators purſued their courſe to the northward, in doing which the incidents they met with were almoſt entirely of a nautical kind. The long-looked for coaſt of New Albion was ſeen on the ſeventh of March, the ſhips being then in the latitude of 44° 33′ North, and in the longitude of 235° 20′ Eaſt. As the veſſels ranged along the Weſt ſide of America, Captain Cook gave names to ſeveral capes and head-lands which appeared in ſight. At length, on the twenty-ninth, the Captain came to an anchor at an inlet where the appearance of the country differed much from what had been ſeen before; being full of mountains, the ſummits of which were covered with ſnow; while the valleys between them, and the grounds on the ſea-coaſt, high as well as low, were covered, to a conſiderable breadth, with high, ſtraight trees, which formed a beautiful proſpect, as of one vaſt foreſt (*x*). It was immediately found that the coaſt was inhabited; and there ſoon came off to the Reſolution three canoes, containing eighteen of the natives; who could not, however, be prevailed upon to venture themſelves on board. Notwithſtanding this, they diſplayed a peaceable diſpoſition; ſhewed great readineſs to part with any thing they had, in exchange for what was offered them; and expreſſed a ſtronger deſire for iron than for any other of our commercial articles, appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the uſe of that metal. From theſe favourable circumſtances, our Voyagers had reaſon to hope that they ſhould find this a comfortable ſtation to ſupply all their wants, and to make them forget the hardſhips and delays which they had experienced during a conſtant ſucceſſion of adverſe winds, and boiſterous weather, almoſt ever ſince their arrival upon the coaſt of America (*y*). The ſhips having happily found an excellent inlet, the coaſts of which appeared to be inhabited by a race of people who were diſpoſed to maintain a friendly intercourſe with ſtrangers, Captain Cook's firſt object was to ſearch for a commodious harbour; and he had little trouble in diſcovering what he wanted. A trade having immediately commenced, the articles which the inhabitants offered to ſale were the ſkins of various animals, ſuch as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, rackoons, polecats, martins; and, in particular, of the ſea-otters. To theſe were added, beſides the ſkins in their native ſhape, garments made of them; another ſort of clothing, formed from the bark of a tree; and various different pieces of workmanſhip. But of all the articles brought to market, the moſt extraordinary were human ſkulls, and hands not yet quite ſtripped of their fleſh; ſome of which had evident marks of their having been upon the fire. The things which the natives took in exchange for their commodities, were knives, chiſſels, pieces of iron and tin, nails, looking-glaſſes, buttons, or any kind of metal. Glaſs beads did not ſtrike their imaginations; and cloth of every ſort they rejected. Though commerce, in general, was carried on with mutual honeſty, there were ſome among theſe people who were as much inclined to thievery as the Iſlanders in the Southern Ocean. They were, at the ſame time, far more dangerous thieves; for, poſſeſſing ſharp iron inſtruments, they could cut a hook from a tackle, or any other piece of iron from a rope, the moment that the backs of the Engliſh were turned. The dexterity with which they conducted their operations of this nature, frequently eluded the moſt cautious vigilance. Some ſlighter inſtances of deception, in the way of traffic, Captain Cook thought it better to bear with than to make them the foundation of a quarrel; and to this he was the rather determined, as the Engliſh articles were now reduced to objects of a trifling nature. In the progreſs of the commerce, the natives would deal for nothing but metal; and, at length, braſs was ſo eagerly ſought for, in preference to iron, that, before our Navigators quitted the place, ſcarcely a bit of it was left in the ſhips, excepting what belonged to the neceſſary inſtruments. Whole ſuits of clothes were ſtripped of every button; bureaus were deprived of their furniture; copper kettles, tin canniſters, candleſticks, and whatever of the

(*x*) When this land was ſeen, the ſhips were in the latitude 49° 29′ North, and the longitude of 232° 29′ Eaſt.

(*y*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 253. 258. 264—267.

the like kind could be found, all went to wreck; ſo that theſe Americans became poſſeſſors of a greater medley and variety of things from our people, than any other nation that had been viſited in the courſe of the voyage. Of all the uncivilized tribes which our Commander had met with in his ſeveral navigations, he never found any who had ſuch ſtrict notions of their having a right to the excluſive property of every thing which their country produces, as the inhabitants of the Sound where he was now ſtationed. At firſt, they wanted to be paid for the wood and water that were carried on board; and had the Captain been upon the ſpot, when theſe demands were made, he would certainly have complied with them: but the workmen, in his abſence, maintained a different opinion, and refuſed to ſubmit to any ſuch claims. When ſome graſs, which appeared to be of no uſe to the natives, was wanted to be cut, as food for the few goats and ſheep which ſtill remained on board, they inſiſted that it ſhould be purchaſed, and were very unreaſonable in their terms; notwithſtanding which, Captain Cook conſented to gratify them, as far as he was able. It was always a ſacred rule with him never to take any of the property of the people whom he viſited, without making them an ample compenſation.

The grand operation of our Navigators, in their preſent ſtation, was to put the ſhips into a complete repair for the proſecution of the expedition. While this buſineſs was carrying on, our Commander took the opportunity of examining every part of the Sound; in the courſe of which he gained a farther knowledge of the inhabitants, who, in general, received him with great civility. In one inſtance he met with a ſurly Chief, who could not be ſoftened with preſents, though he condeſcended to accept of them. The females of the place over which he preſided, ſhewed a more agreeable diſpoſition; for ſome of the young women expeditiouſly dreſſed themſelves in their beſt apparel, and, aſſembling in a body, welcomed the Engliſh to their village, by joining in a ſong, which was far from being harſh or diſagreeable. On another occaſion, the Captain was entertained with ſinging. Being viſited by a number of ſtrangers, on the twenty-ſecond of April, as they advanced towards the ſhips, they all ſtood up in their canoes, and began to ſing. Some of their ſongs, in which the whole body joined, were in a ſlow, and others in a quicker time; and their notes were accompanied with the moſt regular motions of their hands; or with beating in concert, with their paddles, on the ſides of the canoes; to which were added other very expreſſive geſtures. At the end of each ſong, they continued ſilent for a few moments, and then began again, ſometimes pronouncing the word *Hooee!* forcibly as a chorus. Among the natives of the country, there was one Chief who attached himſelf to our Commander in a particular manner. Captain Cook having, at parting, beſtowed upon him a ſmall preſent, received, in return, a beaver ſkin, of much greater value. This called upon the Captain to make ſome addition to his preſent, with which the Chief was ſo much pleaſed, that he inſiſted on our Commander's acceptance of the beaver-ſkin cloak which he then wore; and of which he was particularly fond. Admiring this inſtance of generoſity, and deſirous that he ſhould not ſuffer by his friendſhip, the Captain gave him a new broad ſword, with a braſs hilt; the poſſeſſion of which rendered him completely happy (*z*).

(*z*) Cook, ubi *ſupra*, p. 269—286.

On Captain Cook's firſt arrival in this inlet, he had honoured it with the name of KING GEORGE'S SOUND; but he afterwards found that it is called NOOTKA by the natives (*a*). During his ſtay in the place, he diſplayed his uſual ſagacity and diligence, in conjunction with Mr. Anderſon, in collecting every thing that could be learned concerning the neighbouring country and its inhabitants; and the account is intereſting, as it exhibits a picture of productions, people, and manners very different from what had occurred in the Southern Ocean. I can only, as on former occaſions, ſlightly advert to a few of the more leading circumſtances. The climate, ſo far as our Navigators had experience of it, was found to be in an eminent degree milder than that on the Eaſt coaſt of America, in the ſame parallel of latitude; and it was remarkable that the thermometer, even in the night, never fell lower than 42°; while in the day it frequently roſe to 60°. With regard to trees, thoſe of which the woods are chiefly compoſed, are the Canadian pine, the white cypreſs, and the wild pine, with two or three different ſorts of pine that are leſs common. In the other vegetable productions there appeared but little variety: but it is to be conſidered that, at ſo early a ſeaſon, ſeveral might not yet have ſprung up; and that many more might be concealed from our Voyagers, in conſequence of the narrow ſphere of their reſearches. Of the land animals, the moſt common were bears, deer, foxes, and wolves. The ſea animals which were ſeen off the coaſt, were whales, porpoiſes, and ſeals. Birds, in general, are not only rare as to the different ſpecies, but very ſcarce as to numbers; and the few which are to be met with are ſo ſhy, that, in all probability, they are continually harraſſed by the natives; either to eat them as food, or to get poſſeſſion of their feathers, which are uſed as ornaments. Fiſh are more plentiful in quantity than birds, but were not found in any great variety; and yet, from ſeveral circumſtances, there was reaſon to believe, that the variety is conſiderably increaſed at certain ſeaſons. The only animals that were obſerved of the reptile kind were ſnakes and water-lizards; but the inſect tribe ſeemed to be more numerous. With reſpect to the inhabitants of the country, their perſons are generally under the common ſtature; but not ſlender in proportion, being uſually pretty full or plump, though without being muſcular. From their bringing to ſale human ſkulls and

(*a*) The entrance of the Sound is ſituated in the Eaſt corner of Hope Bay, in the latitude of 49° 33′ North, and in the longitude of 233° 12′ Eaſt.

bones, it may juſtly be inferred that they treat their enemies with a degree of brutal cruelty; notwithſtanding which, it does not follow that they are to be reproached with any charge of peculiar inhumanity: for the circumſtance now mentioned only marks a general agreement of character with that of almoſt every tribe of uncivilized men, in every age, and in every part of the globe. Our Navigators had no reaſon to complain of the diſpoſition of the natives, who appeared to be a docile, courteous, good-natured people; rather phlegmatic in the uſual caſt of their tempers, but quick in reſenting what they apprehend to be an injury, and eaſily permitting their anger to ſubſide. Their other paſſions, and eſpecially their curioſity, ſeemed to lie in ſome meaſure dormant; one cauſe of which may be found in the indolence that, for the moſt part, is prevalent amongſt them. The chief employments of the men are thoſe of fiſhing, and of killing land or ſea-animals, for the ſuſtenance of their families; while the women are occupied in manufacturing their flaxen or woollen garments, or in other domeſtic offices. It muſt be mentioned to their honour, that they were always properly clothed, and behaved with the utmoſt decorum; juſtly deſerving all commendation, for a baſhfulneſs and modeſty becoming their ſex: and this was the more meritorious in them, as the male inhabitants diſcovered no ſenſe of ſhame. In their manufactures and mechanic arts, theſe people have arrived to a greater degree of extent and ingenuity, both with regard to the deſign and the execution, than could have been expected from their natural diſpoſition, and the little progreſs to which they have arrived in general civilization. Their dexterity, in particular, with reſpect to works of wood, muſt principally be aſcribed to the aſſiſtance they receive from iron tools, which are in univerſal uſe amongſt them, and in the application of which they are very dexterous. Whence they have derived their knowledge of iron, was a matter of ſpeculation with Captain Cook. The moſt probable opinion is, that this and other metals may have been introduced by way of Hudſon's Bay and Canada, and thus ſucceſſively have been conveyed acroſs the continent, from tribe to tribe. Nor is it unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that theſe metals may ſometimes be brought, in the ſame manner, from the North-weſtern parts of Mexico [*EE*]. The language of Nootka is by no means harſh or diſagreeable; for it abounds, upon the whole, rather with what may be called labial and dental, than with guttural ſounds. A large vocabulary of it was collected by Mr. Anderſon. Whilſt Captain Cook was at Nootka Sound, great attention was paid by him, as uſual, to aſtronomical and nautical ſubjects. The obſervations which he had an opportunity of making were, indeed, ſo numerous, as to form a very conſiderable addition to geographical and philoſophical ſcience (*b*).

(*b*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 288. 291. 293, 294. 296. 298 300, 301. 309, 310. 318, 319. 325. 329, 330. 332. 334. 337—340.

On the twenty-ſixth, the repairs of the ſhips having been completed, every thing was ready for the Captain's departure. When, in the afternoon of that day, the veſſels were upon the point of ſailing, the mercury in the barometer fell unuſually low; and there was every other preſage of an approaching ſtorm, which might reaſonably be expected to come from the ſouthward. This circumſtance induced our Commander in ſome degree to heſitate, and eſpecially as night was at hand, whether he ſhould venture to ſail, or wait till the next morning. But his anxious impatience to proceed upon the voyage, and the fear of loſing the preſent opportunity of getting out of the Sound, made a greater impreſſion upon his mind than any apprehenſion of immediate danger. He determined, therefore, to put to ſea at all events; and accordingly carried his deſign into execution that evening. He was not deceived in his expectations of a ſtorm. Scarcely were the veſſels out of the Sound before the wind increaſed to a ſtrong gale, with ſqualls and rain, accompanied by ſo dark a ſky, that the length of the ſhips could not be ſeen. Happily the wind took a direction that blew our Navigators from the coaſt; and though, on the twenty-ſeventh, the tempeſt roſe to a perfect hurricane, and the Reſolution ſprang a leak, no material damage enſued. In the proſecution of the Voyage to the North, and back again to the Sandwich Iſlands, the facts that occurred were chiefly of a nautical kind. Minutely to record theſe, is not the purpoſe of the preſent work, and indeed, would extend it to an unreaſonable length. Recourſe muſt be had to the Voyage at large, for a detail of every circumſtance in which Captain Cook, as a Navigator, was concerned. In that Voyage will be found a full and exact account of the coaſts which he paſſed, the capes and promontories to which he gave names, the bays which he entered, the iſlands he diſcovered, the traverſes he made, the latitudes and longitudes that were ſettled by him, and the variations that happened in the wind and the weather. From this long and important navigation, I can only ſelect ſome few incidents, that may be accommodated to the taſte and expectations of the generality of readers. One thing it is not improper here to obſerve; which is, that the Captain, in his paſſage along the coaſt of America, kept at a diſtance from that coaſt, whenever the wind blew ſtrongly upon it, and ſailed on till he could approach it again with ſafety. Hence ſeveral great gaps were left unexplored, and particularly between the latitudes of 50° and 55°. The exact ſituation, for inſtance, of the

[*EE*] *From the North-weſtern parts of Mexico.*] Two ſilver ſpoons, of a conſtruction ſimilar to what may ſometimes be ſeen in Flemiſh pictures of ſtill life, were procured here by Mr. Gore, who bought them from a native, who wore them, tied together with a leathern thong, as an ornament round his neck. Mr. Gore gave the ſpoons to Sir Joſeph Banks.

ſuppoſed Straits of Anian was not aſcertained. Every one who is acquainted with the character of our Commander will be ſenſible, that if he had lived to return again to the North in 1779, he would have endeavoured to explore the parts which had been left unexamined. The firſt place at which Captain Cook landed, after his departure from Nootka Sound, was at an Iſland, of eleven or twelve leagues in length, the South-weſt point of which lies in the latitude of 59° 49′ North, and the longitude of 216° 58′ Eaſt. Here, on the eleventh of May, at the foot of a tree, on a little eminence not far from the ſhore, he left a bottle, with a paper in it, on which were inſcribed the names of the ſhips, and the date of the diſcovery. Together with the bottle, he encloſed two ſilver two-penny pieces of his Majeſty's coin, which had been ſtruck in 1772. Theſe, with many others, had been given him by the Reverend Dr. Kaye, the preſent Dean of Lincoln; and our Commander, as a mark of his eſteem and regard for that learned and reſpectable Gentleman, named the Iſland, after him, KAYE'S ISLAND. At an inlet, where the ſhips came to an anchor, on the twelfth, and to which Captain Cook gave the appellation of PRINCE WILLIAM'S SOUND, he had an opportunity not only of ſtopping the leak which the Reſolution had ſprung in the late ſtorm, and of proſecuting his nautical and geographical diſcoveries, but of making conſiderable additions to his knowledge of the inhabitants of the American coaſt. From every obſervation which was made concerning the perſons of the natives of this part of the coaſt, it appeared that they had a ſtriking reſemblance to thoſe of the Eſquimaux and Greenlanders. Their canoes, their weapons, and their inſtruments for fiſhing and hunting, are likewiſe exactly the ſame, in point of materials and conſtruction, that are uſed in Greenland. The animals in the neighbourhood of Prince William's Sound are, in general, ſimilar to thoſe which are found at Nootka. One of the moſt beautiful ſkins here offered to ſale, was, however, that of a ſmall animal, which ſeemed to be peculiar to the place. Mr. Anderſon was inclined to think that it is the animal which is deſcribed by Mr. Pennant, under the name of the *Caſan* Marmot. Among the birds ſeen in this country, were the white-headed eagle; the ſhag; and the *Alcedo*, or great king-fiſher, the colours of which were very fine and bright. The humming-bird, alſo, came frequently and flew about the ſhip, while at anchor; but it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed that it can be able to ſubſiſt here during the ſeverity of winter. Water-fowl, upon the whole, are in conſiderable plenty; and there is a ſpecies of diver, about the ſize of a partridge, which ſeems peculiar to the place. Torſk and halibut were almoſt the only kinds of fiſh that were obtained by our Voyagers. Vegetables, of any ſort, were few in number; and the trees were chiefly the Canadian and ſpruce pine, ſome of which were of a conſiderable height and thickneſs. The beads and iron that were found among the people of the coaſt, muſt undoubtedly have been derived from ſome civilized nation: and yet there was ample reaſon to believe, that our Engliſh navigators were the firſt Europeans with whom the natives had ever held a direct communication. From what quarter, then, had they gotten our manufactures? Moſt probably, through the intervention of the more inland tribes, from Hudſon's Bay, or the ſettlements on the Canadian lakes. This, indeed, muſt certainly have been the caſe, if iron was known amongſt the inhabitants of this part of the American coaſt, prior to the diſcovery of it by the Ruſſians, and before there was any traffic with them carried on from Kamtſchatka. From what was ſeen of Prince William's Sound, Captain Cook judged that it occupied, at leaſt, a degree and a half of latitude, and two of longitude, excluſively of the arms or branches, the extent of which is not known (*c*).

(*c*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 286. 341. 349, 350. 354. 362. 366. 371. 376, 377. 378. 380.

Some days after leaving this Sound, our Navigators came to an inlet, from which great things were expected. Hopes were ſtrongly entertained, that it would be found to communicate either with the ſea to the North, or with Baffin's or Hudſon's Bay to the Eaſt; and accordingly, it became the object of very accurate and ſerious examination. The Captain was ſoon perſuaded that the expectations formed from it were groundleſs; notwithſtanding which, he perſiſted in the ſearch of a paſſage, more, indeed, to ſatisfy other people, than to confirm his own opinion. In conſequence of a complete inveſtigation of the inlet, indubitable marks occurred of its being a river. This river, without ſeeing the leaſt appearance of its ſource, was traced by our Voyagers, as high as the latitude of 61° 30′, and the longitude of 210°, being ſeventy leagues from its entrance. During the courſe of the navigation, on the firſt of June, Lieutenant King was ordered on ſhore, to diſplay the royal flag, and to take poſſeſſion of the country in his Majeſty's name. The Lieutenant, at the ſame time, buried in the ground a bottle, containing ſome pieces of Engliſh coin, of the year 1772, and a paper, on which the names of the ſhips were inſcribed, and the date of the preſent diſcovery. The great river now diſcovered, promiſes to vie with the moſt conſiderable ones already known; and, by itſelf and its branches, lies open to a very extenſive inland communication. If, therefore, the knowledge of it ſhould be of future ſervice, the time which was ſpent in exploring it ought the leſs to be regretted. But to Captain Cook, who had a much greater object in view, the delay that was hence occaſioned was a real loſs, becauſe the ſeaſon was advancing apace. It was, however, a ſatisfaction to him to reflect, that if he had not examined this very conſiderable inlet, it would have been aſſumed, by ſpeculative fabricators of geography, as a fact, that there was a paſſage through it to the North

North Sea, or to Baffin's or Hudſon's Bay. Perhaps, too, it would have been marked, on future maps of the world, with greater preciſion, and more certain ſigns of reality, than the inviſible, becauſe imaginary, Straits of de Euca, and de Fonte. In deſcribing the inlet, our Commander had left a blank which was not filled up with any particular name; and, therefore, the Earl of Sandwich directed, with the greateſt propriety, that it ſhould be called COOK's RIVER. All the natives who were met with, during the examination of this river, appeared, from every mark of reſemblance, to be of the ſame nation with the inhabitants of Prince William's Sound; but from the people of Nootka, or King George's Sound, they eſſentially differed, both in their perſons and their language. The only things which were ſeen among them, that were not of their own manufacture, were a few glaſs beads, the iron points of their ſpears, and knives of the ſame metal. Whenceſoever theſe articles might be derived, it was evident that they had never had any immediate intercourſe with the Ruſſians; ſince, if that had been the caſe, our Voyagers would ſcarcely have found them clothed in ſuch valuable ſkins as thoſe of the ſea-otter. A very beneficial fur-trade might undoubtedly be carried on with the inhabitants of this vaſt coaſt. But, without a practicable northern paſſage, the ſituation is too remote to render it probable that Great Britain ſhould hence ever derive any material advantage; though it is impoſſible to ſay, with certainty, how far the ſpirit of commerce, for which the Engliſh nation is ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, may extend [*FF*]. The moſt valuable, or rather the only valuable ſkins, which Captain Cook ſaw on the Weſt ſide of America, were thoſe of the ſea-otter; for as to the ſkins of all the other animals of the country, and eſpecially of the foxes and martins, they ſeemed to be of an inferior quality (*d*).

(*d*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 384. 386. 396—401.

It was on the ſixth of June that our Navigators got clear of Cook's river. Proceeding in the courſe of their diſcoveries, when they were ſailing, on the nineteenth, amidſt the group of Iſlands which were called by Beering, Schumagin's Iſlands, Captain Clerke fired three guns, and brought to, expreſſing, by the proper ſignals, that he wiſhed to ſpeak with Captain Cook. At this our Commander was not a little alarmed; and, as no apparent danger had been remarked in the paſſage through the channel where the veſſels now were, it was apprehended that ſome accident, ſuch as ſpringing a leak, muſt have happened. On Captain Clerke's coming on board the Reſolution, he related that ſeveral of the natives had followed his ſhip; that one of them had made many ſigns, taking off his cap, and bowing after the manner of Europeans; and that, at length, he had faſtened to a rope, which was handed down to him, a ſmall thin wooden caſe or box. Having delivered his parcel ſafe, and ſpoken ſomething, accompanied with more ſigns, the canoes dropped aſtern, and left the Diſcovery. On opening the box, a piece of paper was found, folded up carefully, upon which ſomething was written, that was reaſonably ſuppoſed to be in the Ruſſian language. To the paper was prefixed the date 1778, and in the body of the note there was a reference to the year 1776. Although no perſon on board was learned enough to decypher the alphabet of the writer, his numerals ſufficiently marked that others had preceded our Voyagers in viſiting this dreary part of the globe; and the proſpect of ſoon meeting with men who were united to them in ties ſomewhat cloſer than thoſe of our common nature, and who were not ſtrangers to the arts and commerce of civilized life, could not but afford a ſenſible ſatisfaction to people who, for ſuch a length of time, had been converſant with the ſavages of the Pacific Ocean, and of the North American continent. Captain Clerke was, at firſt, of opinion that ſome Ruſſians had been ſhipwrecked; but no ſuch idea occurred to Captain Cook. He rather thought that the paper contained a note of information, left by ſome Ruſſian traders, to be delivered to the next of their countrymen who ſhould arrive; and that the natives, ſeeing the Engliſh paſs, and ſuppoſing them to be Ruſſians, had reſolved to bring off the note. Accordingly, our Commander purſued his voyage, without enquiring farther into the matter. On the twenty-firſt, amongſt ſome hills, on the main land, that towered above the clouds to a moſt amazing height, one was diſcovered to have a *volcano*, which continually threw up vaſt columns of black ſmoke. It doth not ſtand far from the coaſt; and it lies in the latitude of 54° 48′, and the longitude of 195° 45′. This mountain was rendered remarkable by its figure, which is a complete cone; and the volcano is at the very ſummit. While, in the afternoon of the ſame day, during a calm of three hours, the Engliſh were fiſhing with great ſucceſs for halibuts, a ſmall canoe, conducted by one man, came to them from an Iſland in the neighbourhood. On approaching the ſhip, he took off his cap, and bowed, as the native had done, who had viſited the Diſcovery a day or two before. From the acquired politeneſs of theſe people, as well as from the note already mentioned, it was evident that the Ruſſians muſt have a communication and traffic with them; and of this a freſh proof occurred in the preſent viſiter; for he wore a pair of green cloth breeches, and a jacket of black cloth, or ſtuff, under the gut-ſhirt or frock of his own country. In the proſecution of the voyage, on the twenty-ſixth, there was ſo thick a fog, that our Navigators could not

[*FF*] *May extend.*] Several ſhips have been fitted out from our ſettlements in India, as well as in England, on the ſpeculation of this fur-trade. However, little benefit hath hitherto accrued from it, excepting to the proprietors of the firſt veſſel; the cargo which it carried having lowered the price of furs extremely in the China market.

ſee a hundred yards before them; notwithſtanding which, as the weather was moderate, the Captain did not intermit his courſe. At length, however, being alarmed at the ſound of breakers on one ſide of the ſhip, he immediately brought her to, and came to an anchor; and the Diſcovery, by his order, did the ſame. A few hours after, the fog having in ſome degree cleared away, it appeared that both the veſſels had eſcaped a very imminent danger. Providence, in the dark, had conducted them between rocks which our Commander would not have ventured to paſs through in a clear day, and had conveyed them to an anchoring-place, as good as he could poſſibly have fixed upon, had the choice been entirely at his option. On the twenty-ſeventh, our Voyagers reached an Iſland, that is known by the name of *Oonalaſhka* [*GG*]; the inhabitants of which behaved with a degree of politeneſs uncommon to ſavage tribes. A young man, who had overſet his canoe, being obliged by this accident to come on board the ſhip, went down into Captain Cook's cabin, upon the firſt invitation, without expreſſing the leaſt reluctance or uneaſineſs. His own clothes being wet, the Captain gave him others, in which he dreſſed himſelf with as much eaſe as any Engliſhman could have done. From the behaviour of this youth, and that of ſome of the reſt of the natives, it was evident that theſe people were no ſtrangers to Europeans, and to ſeveral of their cuſtoms. There was ſomething, however, in the Engliſh ſhips that greatly excited their attention; for ſuch as could not come off in canoes, aſſembled on the neighbouring hills to look at them. In one inſtance it was apparent that the inhabitants were ſo far from having made any progreſs in politeneſs, that they were ſtill immerſed in the moſt ſavage manners. For as our Commander was walking along the ſhore, on the twenty-ninth, he met with a group of them, of both ſexes, who were ſeated on the graſs, at a repaſt, conſiſting of raw fiſh, which they ſeemed to eat with as much reliſh as perſons in civilized life would experience from a turbot, ſerved up in the richeſt ſauce. Soon after the veſſels had come to an anchor at Oonalaſhka, a native of the Iſland brought on board ſuch another note as had been given to Captain Clerke. He preſented it to Captain Cook; but, as it was written in the Ruſſian language, and could be of no uſe to the Engliſh, though it might be of conſequence to others, the Captain returned it to the bearer, and diſmiſſed him with a few preſents; for which he expreſſed his thanks by making ſeveral low bows as he retired (*e*). On the ſecond of July, our Voyagers put to ſea from Oonalaſhka; and, purſuing their courſe of navigation and diſcovery, came, on the ſixteenth, within ſight of a promontory, near which our Commander ordered Lieutenant Williamſon to land, that he might ſee what direction the coaſt took beyond it, and what the country produced. Accordingly, Mr. Williamſon went on ſhore, and reported, on his return, that having landed on the point, and climbed the higheſt hill, he found that the fartheſt part of the coaſt in ſight bore nearly North. At the ſame time, he took poſſeſſion of the country in his Majeſty's name, and left a bottle, in which was encloſed a piece of paper, containing an inſcription of the names of the ſhips, together with the date of the diſcovery. To the promontory he gave the name of Cape NEWENHAM (*f*). The land, as far as Mr. Williamſon could ſee, produces neither tree nor ſhrub; but the lower grounds were not deſtitute of graſs, and of ſome other plants, very few of which were in flower.

(*e*) Capt. Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 403. 413—424.

(*f*) It is a rocky point, of tolerable height, ſituated in the latitude of 58° 42′, and in the longitude of 197° 36′.

When our Navigators, on the third of Auguſt, had advanced to the latitude of 62° 34′, a great loſs was ſuſtained by them in the death of Mr. Anderſon, the Surgeon of the Reſolution, who had been lingering under a conſumption for more than twelve months. He was a young man of a cultivated underſtanding and agreeable manners, and was well ſkilled in his own profeſſion; beſides which, he had acquired a conſiderable degree of knowledge in other branches of ſcience. How uſeful an aſſiſtant he was to Captain Cook, hath often appeared in the preſent narrative, and is fully diſplayed in the Voyage at large. Had his life been ſpared, the public would undoubtedly have received from him ſuch communications, on various parts of the natural hiſtory of the ſeveral places that had been viſited, as would juſtly have entitled him to very high commendation. The proofs of his abilities that now remain, will hand down the name of *Anderſon*, in conjunction with that of *Cook*, to poſterity [*HH*]. Soon after he had breathed his laſt, land having been ſeen at a diſtance, which was ſuppoſed to be an Iſland, our Commander honoured it with the appellation of ANDERSON'S ISLAND. The next day he removed Mr. Law, the Surgeon of the Diſcovery, into the Reſolution, and appointed Mr. Samwell, the Surgeon's firſt Mate of the Reſolution, to be Surgeon of the Diſcovery. On the ninth, Captain Cook came to an anchor under a point of land, to which he gave the name of CAPE PRINCE OF WALES, and which is remarkable by being the moſt weſtern extremity of America hitherto explored (*g*). This extremity is diſtant from the eaſtern Cape of Siberia only thirteen

(*g*) Cook, *ubi ſupra*, p. 426. 433. 440, 441. 444. Cape Prince of Wales is ſituated in the latitude of 65° 46′, and in the longitude of 191° 45′.

[*GG*] *That is known by the name of Oonalaſhka.*] The harbour of *Samgamooda*, on the North ſide of Oonalaſhka, in which Captain Cook came to an anchor, is ſituated in the latitude of 53° 55′ North, and in the longitude of 193° 30′ Eaſt.

[*HH*] *In conjunction with that of Cook, to poſterity.*] Mr. Anderſon left his papers to Sir Joſeph Banks: but the Admiralty took poſſeſſion of the larger part of them, and there they are ſtill retained. Such parts as related ſolely to natural hiſtory were delivered by Captain King to Sir Joſeph; who wiſhes to add his teſtimony to the excellence of Mr. Anderſon's character, to the utility of his obſervations, and to the great probability that, if he had ſurvived, he would have given to the world ſomething which would have done him credit.

leagues:

leagues: and thus our Commander had the glory of aſcertaining the vicinity of the two continents, which had only been conjectured from the reports of the neighbouring Aſiatic inhabitants, and the imperfect obſervations of the Ruſſian navigators (*b*). Reſuming his courſe on the tenth, Captain Cook anchored in a bay, the land of which was at firſt ſuppoſed to be a part of the Iſland of Alaſchka, which is laid down in Mr. Stæhlin's map. But, from the figure of the coaſt; from the ſituation of the oppoſite ſhore of America; and from the longitude, the Captain ſoon began to think that it was more probably the country of the Tſchutſki, on the eaſtern extremity of Aſia, which had been explored by Beering in 1728. In the reſult it appeared that this was in fact the caſe. Our Commander became fully ſatisfied, in the farther progreſs of his voyage, that Mr. Stæhlin's map muſt be erroneous; and he had the honour of reſtoring the American continent to that ſpace which the geographer now mentioned had occupied with his imaginary Iſland of Alaſchka. From the Bay of St. Lawrence, belonging to the country of the Tſchutſki, our Navigators ſteered, on the eleventh, to the Eaſt, in order to get nearer to the coaſt of America. After that, proceeding to the North, they reached, on the ſeventeenth, the latitude of 70° 33′ (*i*). On this day, a brightneſs was perceived in the northern horizon, like that which is reflected from ice, and is commonly called the *blink*. This was at firſt but little noticed, from a ſuppoſition that there was no probability of meeting with ice ſo ſoon: and yet, the ſharpneſs of the air, and the gloomineſs of the weather, had, for two or three days paſt, ſeemed to indicate a ſudden change. In about an hour's time, the ſight of a large field of ice left Captain Cook no longer in doubt with regard to the cauſe of the brightneſs of the horizon. The ſhips, in the ſame afternoon, being then in the latitude of 70° 41′, were cloſe to the edge of the ice, and not able to ſtand on any farther. On the eighteenth, when the veſſels were in the latitude of 70° 44′, the ice on the ſide of them was as compact as a wall, and was judged to be at leaſt ten or twelve feet in height. Farther to the North, it appeared to be much higher. Its ſurface was extremely rugged, and in different places there were ſeen upon it pools of water. A prodigious number of ſea-horſes lay upon the ice; and ſome of them, on the nineteenth, were procured for food, there being at this time a want of freſh proviſions. When the animals were brought to the veſſels, it was no ſmall diſappointment to many of the ſeamen, who had feaſted their eyes for ſeveral days with the proſpect of eating them, to find that they were not ſea-cows, as they had ſuppoſed, but ſea-horſes. This diſappointment would not have been occaſioned, or the difference known, had there not happened to be one or two ſailors on board who had been in Greenland, and who declared what theſe animals were, and that it never was cuſtomary to eat of them. Such, however, was the anxiety for a change of diet, as to overcome this prejudice. Our Voyagers lived upon the ſea-horſes as long as they laſted; and there were few who did not prefer them to the ſalt meat. Captain Cook continued, to the twenty-ninth, to traverſe the Icy Sea beyond Beering's Strait, in various directions, and through numberleſs obſtructions and difficulties. Every day the ice increaſed, ſo as to preclude all hopes of attaining, at leaſt during the preſent year, the grand object of the voyage. Indeed, the ſeaſon was now ſo far advanced, and the time in which the froſt was expected to ſet in was ſo near at hand, that it would have been totally inconſiſtent with prudence, to have made any farther attempts, till the next ſummer, at finding a paſſage into the Atlantic. The attention, therefore, of our Commander was now directed to other important and neceſſary concerns. It was of great conſequence to meet with a place where our Navigators might be ſupplied with wood and water. But the point which principally occupied the Captain's thoughts was, how he ſhould ſpend the winter, ſo as to make ſome improvements in geography and navigation, and, at the ſame time, to be in a condition to return to the North, in farther ſearch of a paſſage, in the enſuing ſummer (*k*). Before Captain Cook proceeded far to the South, he employed a conſiderable time in examining the ſea and coaſts in the neighbourhood of Beering's Strait, both on the ſide of Aſia and America. In this examination, he aſcertained the accuracy of Beering, ſo far as he went; demonſtrated the errors with which Stæhlin's map of the New Northern Archipelago abounds; and made large additions to the geographical knowledge of this part of the world. "It reflects," as Mr. Coxe juſtly obſerves, "the higheſt honour even "on the Britiſh name, that our great Navigator extended his diſcoveries much farther in "one expedition, and at ſo great a diſtance from the point of his departure, than the "Ruſſians accompliſhed in a long ſeries of years, and in parts belonging or contiguous to "their own empire (*l*)."

(*b*) Coxe's Comparative View of the Ruſſian Diſcoveries, with thoſe made by Captains Cook and Clerke, p. 15, 16.

(*i*) The longitude was 197° 41′.

(*k*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 452. 486. 455, 456, 457. 466.

(*l*) Coxe's Comparative View of the Ruſſian Diſcoveries, p. 16.

On the ſecond of October, our Voyagers came within ſight of the Iſland of Conalaſhka, and anchored the next day in Samganoodah harbour. Here the firſt concern was to put the ſhips under the neceſſary repair; and, while the Carpenters were employed in this buſineſs, one third of the people had permiſſion, by turns, to go and collect the berries with which the Iſland abounds, and which, though now beginning to be in a ſtate of decay, did not a little contribute, in conjunction with ſpruce-beer, effectually to eradicate every ſeed of the ſcurvy that might exiſt in either of the veſſels. Such a ſupply of fiſh was likewiſe procured, as not only ſerved for preſent conſumption, but afforded a quantity to be carried out to ſea; ſo that hence a conſiderable ſaving was made of the proviſions of

the ſhips, which was at this time an object of no ſmall importance. Captain Cook, on the eighth, received, by the hands of an Oonalaſhka man, named Derramouſhk, a very ſingular preſent, which was that of a rye loaf, or rather a pye in the form of a loaf, for it encloſed ſome ſalmon, highly ſeaſoned with pepper. This man had the like preſent for Captain Clerke, and a note for each of the two Captains, written in a character which none on board could underſtand. It was natural to ſuppoſe, that the preſents came from ſome Ruſſians in the neighbourhood; and therefore a few bottles of rum, wine, and porter, were ſent to theſe unknown friends in return; it being rightly judged that ſuch articles would be more acceptable than any thing beſides which it was in the power of our Navigators to beſtow. Corporal Lediard of the Marines [*II*], an intelligent man, was, at the ſame time, directed to accompany Derramouſhk, for the purpoſe of gaining farther information; and with orders, if he met with any Ruſſians, that he ſhould endeavour to make them underſtand that our Voyagers were Engliſhmen, and the friends and allies of their nation. On the tenth, the Corporal returned with three Ruſſian ſeamen, or furriers, who, with ſeveral others, reſided at Egoochſhac, where they had a dwelling-houſe, ſome ſtore-houſes, and a ſloop of about thirty tons burthen. One of theſe men was either Maſter or mate of this veſſel; another of them wrote a very good hand, and was acquainted with figures; and all of them were ſenſible and well-behaved perſons, who were ready to give Captain Cook every poſſible degree of information. The great difficulty in the reception and communication of intelligence, aroſe from the want of an interpreter. On the fourteenth, a Ruſſian landed at Oonalaſhka, whoſe name was Eraſim Gregorioff Sin Iſinyloff, and who was the principal perſon among his countrymen in this and the neighbouring Iſlands. Beſides the intelligence which our Commander derived from his converſations with Iſmyloff, and which were carried on by ſigns, aſſiſted by figures and other characters, he obtained from him the ſight of two charts, and was permitted to copy them. Both of them were manuſcripts, and bore every mark of authenticity. The firſt included the *Penſhinſkian* Sea; the coaſt of Tartary, down to the latitude of 41°; the Kuril Iſlands; and the peninſula of Kamtſchatka. But it was the ſecond chart that was the moſt intereſting to Captain Cook; for it comprehended all the diſcoveries made by the Ruſſians to the eaſtward of Kamtſchatka, towards America; which, however, excluſively of the Voyages of Beering and Tſcherikoff, amounted to little or nothing. Indeed, all the people with whom the Captain converſed at Oonalaſhka, agreed in aſſuring him, over and over again, that they knew of no other Iſlands, beſides thoſe which were laid down upon this chart; and that no Ruſſians had ever ſeen any part of the continent of America to the northward, excepting that which lies oppoſite to the country of the Tſchutſkis. When, on the twenty-firſt, Mr. Iſmyloff took his final leave of the Engliſh Navigators, our Commander entruſted to his care a letter to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, in which was encloſed a chart of all the northern coaſts the Captain had viſited. It was expected that there would be an opportunity of ſending this letter, in the enſuing ſpring, to Kamtſchatka or Okotſk, and that it would reach Peterſburgh during the following winter. Mr. Iſmyloff, who faithfully and ſucceſsfully diſcharged the truſt our Commander had repoſed in him, ſeemed to poſſeſs abilities that might entitle him to a higher ſtation in life than that which he

[*II*] *Corporal Lediard of the marines.*] This Corporal Lediard is an extraordinary man, ſomething of whoſe hiſtory cannot fail of being entertaining to my readers. In the winter of 1786, he ſet out on the ſingular undertaking of walking acroſs the continent of America; for the accompliſhment of which purpoſe, he determined to travel by the way of Siberia, and to procure a paſſage from that country to the oppoſite American coaſt. Being an American by birth, and having no means of raiſing the money neceſſary for his expences, a ſubſcription was raiſed for him by Sir Joſeph Banks, and ſome other Gentlemen, amounting, in the whole, to a little more than fifty pounds. With this ſum he proceeded to Hamburgh, from which place he went to Copenhagen, and thence to Peterſburgh, where he arrived in the beginning of March, 1787. In his journey from Copenhagen to Peterſburgh, finding that the gulph of Bothnia was not frozen over, he was obliged to walk round the whole of it, by Tornæo. At Peterſburgh he ſtayed till the twenty-firſt of May, when he obtained leave to accompany a convoy of military ſtores, which at that time was proceeding to Mr. Billings, who had been his ſhip-mate in Captain Cook's Voyage, and who was then employed by the Empreſs of Ruſſia, for the purpoſe of making diſcoveries in Siberia, and on the North-weſt coaſt of America. With this convoy Mr. Lediard ſet out, and in Auguſt reached the city of Irkutſk in Siberia. After that, he proceeded to the town of Yakutſk, where he met with Captain Billings. From this place he went back to Irkutſk, to ſpend a part of the winter; propoſing, in the ſpring, to return to Yakutſk, in order to proceed in the ſummer to Okotſk.

Hitherto Mr. Lediard had gone on proſperouſly, and flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceeding in his undertaking. But, in January laſt (1788) in conſequence of an expreſs from the Empreſs, he was arreſted, and, in half an hour's time, carried away, under the guard of two ſoldiers and an officer, in a poſt ſledge, for Moſcow, without his clothes, money, and papers. From Moſcow he was conveyed to the city of Moialoff in White Ruſſia, and thence to the town of Tolochin in Poland. There he was informed, that her Majeſty's orders were, that he was never to enter her dominions again without her expreſs permiſſion. During all this time, he ſuffered the greateſt hardſhips, from ſickneſs, fatigue, and want of reſt; ſo that he was almoſt reduced to a ſkeleton. From Tolochin he made his way to Konigſberg, having had, as he ſays, a miſerable journey, in a miſerable country, in a miſerable ſeaſon, in miſerable health, and a miſerable purſe; and diſappointed of his darling enterprize. Mr. Lediard informs Sir Joſeph Banks, to whom he ſent, from time to time, a full account of his tranſactions, that, though he had been retarded in his purſuits by malice, he had not travelled totally in vain; his obſervations in Aſia being, perhaps, as complete as a longer viſit would have rendered them. From his laſt letter it appears, that he propoſed to return, as ſpeedily as poſſible, from Konigſberg to England.

For the preceding intelligence I am wholly indebted to the obliging information of Sir Joſeph Banks.

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occupied. He had a conſiderable knowledge of aſtronomy, and was acquainted with the moſt uſeful branches of the mathematics. Captain Cook made him a preſent of an Hadley's octant; and, though it was probably the firſt he had ever ſeen, he underſtood, in a very ſhort time, the various uſes to which that inſtrument can be applied. While the ſhips lay at Oonalaſhka, our Voyagers did not neglect to make a diligent enquiry into the productions of the Iſland, and the general manners of the inhabitants. On theſe, as being in a great meaſure ſimilar to objects which have already been noticed, it is not neceſſary to enlarge. There is one circumſtance, however, ſo honourable to the natives, that it muſt not be omitted. They are, to all appearance, the moſt peaceable and inoffenſive people our Commander had ever met with; and, with reſpect to honeſty, they might ſerve as a pattern to countries that are in the higheſt ſtate of civilization. A doubt is ſuggeſted, whether this diſpoſition may not have been the conſequence of their preſent ſubjection to the Ruſſians. From the affinity which was found to ſubſiſt between the dialects of the Greenlanders and Eſquimaux, and thoſe of the inhabitants of Norton's Sound [*KK*] and Oonalaſhka, there is ſtrong reaſon to believe, that all theſe nations are of the ſame extraction; and, if that be the caſe, the exiſtence of a northern communication of ſome kind, by ſea, between the Weſt ſide of America and the Eaſt ſide, through Baffin's Bay, can ſcarcely be doubted; which communication, nevertheleſs, may effectually be ſhut up againſt ſhips, by ice and other impediments. While the veſſels lay in Samganoodha harbour, Captain Cook exerted his uſual diligence in making nautical and aſtronomical obſervations. All things, on the twenty-ſixth, having been gotten ready for his departure, he put to ſea on that day, and ſailed for the Sandwich Iſlands; it being his intention to ſpend a few months there, and then to direct his courſe to Kamtſchatka, ſo as to endeavour to reach that country by the middle of May, in the enſuing ſummer (*m*).

On the twenty-ſixth of November, when the ſhips had proceeded ſouthward till they came to the latitude of 20° 55′, land was diſcovered, which proved to be an Iſland of the name of *Mowee*, that had not hitherto been viſited. It is one of the group of the Sandwich Iſlands. As it was of the laſt importance to procure a ſupply of proviſions at theſe Iſlands, and experience had taught our Commander, that he could have no chance of ſucceeding in this object, if it were left to every man's diſcretion to traffic for what he pleaſed, and in what manner he pleaſed; the Captain publiſhed an order, prohibiting all perſons from trading, excepting ſuch as ſhould be appointed by himſelf and Captain Clerke. Even theſe perſons were enjoined to trade only for proviſions and refreſhments. While our Navigators lay off Mowee, which was for ſome days, a friendly intercourſe was maintained with the inhabitants. Another Iſland was diſcovered on the thirtieth, which is called by the natives *Owhyhee*. As it appeared to be of greater extent and importance than any of the Iſlands which had yet been viſited in this part of the world, Captain Cook ſpent nearly ſeven weeks in ſailing round, and examining its coaſt. Whilſt he was thus employed, the inhabitants came off, from time to time, in their canoes, and readily engaged in traffic with our Voyagers. In the conduct of this buſineſs, the behaviour of the Iſlanders was more entirely free from ſuſpicion and reſerve than our Commander had ever yet experienced. Not even the people of Otaheite itſelf, with whom he had been ſo intimately and repeatedly connected, had diſplayed ſuch a full confidence in the integrity and good treatment of the Engliſh. Among the articles procured from the natives, was a quantity of ſugar-cane. Upon a trial, Captain Cook found that a ſtrong decoction of it produced a very palatable beer; on which account, he ordered ſome more to be brewed, for general uſe. When, however, the barrel was broached, not one of the crew would taſte of the liquor. As the Captain had no motive in preparing this beverage, but that of ſparing the rum and other ſpirits for a colder climate, he did not exert either authority or perſuaſion to prevail upon the men to change their reſolution; for he knew that there was no danger of the ſcurvy, ſo long as a plentiful ſupply could be obtained of different vegetables. Nevertheleſs, that he might not be diſappointed in his views, he gave orders that no grog ſhould be ſerved in the ſhips; and he himſelf, together with the officers, continued to make uſe of the ſugar-cane beer, which was much improved by the addition of a few hops, that chanced to be ſtill on board. There could be no reaſonable doubt of its being a very wholeſome liquor; and yet the inconſiderate crew alledged that it would be injurious to their health. No people are more averſe to every kind of innovation than ſeamen, and their prejudices are extremely difficult to be conquered. It was, however, by acting contrary to theſe prejudices, and by various deviations from eſtabliſhed practice, that Captain Cook had been enabled to preſerve his men from that dreadful diſtemper, the ſcurvy, which, perhaps, has deſtroyed more of our ſailors, in their peaceful voyages, than have fallen by the enemy in military expeditions. As the Captain was purſuing his examination of the coaſt of Owhyhee, it having fallen calm at one o'clock in the morning of the nineteenth of December, the Reſolution was left to the mercy of a North-eaſterly ſwell,

(*m*) Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 486. 493—498. 501, 502. 506, 507. 509. 522—524, 525, 526.

[*KK*] *And thoſe of the inhabitants of Norton's Sound.*] Norton's Sound is a large inlet that extends to the northward as far as the latitude of 64° 55′, upon the coaſt of which Lieutenant King had landed, by Captain Cook's order.

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which impelled her faſt towards the land; ſo that, long before day-break, lights were ſeen from the land, which was not more than a league diſtant. The night, at the ſame time, was dark, with thunder, lightning, and rain. As ſoon as it was light, a dreadful ſurf, within half a league of the veſſel, appeared breaking from the ſhore; and it was evident that our Navigators had been in the moſt perilous ſituation: nor was the danger yet over; for, in conſequence of the veering of the wind, they were but juſt able to keep their diſtance from the coaſt. What rendered their ſituation more alarming was, that a rope of the main-top ſail having given way, this occaſioned the ſail to be rent in two. In the ſame manner, the two top gallant ſails gave way, though they were not half worn out. However, a favourable opportunity was ſeized of getting others to the yards; and the Reſolution again proceeded in ſafety. On the ſixteenth of January, 1779, canoes arrived in ſuch numbers from all parts, that there were not fewer than a thouſand about the two ſhips, moſt of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs, and other productions of the Iſland. It was a ſatisfactory proof of their friendly intentions, that there was not a ſingle perſon amongſt them who had with him a weapon of any kind; trade and curioſity alone appearing to be the motives which actuated their conduct. Among ſuch multitudes, however, as, at times, were on board, it will not be deemed ſurprizing, that ſome ſhould betray a thieviſh diſpoſition. One of them took out of the Reſolution a boat's rudder; and made off with it ſo ſpeedily, that it could not be recovered. Captain Cook judged this to be a favourable opportunity of ſhewing to theſe people the uſe of fire-arms; and accordingly he ordered two or three muſquets, and as many four-pounders, to be fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder. It not being intended that any of the ſhot ſhould take effect, the ſurrounding multitude of the natives ſeemed to be more ſurprized than terrified. Mr. Bligh having been ſent to examine a neighbouring bay, reported, on his return, that it had good anchorage and freſh water, and that it was in an acceſſible ſituation. Into this bay, therefore, the Captain reſolved to carry the ſhips, in order to refit, and to obtain every refreſhment which the place could afford. As night approached, the greater part of the Indians retired on ſhore; but numbers of them requeſted permiſſion to ſleep on board; in which requeſt, curioſity (at leaſt with regard to ſeveral of them) was not their ſole motive; for it was found, the next morning, that various things were miſſing; on which account our Commander determined not to entertain ſo many perſons another night. On the ſeventeenth, the ſhips came to an anchor in the bay which had been examined by Mr. Bligh, and which is called *Karakakooa* by the inhabitants. At this time, the veſſels continued to be much crowded with natives, and were ſurrounded with a multitude of canoes. Captain Cook, in the whole courſe of his voyages, had never ſeen ſo numerous a body of people aſſembled in one place. For, beſides thoſe who had come off to the Engliſh in their canoes, all the ſhore of the bay was covered with ſpectators, and many hundreds were ſwimming round the ſhips like ſhoals of fiſh. Our Navigators could not avoid being greatly impreſſed with the ſingularity of this ſcene; and perhaps there were few on board that now lamented the want of ſucceſs which had attended the endeavours of getting homeward, the laſt ſummer, by a northern paſſage. "To this diſappointment," ſays the Captain, "we owed our having it in our power to reviſit the *Sandwich Iſlands*, and to "enrich our Voyage with a diſcovery which, though the laſt, ſeemed, in many reſpects, "to be the moſt important that had hitherto been made by Europeans, throughout the "extent of the Pacific Ocean (*n*)." Such is the ſentence that concludes our Commander's journal: and the ſatisfaction with which this ſentence appears to have been written, cannot fail of ſtriking the mind of every reader. Little did Captain Cook then imagine, that a diſcovery which promiſed to add no ſmall honour to his name, and to be productive of very agreeable conſequences, ſhould be ſo fatal in the reſult. Little did he think, that the Iſland of Owhyhee was deſtined to be the laſt ſcene of his exploits, and the cauſe of his deſtruction.

(*n*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 532, 535, 536, 537, 538, 540—548, 549.

The reception which the Captain met with from the natives, on his proceeding to anchor in Karakakooa Bay, was flattering in the higheſt degree. They came off from the ſhore in aſtoniſhing numbers, and expreſſed their joy by ſinging and ſhouting, and by exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant geſtures. Pareea, a young man of great authority, and Kaneena, another Chief, had already attached themſelves to our Commander, and were very uſeful in keeping their countrymen from being troubleſome. During the long cruize of our Navigators off the Iſland of Owhyhee, the inhabitants had almoſt univerſally behaved with great fairneſs and honeſty in their dealings, and had not ſhewn the ſlighteſt propenſity to theft: and this was a fact the more extraordinary, as thoſe with whom our people had hitherto maintained any intercourſe, were of the loweſt rank, being either ſervants or fiſhermen. But, after the arrival of the Reſolution and Diſcovery in Karakakooa Bay, the caſe was greatly altered. The immenſe crowd of Iſlanders that blocked up every part of the ſhips, not only afforded frequent opportunities of pilfering without riſk of detection; but held out, even if they ſhould be detected, a proſpect of eſcaping with impunity, from the ſuperiority of their numbers to that of the Engliſh. Another circumſtance, to which the alteration in the conduct of the natives might be aſcribed, aroſe from the preſence and encouragement of their Chiefs, into whoſe poſſeſſion the booty might be traced, and whom

there was reaſon to ſuſpect of being the inſtigators of the depredations that were committed. Soon after the Reſolution had gotten into her ſtation, Pareea and Kaneena brought on board a third Chief, named Koah, who was repreſented as being a Prieſt, and as having, in his early youth, been a diſtinguiſhed warrior. In the evening, Captain Cook, attended by Mr. Bayley and Mr. King, accompanied Koah on ſhore. Upon this occaſion, the Captain was received with very peculiar and extraordinary ceremonies; with ceremonies that indicated the higheſt reſpect on the part of the natives, and which, indeed, ſeemed to fall little ſhort of adoration. One of the principal objects that engaged our Commander's attention at Owhyhee, was the ſalting of hogs for ſea-ſtore; in which his ſucceſs was far more compleat than had been attained in any former attempt of the ſame kind. It doth not appear that experiments relative to this ſubject had been made by the navigators of any nation before Captain Cook. His firſt trials were in 1774, during his ſecond voyage round the world; when his ſucceſs, though very imperfect, was, nevertheleſs, ſufficient to encourage his farther efforts, in a matter of ſo much importance. As the preſent voyage was likely to be protracted a year beyond the time for which the ſhips were victualled, he was under a neceſſity of providing, by ſome ſuch method, for the ſubſiſtence of the crews, or of relinquiſhing the proſecution of his diſcoveries. Accordingly, he loſt no opportunity of renewing his attempts; and the event anſwered his moſt ſanguine expectations. Captain King brought home with him ſome of the pork which was pickled at Owhyhee in January, 1779; and, upon its being taſted by ſeveral perſons in England about Chriſtmas 1780, it was found to be perfectly ſound and wholeſome (*o*). It ſeemed to be deſtined, that in every inſtance Captain Cook ſhould excel all who had gone before him, in promoting the purpoſes of navigation. On the twenty-ſixth, the Captain had his firſt interview with Terreeoboo, the King of the Iſland. The meeting was conducted with a variety of ceremonies, among which, the cuſtom of making an exchange of names, which, amongſt all the Iſlanders of the Pacific Ocean is the ſtrongeſt pledge of friendſhip, was obſerved. When the formalities of the interview were over, our Commander carried Terreeoboo, and as many Chiefs as the pinnace could hold, on board the Reſolution. They were received, on this occaſion, with every mark of reſpect that could be ſhewn them; and, in return for a beautiful and ſplendid feathered cloak which the King had beſtowed on Captain Cook, the Captain put a linen ſhirt on his Majeſty, and girt his own hanger round him. In the progreſs of the intercourſe which was maintained between our Voyagers and the natives, the quiet and inoffenſive behaviour of the latter took away every apprehenſion of danger; ſo that the Engliſh truſted themſelves among them at all times, and in all ſituations. The inſtances of kindneſs and civility which our people experienced from them were ſo numerous, that they could not eaſily be recounted. A ſociety of Prieſts, in particular, diſplayed a generoſity and munificence, of which no equal example had hitherto been given: for they furniſhed a conſtant ſupply of hogs and vegetables to our Navigators, without ever demanding a return, or even hinting at it in the moſt diſtant manner. All this was ſaid to be done at the expence of a great man among them, who was at the head of their body, whoſe name was Kaoo, and who on other occaſions manifeſted his attachment to the Engliſh. There was not always ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of the warrior Chiefs, or *Earees*, as with that of the Prieſts. Indeed, the ſatisfaction that was derived from the uſual gentleneſs and hoſpitality of the inhabitants, was frequently interrupted by the propenſity of many of them to ſtealing; and this circumſtance was the more diſtreſſing, as it ſometimes obliged our Commander and the other officers to have recourſe to acts of ſeverity, which they would willingly have avoided, if the neceſſity of the caſe had not abſolutely called for them.

(*o*) An account of the proceſs may be ſeen in Captain King's Voyage, p. 12.

Though the kind and liberal behaviour of the natives continued without remiſſion, Terreeoboo, and his Chiefs, began, at length, to be very inquiſitive about the time in which our Voyagers were to take their departure. Nor will this be deemed ſurprizing, when it is conſidered that, during ſixteen days in which the Engliſh had been in the bay of Karakakooa, they had made an enormous conſumption of hogs and vegetables. It did not appear, however, that Terreeoboo had any other view in his enquiries, than a deſire of making ſufficient preparation for diſmiſſing our Navigators with preſents, ſuitable to the reſpect and kindneſs towards them which he had always diſplayed. For, on his being informed that they were to leave the Iſland in a day or two, it was obſerved that a kind of proclamation was immediately made, through the villages, requiring the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for the King to preſent to the *Orono* (*p*), on his quitting the country. Accordingly, on the third of February, being the day preceding the time which had been fixed for the ſailing of the ſhips, Terreeoboo invited Captain Cook and Mr. King to attend him to the place where Kaoo reſided. On their arrival, they found the ground covered with parcels of cloth, at a ſmall diſtance from which lay an immenſe quantity of vegetables; and near them was a large herd of hogs. At the cloſe of the viſit, the greater part of the cloth, and the whole of the hogs and vegetables, were given by Terreeoboo to the Captain and Mr. King; who were aſtoniſhed at the value and magnificence of the preſent; for it far exceeded every thing of the kind which they had ſeen either at the

(*p*) *Orono* was a title of high honour, which had been beſtowed on Captain Cook.

Friendly or Society Iſlands [*LL*]. Mr. King had in ſo high a degree conciliated the affections, and gained the eſteem, of the inhabitants of Owhyhee, that, with offers of the moſt flattering nature, he was ſtrongly ſolicited to remain in the country. Terreeoboo and Kaoo waited upon Captain Cook, whoſe ſon they ſuppoſed Mr. King to be, with a formal requeſt that he might be left behind. To avoid giving a poſitive refuſal to an offer which was ſo kindly intended, the Captain told them, that he could not part with Mr. King at that time, but that, on his return to the Iſland in the next year, he would endeavour to ſettle the matter to their ſatisfaction. Early, on the fourth, the ſhips ſailed out of Karakakooa Bay, being followed by a large number of canoes. It was our Commander's deſign, before he viſited the other Iſlands, to finiſh the ſurvey of Owhyhee, in hopes of meeting with a road better ſheltered than the bay he had juſt left. In caſe of not ſucceeding in this reſpect, he purpoſed to take a view of the South-eaſt part of Mowee, where he was informed that he ſhould find an excellent harbour (*q*).

(*q*) Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. iii. written by Mr. King, p. 1—31.

The circumſtances which brought Captain Cook back to Karakakooa Bay, and the unhappy conſequences that followed, I ſhall give from Mr. Samwell's narrative of his death. This narrative was, in the moſt obliging manner, communicated to me in manuſcript, by Mr. Samwell, with entire liberty to make ſuch uſe of it as I ſhould judge proper. Upon a peruſal of it, its importance ſtruck me in ſo ſtrong a light, that I wiſhed to have it ſeparately laid before the world. Accordingly, with Mr. Samwell's concurrence, I procured its publication, that, if any objections ſhould be made to it, I might be able to notice them in my own work. As the narrative hath continued for more than two years unimpeached and uncontradicted, I eſteem myſelf fully authorized to inſert it in this place, as containing the moſt complete and authentic account of the melancholy cataſtrophe, which, at Owhyhee, befel our illuſtrious Navigator and Commander. It ſhall be inſerted below [*MM*]. In

[*LL*] *For it far exceeded every thing of the kind which they had ſeen at the Friendly or Society Iſlands.* When the Reſolution had ſailed from Karakakooa Bay, Terreeoboo gave a freſh proof his friendſhip for Captain Cook, by ſending after him a large preſent of hogs and vegetables.

[*MM*] *It ſhall be inſerted below.*] " On the fifth, " we were overtaken by a gale of wind; and the next " night, the Reſolution had the misfortune of ſpringing the head of her foremaſt, in ſuch a dangerous " manner, that Captain Cook was obliged to return " to Keragegooah (8), in order to have it repaired; " for we could find no other convenient harbour on " the Iſland. The ſame gale had occaſioned much " diſtreſs among ſome canoes, that had paid us a " viſit from the ſhore. One of them, with two men " and a child on board, was picked up by the Reſolution, and reſcued from deſtruction: the men, " having toiled hard all night, in attempting to " reach the land, were ſo much exhauſted, that they " could hardly mount the ſhip's ſide. When they " got upon the quarter-deck, they burſt into tears, " and ſeemed much affected with the dangerous " ſituation from which they had eſcaped; but the " little child appeared lively and chearful. One of " the Reſolution's boats was alſo ſo fortunate as to " ſave a man and two women, whoſe canoe had been " upſet by the violence of the waves. They were " brought on board, and, with the others, partook of " the kindneſs and humanity of Captain Cook.

" On the morning of Wedneſday, the tenth, we " were within a few miles of the harbour; and were " ſoon joined by ſeveral canoes, in which appeared " many of our old acquaintance, who ſeemed to have " come to welcome us back. Among them was " Coo, aha, a Prieſt: he had brought a ſmall pig, " and ſome cocoa-nuts in his hand, which, after " having chaunted a few ſentences, he preſented to " Captain Clerke. He then left us, and haſtened " on board the Reſolution, to perform the ſame " friendly ceremony before Captain Cook. Having " but light winds all that day, we could not gain the " harbour. In the afternoon, a Chief of the firſt " rank, and nearly related to Kariopoo, paid us a viſit " on board the Diſcovery. His name was Ka,mea, " mea: he was dreſſed in a very rich feathered cloak, " which he ſeemed to have brought for ſale, but " would part with it for nothing except iron daggers. Theſe, the Chiefs, ſome time before our " departure, had preferred to every other article; for, " having received a plentiful ſupply of hatchets and " other tools, they began to collect a ſtore of warlike " inſtruments. Kameamea procured nine daggers " for his cloak; and, being pleaſed with his reception, he and his attendants ſlept on board that night.

" In the morning of the eleventh of February, the " ſhips anchored again in Keragegooah Bay, and " preparation was immediately made for landing the " Reſolution's foremaſt. We were viſited but by " few of the Indians, becauſe there were but few in " the bay. On our departure, thoſe belonging to " other parts, had repaired to their ſeveral habitations, and were again to collect from various quarters, before we could expect to be ſurrounded by " ſuch multitudes as we had once ſeen in that harbour. In the afternoon, I walked about a mile " into the country, to viſit an Indian friend, who " had, a few days before, come near twenty miles, " in a ſmall canoe, to ſee me, while the ſhip lay " becalmed. As the canoe had not left us long before a gale of wind came on, I was alarmed for the " conſequence: however, I had the pleaſure to find " that my friend had eſcaped unhurt, though not " without ſome difficulties. I take notice of this " ſhort excurſion, merely becauſe it afforded me an " opportunity of obſerving, that there appeared no " change in the diſpoſition or behaviour of the inhabitants. I ſaw nothing that could induce me to " think, that they were diſpleaſed with our return, " or jealous of the intention of our ſecond viſit. On " the contrary, that abundant good-nature which " had always characteriſed them, ſeemed ſtill to glow " in every boſom, and to animate every countenance (9). The next day, February the twelfth, " the ſhips were put under a taboo, by the Chiefs, a " ſolemnity, it ſeems, that was requiſite to be obſerved before Kariopoo, the King, paid his firſt " viſit to Captain Cook, after his return. He " waited upon him the ſame day, on board the Reſolution, attended by a large train, ſome of which " bore the preſents deſigned for Captain Cook; who " received him in his uſual friendly manner, and " gave him ſeveral articles in return. This amicable ceremony being ſettled, the taboo was diſſolved; matters went on in the uſual train; and the " next day, February the thirteenth, we were viſited " by the natives in great numbers: the Reſolution's " maſt was landed, and the aſtronomical obſervatories erected on their former ſituation. I landed, " with another Gentleman, at the town of Kavaroah, where we found a great number of canoes, " juſt arrived from different parts of the Iſland, and " the Indians buſy in conſtructing temporary huts on " the beach, for their reſidence during the ſtay of " the ſhips. On our return on board the Diſcovery, we learned, that an Indian had been detected " in

(8) It is proper to take notice, that Mr. Samwell ſpells the names of ſeveral perſons and places differently from what is done in the hiſtory of the voyage. For inſtance,

Karakakooa he calls Ke,rag,e,goo,ah

Terreeoboo, Kariopoo;

Kowrowa, Kavaroah;

Kaneecabareea, Kaneekapo hereı

Maiha maiha, Ka, mea, mea.

(9) Mr. King relates, that our Voyagers, upon coming to anchor, were ſurprized to find their reception very different from what it had been on their firſt arrival. He acknowledges, however, that the unſuſpicious conduct of Terreeoboo, who, the next morning, came immediately to viſit Captain Cook, and the conſequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourſe with the Engliſh, are ſtrong proofs that they neither meant nor apprehended any change of conduct. "Things," ſays Mr. King, "went on in "their uſual "quiet courſe, "till the after- "noon of the "thirteenth." Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 36, 37, 38.

In conſequence of the barbarous diſpoſition of the natives, the whole remains of Captain Cook could not be recovered. For, though every exertion was made for that purpoſe; though

" in ſtealing the armourer's tongs from the forge, " for which he received a pretty ſevere flogging, and " was ſent out of the ſhip. Notwithſtanding the " example made of this man, in the afternoon ano- " ther had the audacity to ſnatch the tongs and a " chiſſel from the ſame place, with which he jumped " overboard, and ſwam for the ſhore. The Maſter " and a midſhipman were inſtantly diſpatched after " him, in the ſmall cutter. The Indian ſeeing " himſelf purſued, made for a canoe; his country- " men took him on board, and paddled as ſwift as " they could towards the ſhore; we fired ſeveral " muſkets at them, but to no effect, for they ſoon " got out of the reach of our ſhot. Pareah, one of " the Chiefs, who was at that time on board the Diſ- " covery, underſtanding what had happened, imme- " diately went aſhore, promiſing to bring back the " ſtolen goods. Our boat was ſo far diſtanced, in " chacing the canoe which had taken the thief on " board, that he had time to make his eſcape into the " country. Captain Cook, who was then aſhore, " endeavoured to intercept his landing; but, it " ſeems, that he was led out of the way by ſome of " the natives, who had officiouſly intruded themſelves " as guides. As the Maſter was approaching near " the landing-place, he was met by ſome of the In- " dians in a canoe: they had brought back the tongs " and chiſſel, together with another article, that we " had not miſſed, which happened to be the lid of " the water-caſk. Having recovered theſe things, " he was returning on board, when he was met by " the Reſolution's pinnace, with five men in her, " who, without any orders, had come from the ob- " ſervatories to his aſſiſtance. Being thus unexpect- " edly reinforced, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough " to inſiſt upon having the thief, or the canoe which " took him in, delivered up as repriſals. With that " view he turned back; and having found the canoe " on the beach, he was preparing to launch it into " the water, when Pareah made his appearance, and " inſiſted upon his not taking it away, as it was his " property. The officer not regarding him, the " Chief ſeized upon him, pinioned his arms behind, " and held him by the hair of his head; on which, " one of the ſailors ſtruck him with an oar: Pareah " inſtantly quitted the officer, ſnatched the oar out " of the man's hand, and ſnapped it in two acroſs " his knee. At length the multitude began to at- " tack our people with ſtones. They made ſome " reſiſtance, but were ſoon overpowered, and obliged " to ſwim for ſafety to the ſmall cutter, which lay " farther out than the pinnace. The officers, not " being expert ſwimmers, retreated to a ſmall rock " in the water, where they were cloſely purſued by " the Indians. One man darted a broken oar at " the Maſter; but his foot ſlipping at the time, he " miſſed him, which fortunately ſaved that officer's " life. At laſt, Pareah interfered, and put an end " to their violence. The Gentlemen, knowing that " his preſence was their only defence againſt the " fury of the natives, entreated him to ſtay with " them, till they could get off in the boats; but that " he refuſed, and left them. The Maſter went to " ſeek aſſiſtance from the party at the obſervatories; " but the midſhipman choſe to remain in the pinnace. " He was very rudely treated by the mob, who plun- " dered the boat of every thing that was looſe on " board, and then began to knock her to pieces, for " the ſake of the iron-work; but Pareah fortunately " returned in time to prevent her deſtruction. He " had met the other Gentleman on his way to the " obſervatories, and, ſuſpecting his errand, had " forced him to return. He diſperſed the crowd " again, and deſired the Gentlemen to return on " board: they repreſented, that all the oars had " been taken out of the boat; on which he brought " ſome of them back, and the Gentlemen were glad " to get off, without farther moleſtation. They had " not proceeded far, before they were overtaken by " Pareah, in a canoe: he delivered the Midſhipman's " cap, which had been taken from him in the ſcuf- " fle, joined noſes with them, in token of reconcili- " ation, and was anxious to know, if Captain Cook " would kill him for what had happened. They " aſſured him of the contrary, and made ſigns of " friendſhip to him in return. He then left them, " and paddled over to the town of Kavaroah, and " that was the laſt time we ever ſaw him. Captain " Cook returned on board ſoon after, much diſpleaſ- " ed with the whole of this diſagreeable buſineſs; " and the ſame night ſent a Lieutenant on board the " Diſcovery to learn the particulars of it, as it had " originated in that ſhip. It was remarkable, that " in the midſt of the hurry and confuſion attending " this affair, Kanynah (a Chief who had always " boen on terms particularly friendly with us) came " from the ſpot where it happened, with a hog to ſell " on board the Diſcovery: it was of an extraordinary " large ſize, and he demanded for it a pahowa, or " dagger, of an unuſual length. He pointed to us, " that it muſt be as long as his arm. Captain " Clerke not having one of that length, told him, " he would get one made for him by the morning; " with which being ſatisfied, he left the hog, and " went aſhore without making any ſtay with us. It " will not be altogether foreign to the ſubject, to " mention a circumſtance, that happened to-day on " board the Reſolution. An Indian Chief aſked " Captain Cook at his table, if he was a *Tata Toa*; " which means a fighting man, or a ſoldier. Being " anſwered in the affirmative, he deſired to ſee his " wounds: Captain Cook held out his right-hand, " which had a ſcar upon it, dividing the thumb " from the finger, the whole length of the metacar- " pal bones. The Indian, being thus convinced of " his being a Toa, put the ſame queſtion to another " Gentleman preſent, but he happened to have none " of thoſe diſtinguiſhing marks: the Chief then ſaid, " that he himſelf was a Toa, and ſhewed the ſcars of " ſome wounds he had received in battle. Thoſe " who were on duty at the obſervatories, were diſ- " turbed, during the night, with ſhrill and melan- " choly ſounds, iſſuing from the adjacent villages, " which they took to be the lamentations of the " women. Perhaps the quarrel between us, might " have filled their minds with apprehenſions for the " ſafety of their huſbands: but, be that as it may, " their mournful cries ſtruck the ſentinels with unu- " ſual awe and terror.

" To widen the breach between us, ſome of the " Indians, in the night, took away the Diſcovery's " large cutter, which lay ſwamped at the buoy of " one of her anchors: they had carried her off ſo " quietly, that we did not miſs her till the morning; " Sunday, February the fourteenth. Captain Clerke " loſt no time in waiting upon Captain Cook, to " acquaint him with the accident: he returned on " board, with orders for the launch and ſmall cutter " to go, under the command of the ſecond Lieute- " nant, and lie off the Eaſt point of the bay, in " order to intercept all canoes that might attempt to " to get out; and, if he found it neceſſary, to fire " upon them. At the ſame time, the third Lieute- " nant of the Reſolution, with the launch and ſmall " cutter, was ſent on the ſame ſervice, to the oppo- " ſite point of the bay; and the Maſter was diſpatch- " ed in the large cutter, in purſuit of a double " canoe, already under ſail, making the beſt of her " way out of the harbour. He ſoon came up with " her, and by firing a few muſquets, drove her on " ſhore, and the Indians left her: this happened to be " the canoe of Omea, a man who bore the title of " Orono. He was on board himſelf, and it would " have been fortunate, if our people had ſecured " him, for his perſon was held as ſacred as that of " the King. During this time, Captain Cook was " preparing to go aſhore himſelf, at the town of " Kavaroah, in order to ſecure the perſon of Kario- " poo, before he ſhould have time to withdraw him- " ſelf to another part of the Iſland, out of our reach.

This

though negociations and threatenings were alternately employed, little more than the principal part of his bones (and that with great difficulty) could be procured. By the poſſeſſion of

" This appeared the moſt effectual ſtep that could be " taken on the preſent occaſion, for the recovery of " the boat.—It was the meaſure he had invariably " purſued, in ſimilar caſes, at other Iſlands in theſe " ſeas, and it had always been attended with the " deſired ſucceſs: in fact, it would be difficult to " point out any other mode of proceeding on theſe " emergencies, likely to attain the object in view " (10). We had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the King " and his attendants had fled when the alarm was " firſt given: in that caſe, it was Captain Cook's in- " tention to ſecure the large canoes which were " hauled up on the beach. He left the ſhip about " ſeven o'clock, attended by the Lieutenant of Ma- " rines, a Serjeant, Corporal, and ſeven private " men: the pinnace's crew were alſo armed, and " under the command of Mr. Roberts. As they " rowed towards the ſhore, Captain Cook ordered " the launch to leave her ſtation at the Weſt point " of the bay, in order to aſſiſt his own boat. This " is a circumſtance worthy of notice; for it clearly " ſhews, that he was not unapprehenſive of meeting " with reſiſtance from the natives, or unmindful of " the neceſſary preparation for the ſafety of himſelf " and his people. I will venture to ſay, that from " the appearance of things juſt at that time, there " was not one, beſide himſelf, who judged that ſuch " precaution was abſolutely requiſite: ſo little did " his conduct on the occaſion, bear the marks of " raſhneſs, or a precipitate ſelf-confidence! He " landed, with the Marines, at the upper end of the " town of Kavaroah: the Indians immediately " flocked round, as uſual, and ſhewed him the cuſ- " tomary marks of reſpect, by proſtrating themſelves " before him. There were no ſigns of hoſtilities, or " much alarm among them. Captain Cook, how- " ever, did not ſeem willing to truſt to appearances; " but was particularly attentive to the diſpoſition of " the Marines, and to have them kept clear of the " crowd. He firſt enquired for the King's ſons, two " youths who were much attached to him, and ge- " nerally his companions on board. Meſſengers " being ſent for them, they ſoon came to him, and " informing him that their father was aſleep, at a " houſe not far from them, he accompanied them " thither, and took the Marines along with them. " As he paſſed along, the natives every where pro- " ſtrated themſelves before him, and ſeemed to have " loſt no part of that reſpect they had always ſhewn " to his perſon. He was joined by ſeveral Chiefs, " among whom was Kanynah, and his brother " Koohowrooah. They kept the crowd in order, " according to their uſual cuſtom; and, being igno- " rant of his intention in coming on ſhore, frequently " aſked him, if he wanted any hogs, or other pro- " viſions: he told them that he did not, and that his " buſineſs was to ſee the King. When he arrived at " the houſe, he ordered ſome of the Indians to go in, " and inform Kariopoo, that he waited without to " ſpeak with him. They came out two or three " times, and inſtead of returning any anſwer from " the King, preſented ſome pieces of red cloth to " him, which made Captain Cook ſuſpect that he " was not in the houſe: he therefore deſired the " Lieutenant of Marines to go in. The Lieutenant " found the old man juſt awaked from ſleep, and " ſeemingly alarmed at the meſſage; but he came " out without heſitation. Captain Cook took him " by the hand, and in a friendly manner aſked him " to go on board, to which he very readily conſented. " Thus far matters appeared in a favourable train, " and the natives did not ſeem much alarmed or " apprehenſive of hoſtility on our ſide; at which " Captain Cook expreſſed himſelf a little ſurprized, " ſaying, that as the inhabitants of that town appeared " innocent of ſtealing the cutter, he ſhould not moleſt " them, but that he muſt get the King on board. " Kariopoo ſat down before his door, and was ſur- " rounded by a great crowd: Kanynah and his bro- " ther were both very active in keeping order among " them. In a little time, however, the Indians were " obſerved arming themſelves with long ſpears, clubs, " and daggers, and putting on thick mats, which " they uſe as armour. This hoſtile appearance in- " creaſed, and became more alarming, on the arrival " of two men in a canoe from the oppoſite ſide of the " bay, with the news of a Chief, called Kareemoo, " having been killed by one of the Diſcovery's " boats. In their paſſage acroſs, they had alſo deli- " vered this account to each of the ſhips. Upon that " information, the women, who were ſitting upon " the beach at their breakfaſts, and converſing fami- " liarly with our people in the boats, retired, and a " confuſed murmur ſpread through the crowd. An " old Prieſt came to Captain Cook, with a cocoa-nut " in his hand, which he held out to him as a preſent, " at the ſame time ſinging very loud. He was often " deſired to be ſilent, but in vain: he continued im- " portunate and troubleſome, and there was no ſuch " thing as getting rid of him or his noiſe: it ſeemed " as if he meant to divert their attention from his " countrymen, who were growing more tumultuous, " and arming themſelves in every quarter. Captain " Cook, being at the ſame time ſurrounded by a " great crowd, thought his ſituation rather hazard- " ous: he therefore ordered the Lieutenant of Ma- " rines to march his ſmall party to the water-ſide, " where the boats lay within a few yards of the " ſhore: the Indians readily made a lane for them to " paſs, and did not offer to interrupt them. The " diſtance they had to go might be about fifty or " ſixty yards; Captain Cook followed, having hold " of Kariopoo's hand, who accompanied him very " willingly: he was attended by his wife, two ſons, " and ſeveral Chiefs. The troubleſome old Prieſt " followed, making the ſame ſavage noiſe. Keowa, " the younger ſon, went directly into the pinnace, " expecting his father to follow; but juſt as he arrived " at the water-ſide, his wife threw her arms about " his neck, and, with the aſſiſtance of two Chiefs, " forced him to ſit down by the ſide of a double " canoe. Captain Cook expoſtulated with them, " but to no purpoſe: they would not ſuffer the King " to proceed, telling him, that he would be put to " death if he went on board the ſhip. Kariopoo, " whoſe conduct ſeemed entirely reſigned to the will " of others, hung down his head, and appeared much " diſtreſſed.

" While the King was in this ſituation, a Chief, " well known to us, of the name of Coho, was ob- " ſerved lurking near, with an iron dagger, partly " concealed under his cloak, ſeemingly, with the " intention of ſtabbing Captain Cook, or the Lieu- " tenant of Marines. The latter propoſed to fire at " him, but Captain Cook would not permit it. " Coho cloſing upon them, obliged the officer to " ſtrike him with his piece, which made him retire. " Another Indian laid hold of the Serjeant's muſquet, " and endeavoured to wrench it from him, but was " prevented by the Lieutenant's making a blow at " him. Captain Cook, ſeeing the tumult increaſe, " and the Indians growing more daring and reſolute, " obſerved, that if he were to take the King off by " force, he could not do it without ſacrificing the " lives of many of his people. He then pauſed a " little, and was on the point of giving his orders to " reimbark, when a man threw a ſtone at him; " which he returned with a diſcharge of ſmall ſhot " (with which one barrel of his double piece was " loaded). The man, having a thick mat before " him, received little or no hurt: he brandiſhed his " ſpear, and threatened to dart it at Captain Cook, " who being ſtill unwilling to take away his life, " inſtead of firing with ball, knocked him down with " his muſquet. He expoſtulated ſtrongly with the " moſt forward of the crowd, upon their turbulent " behaviour. He had given up all thoughts of get- " ting the King on board, as it appeared impracti- " cable; and his care was then only to act on the " defenſive, and to ſecure a ſafe embarkation for his " ſmall

(10) Mr. King acknowledges, that he was always fearful, that the degree of confidence which Captain Cook had acquired from his long and uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs, in his tranſactions with the natives of theſe ſeas, might, at ſome unlucky moment, put him too much off his guard. Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 55.

of them, our Navigators were enabled to perform the laſt offices to their eminent and unfortunate Commander. The bones, having been put into a coffin, and the ſervice being read

" ſmall party, which was cloſely preſſed by a body of " ſeveral thouſand people. Keowa, the King's ſon, " who was in the pinnace, being alarmed on hearing " the firſt firing, was, at his own entreaty, put on " ſhore again; for even at that time, Mr. Roberts, " who commanded her, did not apprehend that " Captain Cook's perſon was in any danger: other- " wiſe he would have detained the Prince, which, no " doubt, would have been a great check on the " Indians. One man was obſerved, behind a double " canoe, in the action of darting his ſpear at Captain " Cook, who was forced to fire at him in his own " defence, but happened to kill another cloſe to him, " equally forward in the tumult: the Serjeant ob- " ſerving that he had miſſed the man he aimed at, " received orders to fire at him, which he did, and " killed him. By this time, the impetuoſity of the " Indians was ſomewhat repreſſed; they fell back in " a body, and ſeemed ſtaggered: but being puſhed " on by thoſe behind, they returned to the charge, " and poured a volley of ſtones among the Marines, " who, without waiting for orders, returned it with " a general diſcharge of muſquetry, which was " inſtantly followed by a fire from the boats. At " this Captain Cook was heard to expreſs his aſto- " niſhment: he waved his hand to the boats, called " to them to ceaſe firing, and to come nearer in to " receive the Marines. Mr. Roberts immediately " brought the pinnace as cloſe to the ſhore as he " could, without grounding, notwithſtanding the " ſhowers of ſtones that fell among the people: but " ——, the Lieutenant, who commanded in the " launch, inſtead of pulling in to the aſſiſtance of " Captain Cook, withdrew his boat farther off, at " the moment that every thing ſeems to have de- " pended upon the timely exertions of thoſe in the " boats. By his own account, he miſtook the ſignal: " but be that as it may, this circumſtance appears to " me, to have decided the fatal turn of the affair, " and to have removed every chance which remained " with Captain Cook, of eſcaping with his life. " The buſineſs of ſaving the Marines out of the " water, in conſequence of that, fell altogether upon " the pinnace; which thereby became ſo much " crowded, that the crew were, in a great meaſure, " prevented from uſing their fire-arms, or giving " what aſſiſtance they otherwiſe might have done, to " Captain Cook; ſo that he ſeems, at the moſt criti- " cal point of time, to have wanted the aſſiſtance of " both boats, owing to the removal of the launch. " For, notwithſtanding that they kept up a fire on " the crowd, from the ſituation to which they remov- " ed in that boat, the fatal confuſion which enſued " on her being withdrawn, to ſay the leaſt of it, " muſt have prevented the full effect, that the " prompt co-operation of the two boats, according to " Captain Cook's orders, muſt have had, towards " the preſervation of himſelf and his people (11). " At that time, it was to the boats alone, that Cap- " tain Cook had to look for his ſafety; for, when " the Marines had fired, the Indians ruſhed among " them, and forced them into the water, where four " of them were killed: their Lieutenant was wound- " ed, but fortunately eſcaped, and was taken up by " the pinnace. Captain Cook was then the only " one remaining on the rock: he was obſerved " making for the pinnace, holding his left hand " againſt the back of his head, to guard it from the " ſtones, and carrying his muſquet under the other " arm. An Indian was ſeen following him, but with " caution and timidity; for he ſtopped once or twice, " as if undetermined to proceed. At laſt he advanced " upon him unawares, and with a large club (12), or " common ſtake, gave him a blow on the back of the " head, and then precipitately retreated. The ſtroke " ſeemed to have ſtunned Captain Cook: he ſtaggered " a few paces, then fell on his hand and one knee, " and dropped his muſquet. As he was riſing, and " before he could recover his feet, another Indian " ſtabbed him in the back of the neck with an iron " dagger. He then fell into a bite of water about " knee deep, where others crowded upon him, and " endeavoured to keep him under: but ſtruggling " very ſtrongly with them, he got his head up, and " caſting his look towards the pinnace, ſeemed to " ſolicit aſſiſtance. Though the boat was not above " five or ſix yards diſtant from him, yet from the " crowded and confuſed ſtate of the crew, it ſeems, it " was not in their power to ſave him. The Indians " got him under again, but in deeper water: he was, " however, able to get his head up once more, and " being almoſt ſpent in the ſtruggle, he naturally " turned to the rock, and was endeavouring to ſup- " port himſelf by it, when a ſavage gave him a blow " with a club, and he was ſeen alive no more. They " hauled him up lifeleſs on the rocks, where they " ſeemed to take a ſavage pleaſure in uſing every " barbarity to his dead body, ſnatching the daggers " out of each other's hands, to have the horrid ſatiſ- " faction of piercing the fallen victim of their bar- " barous rage.

" I need make no reflection on the great loſs we " ſuffered on this occaſion, or attempt to deſcribe " what we felt. It is enough to ſay, that no man " was ever more beloved or admired: and it is truly " painful to reflect, that he ſeems to have fallen a " ſacrifice merely for want of being properly ſup- " ported; a fate, ſingularly to be lamented, as hav- " ing fallen to his lot, who had ever been conſpi- " cuous for his care of thoſe under his command, and " who ſeemed, to the laſt, to pay as much attention " to their preſervation, as to that of his own life. " If any thing could have added to the ſhame and " indignation univerſally felt on this occaſion, it " was to find, that his remains had been deſerted, " and left expoſed on the beach, although they " might have been brought off. It appears, from " the information of four or five Midſhipmen, who " arrived on the ſpot at the concluſion of the fatal " buſineſs, that the beach was then almoſt entirely " deſerted by the Indians, who at length had given " way to the fire of the boats, and diſperſed through " the town: ſo that there ſeemed no great obſtacle " to prevent the recovery of Captain Cook's body; " but the Lieutenant returned on board without " making the attempt. It is unneceſſary to dwell " longer on this painful ſubject, and to relate the " complaints and cenſures that fell on the conduct of " the Lieutenant. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, " that they were ſo loud as to oblige Captain Clerke " publicly to notice them, and to take the depoſi- " tions of his accuſers down in writing. The " Captain's bad ſtate of health and approaching diſ- " ſolution, it is ſuppoſed, induced him to deſtroy " theſe papers a ſhort time before his death. It is a " painful taſk, to be obliged to notice circumſtances, " which ſeem to reflect upon the character of any " man. A ſtrict regard to truth, however, compel- " led me to the inſertion of theſe facts, which I have " offered merely as facts, without preſuming to con- " nect with them any comment of my own: eſteem- " ing it the part of a faithful hiſtorian, " to exte- " nuate nothing, nor ſet down aught in malice."

" The fatal accident happened at eight o'clock in " the morning, about an hour after Captain Cook " landed. It did not ſeem, that the King, or his " ſons, were witneſſes to it; but it is ſuppoſed that " they withdrew in the midſt of the tumult. The " principal actors were the other Chiefs, many of " them the King's relations and attendants: the man " who ſtabbed him with the dagger was called " Nooah. I happened to be the only one who re- " collected his perſon, from having on a former " occaſion mentioned his name in the journal I kept. " I was induced to take particular notice of him, " more from his perſonal appearance than any other " conſideration, though he was of high rank, and a " near relation of the King: he was ſtout and tall, " with a fierce look and demeanour, and one who " united in his figure the two qualities of ſtrength " and

(11) I have been informed, on the beſt authority, that, in the opinion of Captain Philips, who commanded the Marines, and whoſe judgment muſt be of the greateſt weight, it is extremely doubtful whether any thing could ſucceſsfully have been done to preſerve the life of Captain Cook, even if no miſtake had been committed on the part of the launch.

(12) " I have " heard one of " the Gentle- " men who were " preſent ſay, " that the firſt " injury he re- " ceived was " from a dagger, " as it is repre- " ſented in the " Voyage; but, " from the ac- " count of many " others, who " were alſo eye- " witneſſes, I " am confident, " in ſaying, that " that he was " firſt ſtruck " with a club. " I was after- " wards con- " firmed in this, " by Kaireekea, " the Prieſt, who " particularly " mentioned the " name of the " man who gave " him the blow, " as well as that " of the Chief " who after- " wards ſtruck " him with the " dagger. This " is a point not " worth diſput- " ing about: I " mention it, as " being ſolici- " tous to be ac- " curate in this " account, even " in circumſtan- " ces, of them- " ſelves, not very " material."

read over to them, were committed to the deep, on the twenty-firſt, with the uſual military honours. What were the feelings of the companies of both the ſhips, on this occaſion, muſt be left to the world to conceive; for thoſe who were preſent know, that it is not in the power of any pen to expreſs them. A promotion of officers followed the deceaſe of Captain Cook. Captain Clerke having ſucceeded of courſe to the command of the expedition, removed on board the Reſolution. By him Mr. Gore was appointed Captain of the Diſcovery, and the reſt of the Lieutenants obtained an addition of rank, in their proper order. Mr. Harvey, a Midſhipman, who had been in the laſt as well as the preſent voyage, was promoted to the vacant Lieutenantcy (*r*).

(*r*) King's Voyage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 59—64. 68, 76, 77. 80, 81.

Not long after Captain Cook's death, an event occurred in Europe, which had a particular relation to the voyage of our Navigator, and which was ſo honourable to himſelf, and to the great nation from whom it proceeded, that it is no ſmall pleaſure to me to be able to lay the tranſaction ſomewhat at large before my readers. What I refer to is, the letter which was iſſued, on the nineteenth of March, 1779, by Monſieur Sartine, Secretary of the Marine Department at Paris, and ſent to all the Commanders of French ſhips. The reſcript was as follows: "Captain Cook, who ſailed from Plymouth in July, 1776, "on board the Reſolution, in company with the Diſcovery, Captain Clerke, in order to "make ſome diſcoveries on the coaſts, iſlands, and ſeas of Japan and California, being on "the point of returning to Europe; and ſuch diſcoveries being of general utility to all "nations, it is the King's pleaſure, that Captain Cook ſhall be treated as a Commander of "a neutral and allied power, and that all Captains of armed veſſels, &c. who may meet "that famous Navigator, ſhall make him acquainted with the King's orders on this behalf, "but, at the ſame time, let him know, that on his part he muſt refrain from all hoſtilities "(*s*)." By the Marquis of Condorcet we are informed, that this meaſure originated in the liberal and enlightened mind of that excellent Citizen and Stateſman, Monſieur Turgot. "When war," ſays the Marquis, "was declared between France and England, "M. Turgot ſaw how honourable it would be to the French nation, that the veſſel of "Captain Cook ſhould be treated with reſpect at ſea. He compoſed a memorial, in which "he proved, that honour, reaſon, and even intereſt, dictated this act of reſpect for humanity; and it was in conſequence of this memorial, the author of which was unknown "during his life, that an order was given not to treat as an enemy, the common benefactor of every European nation (*t*)." Whilſt great praiſe is due to Monſieur Turgot, for having ſuggeſted the adoption of a meaſure which hath contributed ſo much to the reputation of the French Government, it muſt not be forgotten, that the firſt thought of ſuch a plan of conduct was probably owing to Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Thus much, at leaſt, is certain, that this eminent Philoſopher, when Embaſſador at Paris from the United States of America, preceded the Court of France in iſſuing a ſimilar requiſition; a copy of which cannot fail of being acceptable to the reader.

(*s*) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xlix. p. 209.

(*t*) Condorcet's Life of M. Turgot, p. 263, Engliſh tranſlation.

"and agility, in a greater degree, than ever I remembered to have ſeen before in any other man. "His age might be about thirty, and by the white "ſcurf on his ſkin, and his ſore eyes, he appeared to "be a hard drinker of Kava. He was a conſtant "companion of the King, with whom I firſt ſaw "him, when he paid a viſit to Captain Clerke. The "Chief who firſt ſtruck Captain Cook with the club, "was called Karimano, craha, but I did not know "him by his name. Theſe circumſtances I learnt of "honeſt Kaireekea, the Prieſt; who added, that they "were both held in great eſteem on account of that "action: neither of them came near us afterwards. "When the boats left the ſhore, the Indians carried "away the dead body of Captain Cook and thoſe of "the Marines, to the riſing ground, at the back of "the town, where we could plainly ſee them with "our glaſſes from the ſhips. This moſt melancholy "accident appears to have been altogether unexpected and unforeſeen, as well on the part of the "natives as ourſelves. I never ſaw ſufficient reaſon "to induce me to believe, that there was any thing "of deſign, or a pre-concerted plan on their ſide, or "that they purpoſely ſought to quarrel with us: "thieving, which gave riſe to the whole, they were "equally guilty of, in our firſt and ſecond viſits. It "was the cauſe of every miſunderſtanding that happened between us: their petty thefts were generally overlooked, but ſometimes ſlightly puniſhed: "the boat, which they at laſt ventured to take away, "was an object of no ſmall magnitude to people in "our ſituation, who could not poſſibly replace her, "and therefore not ſlightly to be given up. We "had no other chance of recovering her, but by "getting the perſon of the King into our poſſeſſion: "on our attempting to do that, the natives became "alarmed for his ſafety, and naturally oppoſed "thoſe whom they deemed his enemies. In the "ſudden conflict that enſued, we had the unſpeakable misfortune of loſing our excellent Commander, "in the manner already related. It is in this light "the affair has always appeared to me, as entirely "accidental, and not in the leaſt owing to any previous offence received, or jealouſy of our ſecond "viſit entertained by the natives. Pareah ſeems to "have been the principal inſtrument in bringing "about this fatal diſaſter. We learnt afterwards, "that it was he who had employed ſome people to ſteal "the boat: the King did not ſeem to be privy to it, "or even apprized of what had happened, till Captain Cook landed. It was generally remarked, "that at firſt, the Indians ſhewed great reſolution in "facing our fire-arms; but it was entirely owing to "ignorance of their effect. They thought that "their thick mats would defend them from a ball, "as well as from a ſtone; but being ſoon convinced "of their error, yet ſtill at a loſs to account how "ſuch execution was done among them, they had "recourſe to a ſtratagem, which, though it anſwered "no other purpoſe, ſerved to ſhew their ingenuity "and quickneſs of invention. Obſerving the flaſhes "of the muſquets, they naturally concluded, that "water would counteract their effect, and therefore, "very ſagaciouſly, dipped their mats, or armour, in "the ſea, juſt as they came on to face our people: "but finding this laſt reſource to fail them, they "ſoon diſperſed, and left the beach entirely clear. "It was an object they never neglected, even at the "greateſt hazard, to carry off their ſlain; a cuſtom, "probably owing to the barbarity with which they "treat the dead body of an enemy, and the trophies "they make of his bones (13)."

(13) Samwell's Narrative of the Death of Capt. James Cook, p. 2—20.

"To

" To all Captains and Commanders of armed Ships, acting by Commiſſion from the
" Congreſs of the United States of America, now in war with Great Britain.

" Gentlemen,

" A ſhip having been fitted out from England before the commencement of this war,
" to make diſcoveries of new countries in unknown ſeas, under the conduct of that moſt
" celebrated Navigator and Diſcoverer, Captain Cook; an undertaking truly laudable in
" itſelf, as the increaſe of geographical knowledge facilitates the communication between
" diſtant nations, in the exchange of uſeful products and manufactures, and the extenſion
" of arts, whereby the common enjoyments of human life are multiplied and augmented,
" and ſcience of other kinds encreaſed, to the benefit of mankind in general—This is
" therefore moſt earneſtly to recommend to every one of you, that in caſe the ſaid ſhip,
" which is now expected to be ſoon in the European ſeas on her return, ſhould happen to
" fall into your hands, you would not conſider her as an enemy, nor ſuffer any plunder to
" be made of the effects contained in her, nor obſtruct her immediate return to England,
" by detaining her, or ſending her into any other part of Europe, or to America; but that
" you would treat the ſaid Captain Cook and his people with all civility and kindneſs,
" affording them, as common friends to mankind, all the aſſiſtance in your power, which
" they may happen to ſtand in need of. In ſo doing, you will not only gratify the gene-
" roſity of your own diſpoſitions, but there is no doubt of your obtaining the approbation
" of the Congreſs, and your other American owners.

" I have the honour to be,
" Gentlemen,
" Your moſt obedient,
" humble ſervant,
" B. FRANKLIN,
" Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the Congreſs
" of the United States, at the Court of
" France."

" At Paſſy, near Paris,
" this 10th day of
" March, 1779.

It is obſervable, that as Dr. Franklin acted on his own authority, he could only *earneſtly recommend* to the Commanders of American armed veſſels not to conſider Captain Cook as an enemy; and it is ſomewhat remarkable, that he mentions no more than one ſhip; Captain Clerke not being noticed in the requiſition. In the confidence which the Doctor expreſſed, with reſpect to the approbation of Congreſs, he happened to be miſtaken. As the Members of that Aſſembly, at leaſt with regard to the greater part of them, were not poſſeſſed of minds equally enlightened with that of their Embaſſador, he was not ſupported by his Maſters in this noble act of humanity, of love to ſcience, and of liberal policy. The orders he had given were inſtantly reverſed; and it was directed by Congreſs, that eſpecial care ſhould be taken to ſeize Captain Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred. All this proceeded from a falſe notion that it would be injurious to the United States for the Engliſh to obtain a knowledge of the oppoſite coaſt of America. The conduct of the Court of Spain was regulated by ſimilar principles of jealouſy. It was apprehended by that Court, that there was reaſon to be cautious of granting, too eaſily, an indulgence to Captain Cook; ſince it was not certain what miſchiefs might enſue to the Spaniards from a northern paſſage to their American dominions. M. de Belluga, a Spaniſh Gentleman and officer, of a liberal and a philoſophical turn of mind, and who was a Member of the Royal Society of London, endeavoured to prevail upon the Count of Florida Blanca, and M. d'Almodavar, to grant an order of protection to the Reſolution and Diſcovery; and he flattered himſelf, that the Miniſters of the King of Spain would be prevailed upon to prefer the cauſe of ſcience to the partial views of intereſt: but the Spaniſh Government was not capable of riſing to ſo enlarged and magnanimous a plan of policy. To the French nation alone, therefore, was reſerved the honour of ſetting an example of wiſdom and humanity, which, I truſt, will not, hereafter, be ſo uncommon in the hiſtory of mankind [*NN*].

The progreſs of the voyage, after the deceaſe of Captain Cook, doth not fall within the deſign of the preſent narrative. It muſt be ſufficient, therefore, barely to mention, that the Sandwich Iſlands were farther explored, and a large addition of whatever relates to the knowledge of their productions and inhabitants obtained; that Kamtſchatka was viſited, and a very friendly intercourſe maintained with the Ruſſian officers of that country; that our Navigators experienced the moſt generous and hoſpitable treatment from Major Behm in particular, the Commander of the Garriſon at Bolcharetſk; that they proceeded to the

[*NN*] *Be ſo uncommon in the hiſtory of mankind.*] For the materials from which the preceding account is drawn up, I am indebted to Sir Joſeph Banks. Sir Joſeph and Mr. Stephens have been at conſiderable pains to obtain, by application to the Duke of Dorſet, an authentic copy of the protection granted by the Court of France to Captain Cook's ſhips. If it ſhould arrive in time, it will be inſerted at the end of the article.

I ſhall here add, that as ſoon as Captain Gore was informed of the order of the French Government (an account of which he received at Canton) he thought himſelf bound, in return for the liberal exceptions made in favour of our Navigators, to refrain from laying hold of any opportunities of capture that might chance to occur, and to preſerve, throughout his voyage, the ſtricteſt neutrality (14).

(14) King's Voyage, p. 448.

North,

North, in purſuit of the grand object of the expedition; that, having paſſed through Beering's Strait, and attained to ſomething more than ſixty-nine degrees and a half of northern latitude, they found it abſolutely impoſſible to penetrate through the ice, either on the ſide of America or on the ſide of Aſia; that every hope being excluded of accompliſhing this way a paſſage into the Atlantic Ocean, Captain Clerke was obliged to come to the determination of ſailing back to the ſouthward; that on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, (1779) being leſs than a month after this determination, the Captain died of a conſumption [*OO*]; that Captain Gore ſucceeded to the command of the Reſolution, and Lieutenant King to that of the Diſcovery; that a ſecond viſit was paid to Kamtſchatka, by which a farther acquaintance was gained with that part of the world; that no ſmall acceſſion of information was acquired with reſpect to geographical ſcience in general; that our Voyagers purſued their courſe by the coaſts of Japan and China; that they made ſome ſtay at Canton; that thence they proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope; that they came to an anchor at Stromneſs, on the twenty-ſecond of May, 1780; that both ſhips arrived ſafe at the Nore, on the fourth of October, after an abſence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days; that, during the whole of the undertaking, the Reſolution loſt only five men by ſickneſs, three of whom were in a precarious ſtate of health at their departure from England, while the Diſcovery did not loſe a ſingle man; and that the hiſtory of the voyage, from the time in which Captain Cook's journal ends, was written with great ability by Mr. King. With concern I add, that, by the deceaſe of Captain King, who died at Nice, in Italy, in the year 1784, this country ſuſtained another loſs of an able and ſcientific Commander and Navigator, who hath left a memorial of his talents and ſervices, which has honourably united his name with that of the immortal Cook.

From the relation that has been given of Captain Cook's courſe of life, and of the important events in which he was engaged, my readers cannot be ſtrangers to his general character. This, therefore, might be left to be collected from his actions, which are the beſt exhibitions of the great qualities of his mind. But, perhaps, were I not to endeavour to afford a ſummary view of him in theſe reſpects, I might be thought to fail in that duty which I owe to the public on the preſent occaſion. It cannot, I think, be denied, that genius belonged to Captain Cook in an eminent degree. By genius I do not here underſtand imagination merely, or that power of culling the flowers of fancy which poetry delights in; but an inventive mind; a mind full of reſources; and which, by its own native vigour, can ſuggeſt noble objects of purſuit, and the moſt effectual methods of attaining them. This faculty was poſſeſſed by our Navigator in its full energy, as is evident from the uncommon ſagacity and penetration which he diſcovered in a vaſt variety of critical and difficult ſituations. To genius Captain Cook added application, without which nothing very valuable or permanent can be accompliſhed, even by the brighteſt capacity. For an unremitting attention to whatever related to his profeſſion, he was diſtinguiſhed in early life. In every affair that was undertaken by him, his aſſiduity was without interruption, and without abatement. Wherever he came, he ſuffered nothing which was fit for a ſeaman to know or to practiſe, to paſs unnoticed, or to eſcape his diligence. The genius and application of Captain Cook were followed by a large extent of knowledge; a knowledge which, beſide a conſummate acquaintance with navigation, comprehended a number of other ſciences. In this reſpect, the ardour of his mind roſe above the diſadvantages of a very confined education. His progreſs in the different branches of the mathematics, and particularly in aſtronomy, became ſo eminent, that, at length, he was able to take the lead in making the neceſſary obſervations of this kind, in the courſe of his voyages. He attained, likewiſe, to ſuch a degree of proficiency in general learning, and the art of compoſition, as to be able to expreſs himſelf with a manly clearneſs and propriety, and to become reſpectable as the narrator, as well as the performer, of great actions. Another thing, ſtrikingly conſpicuous in Captain Cook, was the perſeverance with which he purſued the noble ob-

[*OO*] *The Captain died of a conſumption.*] Captain Clerke departed this life in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He was brought up to the Navy from his earlieſt youth, and had been in ſeveral actions during the war which began in 1756. In the action between the Bellona and the Courageux, being ſtationed in the mizen-top, he was carried overboard with the maſt; but was taken up without having received any hurt. He was a Midſhipman in the Dolphin, commanded by Captain Byron, in her voyage round the world; after which he ſerved on the American ſtation. In 1768, he made his ſecond voyage round the world, in the Endeavour, as Maſter's Mate; and, in conſequence of the death of Mr. Hicks, which happened on the twenty-third of May, 1771, he returned home a Lieutenant. His third circum-navigation of th globe was in the Reſolution, of which he was appointed the Second Lieutenant; and he continued in that ſituation till his return in 1775; ſoon after which he was promoted to the rank of Maſter and Commander. In what capacity he ſailed with Captain Cook in this laſt expedition, need not be added. The conſumption of which Captain Clerke died, had evidently commenced before he left England, and he lingered under it during the whole voyage. Though his very gradual decay had long made him a melancholy object to his friends, neverthleſs, they derive ſome conſolation from the equanimity with which he bore his diſorder, from the conſtant flow of good ſpirits maintained by him to his lateſt hour, and from his ſubmitting to his fate with chearful reſignation. It was, however, impoſſible, ſays Mr. King, "not to "feel a more than common degree of compaſſion for "a perſon, whoſe life had been a continued ſcene of "thoſe difficulties and hardſhips, to which a ſeaman's "occupation is ſubject, and under which he at laſt "ſunk (15)."

(15) King's Voyage, p. 280, 8vo.

jects to which his life was devoted. This, indeed, was a moſt diſtinguiſhed feature in his character: in this he ſcarcely ever had an equal, and never a ſuperior. Nothing could divert him from the points he aimed at; and he perſiſted in the proſecution of them, through difficulties and obſtructions which would have deterred minds of very conſiderable ſtrength and firmneſs. What enabled him to perſevere in all his mighty undertakings, was the invincible fortitude of his ſpirit. Of this, inſtances without number occur in the accounts of his expeditions; two of which I ſhall take the liberty of recalling to the attention of my readers. The firſt is, the undaunted magnanimity with which he proſecuted his diſcoveries along the whole South-eaſt coaſt of New Holland. Surrounded as he was with the greateſt poſſible dangers, ariſing from the perpetual ſucceſſion of rocks, ſhoals, and breakers, and having a ſhip that was almoſt ſhaken to pieces by repeated perils, his vigorous mind had a regard to nothing but what he thought was required of him by his duty to the public. It will not be eaſy to find, in the hiſtory of navigation, a parallel example of courageous exertion. The other circumſtance I would refer to is the boldneſs with which, in his ſecond voyage, after he left the Cape of Good Hope, he puſhed forwards into unknown ſeas, and penetrated through innumerable mountains and Iſlands of ice, in the ſearch of a ſouthern continent. It was like launching into chaos: all was obſcurity, all was darkneſs before him; and no event can be compared with it, excepting the ſailing of Magelhaen's, from the ſtraits which bear his name, into the pacific Ocean (*u*). The fortitude of Captain Cook, being founded upon reaſon, and not upon inſtinct, was not an impetuous valour, but accompanied with compleat ſelf-poſſeſſion. He was maſter of himſelf on every trying occaſion, and ſeemed to be the more calm and collected, the greater was the exigence of the caſe. In the moſt perilous ſituations, when our Commander had given the proper directions concerning what was to be done while he went to reſt, he could ſleep, during the hours he had allotted to himſelf, with perfect compoſure and ſoundneſs (*w*). Nothing could be a ſurer indication of an elevated mind; of a mind that was entirely ſatisfied with itſelf, and with the meaſures it had taken. To all theſe great qualities, Captain Cook added the moſt amiable virtues. That it was impoſſible for any one to excel him in humanity, is apparent from his treatment of his men through all his voyages, and from his behaviour to the natives of the countries which were diſcovered by him. The health, the convenience, and, as far as it could be admitted, the enjoyment of the ſeamen, were the conſtant objects of his attention; and he was anxiouſly ſolicitous to meliorate the condition of the inhabitants of the ſeveral Iſlands and places which he viſited. With regard to their thieveries, he candidly apologized for, and overlooked, many offences which others would have ſharply puniſhed; and when he was laid under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of proceeding to any acts of ſeverity, he never exerted them without feeling much reluctance and concern. In the private relations of life, Captain Cook was entitled to high commendation. He was excellent as a huſband and a father, and ſincere and ſteady in his friendſhips: and to this it may be added, that he poſſeſſed that general ſobriety and virtue of character, which will always be found to conſtitute the beſt ſecurity and ornament of every other moral qualification. With the greateſt benevolence and humanity of diſpoſition, Captain Cook was occaſionally ſubject to a haſtineſs of temper. This, which has been exaggerated by the few (and they are indeed few) who are unfavourable to his memory, is acknowledged by his friends. It is mentioned both by Captain King and Mr. Samwell, in their delineations of his character. Mr. Hayley, in one of his poems, calls him the *mild Cook*; but, perhaps, that is not the happieſt epithet which could have been applied to him. Mere mildneſs can ſcarcely be conſidered as the moſt prominent and diſtinctive feature in the mind of a man, whoſe powers of underſtanding and of action were ſo ſtrong and elevated, who had ſuch immenſe difficulties to ſtruggle with, and who muſt frequently have been called to the firmeſt exertions of authority and command. Laſtly, Captain Cook was diſtinguiſhed by a property which is almoſt univerſally the concomitant of truly great men, and that is, a ſimplicity of manners. In converſation he was unaffected and unaſſuming; rather backward in puſhing diſcourſe; but obliging and communicative in his anſwers to thoſe who addreſſed him for the purpoſes of information. It was not poſſible that, in a mind conſtituted like his, ſuch a paltry quality as vanity could find an exiſtence.

In this imperfect delineation of Captain Cook's character, I have ſpoken of him in a manner which is fully juſtified by the whole courſe of his life and actions, and which is perfectly agreeable to the ſentiments of thoſe who were the moſt nearly connected with him in the habits of intimacy and friendſhip. The pictures which ſome of them have drawn of him, though they have already been preſented to the public, cannot here with propriety be omitted, and, therefore, ſhall be given in note [*PP*].

From

(*u*) For the two remarks above mentioned, I am indebted to Mr. Hodges.

(*w*) From the information of Capt. Dudeſton.

[*PP*] *And, therefore, ſhall be given in note.*] Captain King has expreſſed himſelf concerning him in the following terms. "The conſtitution of his "body was robuſt, inured to labour, and capable of "undergoing the ſevereſt hardſhips. His ſtomach "bore, without difficulty, the coarſeſt and moſt un-"grateful food:—Great was the indifference with "which he ſubmitted to every kind of ſelf-denial. "The qualities of his mind were of the ſame hardy, "vigorous kind with thoſe of his body. His under-"ſtanding was ſtrong and perſpicacious. His judg-"ment, in whatever related to the ſervices he was "engaged

From a ſurvey of Captain Cook's character, it is natural to extend our reflections to the effects of the ſeveral expeditions in which he was engaged. Theſe, indeed, muſt have largely

" engaged in, quick and ſure. His deſigns were " bold and manly; and both in the conception, and " in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a " great original genius. His courage was cool and " determined, and accompanied with an admirable " preſence of mind in the moment of danger. His " temper might perhaps have been juſtly blamed, as " ſubject to haſtineſs and paſſion, had not theſe been " diſarmed by a diſpoſition the moſt benevolent and " humane. Such were the outlines of Captain " Cook's character; but its moſt diſtinguiſhing fea- " ture was that unremitting perſeverance in the pur- " ſuit of his object, which was not only ſuperior to " the oppoſition of dangers, and the preſſure of hard- " ſhips, but even exempt from the want of ordinary " relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages " in which he was engaged, his eagerneſs and acti- " vity were never in the leaſt abated. No incidental " temptation could detain him for a moment: even " thoſe intervals of recreation, which ſometimes un- " avoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with " a longing, that perſons, who have experienced the " fatigues of ſervice, will readily excuſe, were ſub- " mitted to by him with a certain impatience, when- " ever they could not be employed in making a far- " ther proviſion for the more effectual proſecution of " his deſigns (16)."

(16) King's Voyage, p. 48, 49.

" The character of Captain Cook," ſays Mr. Samwell, " will be beſt exemplified by the ſervices he has " performed, which are univerſally known, and have " ranked his name above that of any navigator of " ancient or of modern times. Nature had endowed " him with a mind vigorous and comprehenſive, " which in his riper years he had cultivated with care " and induſtry. His general knowledge was exten- " ſive and various: in that of his own profeſſion he " was unequalled. With a clear judgment, ſtrong " maſculine ſenſe, and the moſt determined reſolu- " tion; with a genius peculiarly turned for enter- " prize, he purſued his object with unſhaken perſe- " verance:—vigilant and active in an eminent de- " gree:—cool and intrepid among dangers; patient " and firm under difficulties and diſtreſs; fertile in " expedients; great and original in all his deſigns; " active and reſolved in carrying them into execu- " tion. Theſe qualities rendered him the animating " ſpirit of the expedition: in every ſituation, he " ſtood unrivalled and alone; on him all eyes were " turned; he was our leading-ſtar, which at its ſet- " ting, left us involved in darkneſs and deſpair. His " conſtitution was ſtrong, his mode of living tempe- " rate.——He was a modeſt man, and rather baſhful; " of an agreeable lively converſation, ſenſible and " intelligent. In his temper he was ſomewhat haſty, " but of a diſpoſition the moſt friendly, benevolent, " and humane. His perſon was above ſix feet high, " and though a good-looking man, he was plain both " in addreſs and appearance. His head was ſmall; " his hair, which was a dark brown, he wore tied " behind. His face was full of expreſſion; his noſe " exceedingly well ſhaped; his eyes, which were " ſmall and of a brown caſt, were quick and pierc- " ing; his eye-brows prominent, which gave his " countenance altogether an air of auſterity. He " was beloved by his people, who looked up to him " as to a father, and obeyed his commands with " alacrity. The confidence we placed in him was " unremitting; our admiration of his great talents " unbounded; our eſteem for his good qualities af- " fectionate and ſincere.——He was remarkably diſ- " tinguiſhed for the activity of his mind: it was that " which enabled him to pay an unwearied attention " to every object of the ſervice. The ſtrict œconomy " he obſerved in the expenditure of the ſhip's ſtores, " and the unremitting care he employed for the pre- " ſervation of the health of his people, were the " cauſes that enabled him to proſecute diſcoveries in " remote parts of the globe, for ſuch a length of time " as had been deemed impracticable by former navi- " gators. The method he diſcovered for preſerving " the health of ſeamen in long voyages, will tranſ- " mit his name to poſterity as the friend and bene- " factor of mankind: the ſucceſs which attended it, " afforded this truly great man more ſatisfaction, " than the diſtinguiſhed fame that attended his diſ- " coveries. England has been unanimous in her " tribute of applauſe to his virtues, and all Europe " has borne teſtimony to his merit. There is hardly " a corner of the earth, however remote and ſavage, " that will not long remember his benevolence and " humanity. The grateful Indian, in time to come, " pointing to the herds grazing his fertile plains, " will relate to his children how the firſt ſtock of " them was introduced into the country; and the " name of Cook will be remembered among thoſe " benign ſpirits, whom they worſhip as the ſource of " every good, and the fountain of every bleſſing " (17)."

(17) Some particulars concerning the life and character of Captain Cook, annexed to the narrative of his death, p. 25—27.

At the concluſion of the Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, is an eulogium on Captain Cook, drawn up by one of his own profeſſion, of whom it is ſaid, that he is not more diſtinguiſhed by the elevation of rank, than by the dignity of private virtues (18). Though this excellent eulogium muſt be known to many, and perhaps to moſt, of my readers, they will not be diſpleaſed at having the greater part of it brought to their recollection. Captain James Cook " poſſeſſed," ſays the writer, " in an eminent degree, all the qualifications requi- " ſite for his profeſſion and great undertakings; toge- " ther with the amiable and worthy qualities of the " beſt men. Cool and deliberate in judging: ſaga- " cious in determining: active in executing: ſteady " and perſevering in enterprizing from vigilance and " unremitting caution: unſubdued by labour, diffi- " culties, and diſappointments: fertile in expedients: " never wanting preſence of mind: always poſſeſſing " himſelf, and the full uſe of a ſound underſtanding. " Mild, juſt, but exact in diſcipline: he was a father " to his people, who were attached to him from af- " fection, and obedient from confidence. His " knowledge, his experience, his ſagacity, rendered " him ſo entirely maſter of his ſubject, that the " greateſt obſtacles were ſurmounted, and the moſt " dangerous navigations became eaſy, and almoſt " ſafe under his direction. By his benevolent and " unabating attention to the welfare of his ſhip's " company, he diſcovered and introduced a ſyſtem " for the preſervation of the health of ſeamen in long " voyages, which has proved wonderfully efficacious. " The death of this eminent and valuable man was a " loſs to mankind in general; and particularly to be " deplored by every nation that reſpects uſeful ac- " compliſhments, that honours ſcience, and loves the " benevolent and amiable affections of the heart. It " is ſtill more to be deplored by this country, which " may juſtly boaſt of having produced a man hitherto " unequalled for nautical talents; and that ſorrow is " farther aggravated by the reflection, that his country " was deprived of this ornament by the enmity of a " people, from whom, indeed, it might have been " dreaded, but from whom it was not deſerved. For, " actuated always by the moſt attentive care and " tender compaſſion for the ſavages in general, this " excellent man was ever aſſiduouſly endeavouring, " by kind treatment, to diſſipate their fears, and " court their friendſhip; overlooking their thefts and " treacheries, and frequently interpoſing, at the " hazard of his life, to protect them from the ſudden " reſentment of his own injured people.——Travel- " ler! contemplate, admire, revere, and emulate this " great maſter in his profeſſion; whoſe ſkill and la- " bours have enlarged natural philoſophy; have ex- " tended nautical ſcience; and have diſcloſed the " long-concealed and admirable arrangements of the " Almighty in the formation of this globe, and, at " the ſame time, the arrogance of mortals, in pre- " ſuming to account, by their ſpeculations, for " the laws by which he was pleaſed to create it. It " is now diſcovered, beyond all doubt, that the ſame

(18) Introduction, p. lxxxv.

great

largely appeared in the general Hiſtory of his Life; and they have finely been diſplayed by Dr. Douglas (now Biſhop of Carliſle) in his admirable Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Under the conduct of ſo able a guide, I ſhall ſubjoin below a ſhort view of the ſubject [22].

Conſider-

" great Being who created the univerſe by his *fiat*,
" by the ſame ordained our earth to keep a juſt poiſe,
" without a correſponding ſouthern continent, and it
" does ſo. *He ſtretches out the North over the empty*
" *place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing.* Job
" xxvi. 7. If the arduous but exact reſearches of
" this extraordinary man have not diſcovered a new
" world, they have diſcovered ſeas unnavigated and
" unknown before. They have made us acquainted
" with Iſlands, people, and productions of which we
" had no conception. And if he has not been ſo
" fortunate as Americus, to give his name to a con-
" tinent, his pretenſions to ſuch a diſtinction remain
" unrivalled; and he will be revered while there re-
" mains a page of his own modeſt account of his
" voyages, and as long as mariners and geographers
" ſhall be inſtructed, by his new map of the ſouthern
" hemiſphere, to trace the various courſes and diſ-
" coveries he has made. If public ſervices merit
" public acknowledgments; if the man who adorned
" and raiſed the fame of his country is deſerving of
" honours, then CAPTAIN COOK deſerves to have a
" monument raiſed to his memory, by a generous
" and grateful nation.

" Virtutis uberrimum alimentum eſt honos.
" Val. Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 6 (19)."

(19) Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. lxxxvi—lxxxix.

" The laſt character I ſhall here inſert of Captain Cook, comes from a learned writer, who, in conſequence of ſome diſagreements which are underſtood to have ſubſiſted between him and our great Navigator, cannot be ſuſpected of intending to celebrate him in the language of flattery. Dr. Reinhold Forſter, having given a ſhort account of the Captain's death, adds as follows: " Thus fell this truly glorious and juſtly
" admired Navigator.—If we conſider his extreme
" abilities, both natural and acquired, the firmneſs
" and conſtancy of his mind, his truly paternal care
" for the crew entruſted to him, the amiable manner
" with which he knew how to gain the friendſhip of
" all the ſavage and uncultivated nations, and even
" his conduct towards his friends and acquaintance,
" we muſt acknowledge him to have been one of the
" greateſt men of his age, and that reaſon juſtifies
" the tear which friendſhip pays to his memory (20)."
After ſuch an encomium on Captain Cook, leſs regard may juſtly be paid to the deductions from it, which are added by Dr. Forſter. What he hath ſaid concerning the Captain's temper, ſeems to have received a tincture of exaggeration, from prejudice and perſonal animoſity; and the Doctor's inſinuation, that our Navigator obſtructed Lieutenant Pickerſgill's promotion, is, I have good reaſon to believe, wholly groundleſs. There is another error which muſt not paſs unnoticed. Dr. Forſter puts in his caveat againſt giving the name of Cook's Straits to the Straits between Aſia and America, diſcovered by Beering. But if the Doctor had read the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, publiſhed by authority, he would have ſeen, that there was no deſign of robbing Beering of the honour to which he was entitled."

(20) Forſter's Hiſtory of the Voyages and Diſcoveries made in the North, p. 404.

[22] *I ſhall ſubjoin below a ſhort view of the ſubject.*] " It muſt, however, be obſerved, that, with regard to the three principal conſequences of our great Navigator's tranſactions I have nothing farther to offer. Theſe are, his having diſpelled the illuſion of a *Terra Auſtralis Incognita*; his demonſtration of the impracticability of a northern paſſage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean; and his having eſtabliſhed a ſure method of preſerving the health of ſeamen in the longeſt voyages, and through every variety of latitude and climate. Concerning each of theſe capital objects, I have already ſo fully ſpoken, that it is not in my power to add to the impreſſion of their importance, and of Captain Cook's merits in relation to them, which, I truſt, is firmly fixed on the mind of every reader.

It is juſtly remarked, by the Biſhop of Carliſle, that one great advantage accruing to the world from our late ſurveys of the globe, is, that they have confuted fanciful theories, too likely to give birth to impracticable undertakings. The ingenious reveries of ſpeculative philoſophers, which have ſo long amuſed the learned, and raiſed the moſt ſanguine expectations, are now obliged to ſubmit, perhaps with reluctance, to the ſober dictates of truth and experience. Nor will it be only by diſcouraging future unprofitable ſearches, that the late voyages will be of ſervice to mankind, but alſo by leſſening the dangers and diſtreſſes formerly experienced in thoſe ſeas which are within the actual line of commerce and navigation. From the Britiſh diſcoveries, many commercial improvements may be expected to ariſe in our own times: but, in future ages, ſuch improvements may be extended to a degree, of which, at preſent, we have no conception. In the long chain of cauſes and effects, no one can tell how widely and beneficially the mutual intercourſe of the various inhabitants of the earth may hereafter be carried on, in conſequence of the means of facilitating it, which have been explored and pointed out by Captain Cook.

The intereſts of ſcience, as well as of commerce, ſtand highly indebted to this illuſtrious Navigator. That a knowledge of the globe on which we live is a very deſirable object, no one can call in queſtion. This is an object which, while it is ardently purſued by the moſt enlightened philoſophers, is ſought for with avidity, even by thoſe whoſe ſtudies do not carry them beyond the loweſt rudiments of learning. It need not be ſaid what gratification Captain Cook hath provided for the world in this reſpect. Before the voyages of the preſent reign took place, nearly half the ſurface of the earth was hidden in obſcurity and confuſion. From the diſcoveries of our Navigator, geography has aſſumed a new face, and become, in a great meaſure, a new ſcience; having attained to ſuch a completion, as to leave only ſome leſs important parts of the globe to be explored by future voyagers (21).

(21) Lieutenant Roberts's admirable chart will ſet this matter in the ſtrongeſt light.

Happily for the advancement of knowledge, acquiſitions cannot be obtained in any one branch, without leading to acquiſitions in other branches, of equal, and perhaps of ſuperior conſequence. New oceans cannot be traverſed, or new countries viſited, without preſenting freſh objects of ſpeculation and enquiry, and carrying the practice, as well as the theory, of philoſophy, to a higher degree of perfection. *Nautical aſtronomy*, in particular, was in its infancy, when the late voyages were firſt undertaken; but, during the proſecution of them, and eſpecially in Captain Cook's laſt expedition, even many of the petty officers could obſerve the diſtance of the moon from the ſun, or a ſtar, the moſt delicate of all obſervations, with ſufficient accuracy. As for the officers of ſuperior rank, they would have felt themſelves aſhamed to have it thought that they did not know how to obſerve for, and compute the time at ſea; though ſuch a thing had, a little before, ſcarcely been heard of among ſeamen. Nay, firſt-rate philoſophers had doubted the poſſibility of doing it with the exactneſs that could be wiſhed. It muſt, however, be remembered, that a large ſhare of praiſe is due to the Board of Longitude, for the proficiency of the Gentlemen of the Navy in taking obſervations at ſea. In conſequence of the attention of that Board to this important object, liberal rewards have been given to Mathematicians for perfecting the lunar tables, and facilitating calculations; and artiſts have been amply encouraged in the conſtruction of inſtruments and watches, much more accurately and compleatly adapted to the purpoſes of navigation than formerly exiſted.

It is needleſs to mention what a quantity of additional information has been gained with reſpect to the riſe and times of the flowing of the tides; the direction and force of currents at ſea; and the cauſe and nature of the polarity of the needle, and the theory

Conſidering the eminent abilities diſplayed by Captain Cook, and the mighty actions performed by him, it is not ſurprizing that his memory ſhould be held in the higheſt eſtimation,

of its variations. Natural knowledge has been increaſed by experiments on the effects of gravity in different and very diſtant places: and, from Captain Cook's having penetrated ſo far into the Southern Ocean, it is now aſcertained, that the phænomenon, uſually called the *Aurora Borealis*, is not peculiar to high northern latitudes, but belongs equally to all cold climates, whether they be North or South.

Amidſt the different branches of ſcience that have been promoted by the late expeditions, there is none, perhaps, that ſtands ſo highly indebted to them as the ſcience of botany. At leaſt twelve hundred new plants have been added to the known ſyſtem; and large acceſſions of intelligence have accrued with regard to every other part of natural hiſtory. This point has already been evinced by the writings of Dr. Sparrman, of the two Forſters, father and ſon, and of Mr. Pennant; and this point will illuſtriouſly be manifeſted, when the great work of Sir Joſeph Banks ſhall be accompliſhed, and given to the world.

It is not to the enlargement of natural knowledge only, that the effects ariſing from Captain Cook's voyages are to be confined. Another important object of ſtudy has been opened by them; and that is, the ſtudy of human nature, in ſituations various, intereſting, and uncommon. The Iſlands viſited in the centre of the South Pacific Ocean, and the principal ſcenes of the operations of our diſcoverers, were untrodden ground. As the inhabitants, ſo far as could be obſerved, had continued, from their original ſettlement, unmixed with any different tribe; as they had been left entirely to their own powers for every art of life, and to their own remote traditions for every political or religious cuſtom or inſtitution; as they were uninformed by ſcience, and unimproved by education, they could not but afford many ſubjects of ſpeculation to an inquiſitive and philoſophical mind. Hence may be collected a variety of important facts with reſpect to the ſtate of man; with reſpect to his attainments and deficiencies, his virtues and vices, his employments and diverſions, his feelings, manners, and cuſtoms, in a certain period of ſociety. Even the curioſities which have been brought from the diſcovered Iſlands, and which enrich the Britiſh Muſeum, and the late Sir Aſhton Lever's (now Mr. Parkinſon's) repoſitory, may be conſidered as a valuable acquiſition to this country; as ſupplying no ſmall fund of information and entertainment.

Few enquiries are more intereſting than thoſe which relate to the migrations of the various families or tribes that have peopled the earth. It was known in general, that the Aſiatic nation, called Malayans, poſſeſſed, in former times, much the greateſt trade in the Indies; and that they frequented, with their merchants ſhips, not only all the coaſts of Aſia, but ventured over even to the coaſts of Africa, and particularly to the great Iſland of Madagaſcar. But that, from Madagaſcar to the Marqueſas and Eaſter Iſland, that is, nearly from the Eaſt ſide of Africa, till we approach towards the Weſt ſide of America, a ſpace including above half the circumference of the globe, the ſame nation of the Oriental world ſhould have made their ſettlements, and founded colonies throughout almoſt every intermediate ſtage of this immenſe tract, in Iſlands at amazing diſtances from the mother continent, and the natives of which were ignorant of each other's exiſtence; is an hiſtorical fact, that, before Captain Cook's voyages, could be but very imperfectly known. He it is who hath diſcovered a vaſt number of new ſpots of land, lurking in the boſom of the South Pacific Ocean, all the inhabitants of which diſplay ſtriking evidences of their having derived their deſcent from one common Aſiatic original. Nor is this apparent ſolely from a ſimilarity of cuſtoms and inſtitutions, but is eſtabliſhed by a proof which conveys irreſiſtible conviction to the mind, and that is, the affinity of language. The collections that have been made of the words which are uſed in the widely-diffuſed Iſlands and countries that have lately been viſited, cannot fail, in the hands of ſuch men as a Bryant and a Marſden, to throw much light on the origin of nations, and the peopling of the globe. From Mr. Marſden, in particular, who has devoted his attention, time, and ſtudy to this curious ſubject, the literary world may hereafter expect to be highly inſtructed and entertained.

There is another family of the earth, concerning which new information has been derived from the voyages of our Britiſh Navigators. That the Eſquimaux, who had hitherto only been found ſeated on the coaſts of Labradore and Hudſon's Bay, agreed with the Greenlanders in every circumſtance of cuſtoms, manners, and language, which could demonſtrate an original identity of nation, had already been aſcertained. But that the ſame tribe now actually inhabit the iſlands and coaſts on the Weſt ſide of North America, oppoſite Kamtſchatka, was a diſcovery, the completion of which was reſerved for Captain Cook. In his narrative it will be ſeen that theſe people have extended their migrations to Norton Sound, Oonalaſhka, and Prince William's Sound; that is, to nearly the diſtance of fifteen hundred leagues from their ſtations in Greenland, and the coaſt of Labradore. Nor does this curious fact reſt merely on the evidence ariſing from ſimilitude of manners: for it ſtands confirmed by a table of words, exhibiting ſuch an affinity of language as will remove every doubt from the mind of the moſt ſcrupulous enquirer.

Other queſtions there are, of a very important nature, the ſolution of which will now be rendered more eaſy than hath heretofore been apprehended. From the full confirmation of the vicinity of the two continents of Aſia and America, it can no longer be repreſented as ridiculous to believe, that the former furniſhed inhabitants to the latter. By the facts recently diſcovered, a credibility is added to the Moſaic account of the peopling of the earth (22). That account will, I doubt not, ſtand the teſt of the moſt learned and rigorous inveſtigation. Indeed, I have long been convinced, after the cloſeſt meditation of which I am capable, that ſound philoſophy and genuine revelation never militate againſt each other. The rational friends of religion are ſo far from dreading the ſpirit of enquiry, that they wiſh for nothing more than a candid, calm, and impartial examination of the ſubject, according to all the lights which the improved reaſon and the enlarged ſcience of man can afford.

(22) Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. lvi—lxxv.

One great effect of the voyages made under the conduct of Captain Cook, is their having excited a zeal for ſimilar undertakings. Other Princes and other nations are engaged in expeditions of navigation and diſcovery. By order of the French Government, Meſſ. de la Peyrouſe and de Langle ſailed from Breſt, in Auguſt, 1785, in the frigates Bouſſole and Aſtroloobe, on an enterprize, the expreſs purpoſe of which was the improvement of geography, aſtronomy, natural hiſtory, and philoſophy, and to collect accounts of cuſtoms and manners. For the more effectual proſecution of the deſign, ſeveral Gentlemen were appointed to go out upon the voyage, who were known to excel in different departments of ſcience and literature. M. Dagelet went as Aſtronomer; M. de la Martiniere, P. Recevour, and M. de la Freſne, as Naturaliſts; and the Chevalier de Lamanon, and M. Monges, Junior, as Natural Philoſophers. The officers of the Bouſſole were men of the beſt information, and the firmeſt reſolution; and the crew contained a number of artificers, in various kinds of mechanic employments. Marine watches, and other inſtruments, were provided; and M. Dagelet was particularly directed to make obſervations with M. Condamine's invariable pendulum, to determine the differences in gravity, and to aſcertain the true proportion of the equatorial to the polar diameter of the earth. From ſome accounts which have already been received of theſe voyagers, it appears, that they have explored the coaſt of California; have adjuſted the ſituation of more than fifty places, almoſt wholly unknown; and have viſited Owhyhee, and the reſt of the

eſtimation, both at home and abroad. Perhaps, indeed, greater honour is paid to his name abroad than at home. Foreigners, I am informed, look up to him with an admiration which is not equalled in this country. A remarkable proof of it occurs, in the eulogy of our Navigator, by Michael Angelo Gianetti, which was read at the Royal Florentine Academy, on the ninth of June, 1785, and publiſhed at Florence, in the ſame year (*x*). Not having ſeen it, I am deprived of the power of doing juſtice to its merit. If I am not miſtaken in my recollection, one of the French Literary Academies has propoſed a prize for the beſt elogium on Captain Cook; and there can be no doubt but that ſeveral candidates will appear upon the occaſion, and exert the whole force of their eloquence on ſo intereſting a ſubject. To the applauſes of our Navigator, which have already been inſerted, I cannot avoid adding, in a note, ſome poetical teſtimonies concerning him. The firſt I ſhall produce is from a foreign Poet, M. l'Abbé Liſle. This Gentleman has concluded his "Les Jardins" with an encomium on Captain Cook, of which the following lines are a tranſlation [*RR*].

(*x*) Monthly Review, vol. lxxiii. p. 458.

It

(23) Critical Review, for April, 1788, p. 299, 300.

the Sandwich Iſlands (23). When the expedition ſhall be completed, the whole reſult of it will doubtleſs be laid before the public.

Although Captain Cook has made ſuch vaſt diſcoveries in the Northern Ocean, on and between the Eaſt of Aſia and the Weſt coaſt of America, Mr. Coxe has well ſhewn that there is ſtill room for a farther inveſtigation of that part of the world. Accordingly, the object has been taken up by the Empreſs of Ruſſia, who has committed the conduct of the enterprize to Captain Billings, an Engliſhman in her Majeſty's ſervice. As Captain Billings was with Captain Cook in his laſt voyage, he may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be properly qualified for the buſineſs he has undertaken. The deſign, with the execution of which he is entruſted, appears to be very extenſive and important; and, if it ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, cannot fail of making conſiderable additions to the knowledge of geography and navigation (24).

(24) Coxe's Comparative View of the Ruſſian Diſcoveries, p. 27—30.

There is one event at home, which has evidently reſulted from Captain Cook's diſcoveries, and which, therefore, muſt not be omitted. What I refer to, is the ſettlement at Botany Bay. With the general policy of this meaſure the preſent narrative has not any concern. The plan, I doubt not, has been adopted with the beſt intentions, after the matureſt deliberation, and perhaps with conſummate wiſdom. One evident advantage ariſing from it is, that it will effectually prevent a number of unhappy wretches from returning to their former ſcenes of temptation and guilt, and may open to them the means of induſtrious ſubſiſtence and moral reformation. If it be wiſely and prudently begun and conducted, who can tell what beneficial conſequences may ſpring from it, in future ages? Immortal Rome is ſaid to have riſen from the refuſe of mankind.

While we are conſidering the advantages the *diſcoverers* have derived from the late navigations, a queſtion naturally occurs, which is, What benefits have hence accrued to the *diſcovered?* It would be a ſource of the higheſt pleaſure to be able to anſwer this queſtion to compleat ſatisfaction. But it muſt be acknowledged, that the ſubject is not wholly free from doubts and difficulties; and theſe doubts and difficulties might be enlarged upon, and exaggerated, by an imagination which is rather diſpoſed to contemplate and repreſent the dark than the luminous aſpect of human affairs. In one reſpect, Mr. Samwell has endeavoured to ſhew, that the natives of the lately-explored parts of the world, and eſpecially ſo far as relates to the Sandwich Iſlands, were not injured by our people; and it was the conſtant ſolicitude and care of Captain Cook, that evil might not be communicated in any place to which he came. If he was univerſally ſucceſsful, the good which, in various caſes, he was inſtrumental in producing, will be reflected upon with the more peculiar ſatisfaction.

There is an eſſential difference between the voyages that have lately been undertaken, and many which have been carried on in former times. None of my readers can be ignorant of the horrid cruelties that were exerciſed by the conquerors of Mexico and Peru; cruelties which can never be remembered, without bluſhing for religion and human nature. But to undertake expeditions with a deſign of civilizing the world, and meliorating its condition, is a noble object. The receſſes of the globe were inveſtigated by Captain Cook, not to enlarge private dominion, but to promote general knowledge; the new tribes of the earth were viſited as friends; and an acquaintance with their exiſtence was ſought for, in order to bring them within the pale of the offices of humanity, and to relieve the wants of their imperfect ſtate of ſociety. Such were the benevolent views which our Navigator was commiſſioned by his Majeſty to carry into execution; and there is reaſon to hope that they will not be wholly unſucceſsful. From the long-continued intercourſe with the natives of the Friendly, Society, and Sandwich Iſlands, ſome rays of light muſt have darted on their infant minds. The uncommon objects which have been preſented to their obſervation, and excited their ſurprize, will naturally tend to enlarge their ſtock of ideas, and to furniſh new materials for the exerciſe of their reaſonable faculties. It is no ſmall addition to their comforts of life, and their immediate enjoyments, that will be derived from the introduction of our uſeful animals and vegetables; and if the only benefit they ſhould ever receive from the viſits of the Engliſh, ſhould be the having obtained freſh means of ſubſiſtence, that muſt be conſidered as a great acquiſition (25).

(25) Introduction, *ubi ſupra*, p. lxxv, lxxvi.

But may not our hopes be extended to ſtill nobler objects? The connection which has been opened with theſe remote inhabitants of the world, is the firſt ſtep toward their improvement; and conſequences may flow from it, which are far beyond our preſent conceptions. Perhaps, our late voyages may be the means appointed by Providence, of ſpreading, in due time, the bleſſings of civilization among the numerous tribes of the South Pacific Ocean, and preparing them for holding an honourable rank among the nations of the earth. There cannot be a more laudable attempt, than that of endeavouring to reſcue millions of our fellow-creatures from that ſtate of humiliation in which they now exiſt (26). Nothing can more eſſentially contribute to the attainment of this great end, than a wiſe and rational introduction of the Chriſtian Religion; an introduction of it in its genuine ſimplicity; as holding out the worſhip of one God, inculcating the pureſt morality, and promiſing eternal life as the reward of obedience. Theſe are views of things which are adapted to general comprehenſion, and calculated to produce the nobleſt effects.

(26) *Ibid.* p. lxxvii.

[*RR*] *Of which the following lines are a tranſlation.*]

" Give, give me flowers: with garlands of renown
" Thoſe glorious exiles brows my hands ſhall crown,
" Who nobly ſought on diſtant coaſts to find,
" Or thither bore thoſe arts that bleſs mankind:
" Thee chief, brave Cook, o'er whom, to nature
" dear,
" With Britain Gallia drops the pitying tear.
" To foreign climes and rude, where nought before
" Announc'd our veſſels but their cannons' roar,
" Far other gifts thy better mind decreed,
" The ſheep, the heifer, and the ſtately ſteed;
" The plough, and all thy country's arts; the crimes
" Atoning thus of earlier ſavage times.
" With peace each land thy bark was wont to hail,
" And tears and bleſſings fill'd thy parting ſail.

" Receive

The Royal Society of London could not loſe ſuch a Member of their body as Captain Cook, without being anxious to honour his name and memory by a particular mark of reſpect.

" Receive a ſtranger's praiſe; nor, Britain, thou
" Forbid theſe wreaths to grace thy Hero's brow,
" Nor ſcorn the tribute of a foreign ſong,
" For Virtue's ſons to every land belong:
" And ſhall the Gallic Muſe diſdain to pay
" The meed of worth, when Lewis leads the way?
" But what avail'd, that twice thou dar'dſt to try
" The froſt-bound ſea, and twice the burning ſky,
" That by winds, waves, and every realm rever'd,
" Safe, only ſafe, thy ſacred veſſel ſteer'd;
" That war for thee forgot its dire commands?
" The world's great friend, ah! bleeds by ſavage
" hands (27)."

(27) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. liii. p. 1044, 1045. The above tranſlation was made by Mr. William Jackſon of Canterbury. In the ſame Magazine, p. 1034, 1035, is the original French.

There have not been wanting elegant writers of our own country, who have embraced with pleaſure the opportunities that have offered of paying a tribute of praiſe to Captain Cook. The ingenious and amiable Miſs Hannah More has lately ſeized an occaſion of celebrating the humane intentions of the Captain's diſcoveries.

" Had thoſe advent'rous ſpirits who explore
" Thro' ocean's trackleſs waſtes, the far-ſought
" ſhore,
" Whether of wealth inſatiate, or of power,
" Conquerors who waſte, or ruffians who devour:
" Had theſe poſſeſs'd, O Cook! thy gentle mind,
" Thy love of arts, thy love of human-kind;
" Had theſe purſu'd thy mild and lib'ral plan,
" DISCOVERERS had not been a curſe to man!
" Then, bleſs'd Philanthropy! thy ſocial hands
" Had link'd diſſever'd worlds in brothers bands;
" Careleſs, if colour, or if clime divide;
" Then lov'd, and loving, man had liv'd, and
" died (28)."

(29) SLAVERY, a Poem.

Soon after the account arrived in England of Captain Cook's deceaſe, two poems were publiſhed in celebration of his memory; one of which was an Ode, by a Mr. Fitzgerald, of Gray's-Inn. But the firſt, both in order of time and of merit, was an Elegy, by Miſs Seward, whoſe poetical talents have been diſplayed in many beautiful inſtances to the public. This Lady, in the beginning of her Poem, has admirably repreſented the principle of humanity by which the Captain was actuated in his undertakings.

" Ye, who ere while for COOK's illuſtrious brow
" Pluck'd the green laurel, and the oaken bough,
" Hung the gay garlands on the trophied oars,
" And pour'd his fame along a thouſand ſhores,
" Strike the ſlow death-bell!—weave the ſacred
" verſe,
" And ſtrew the cypreſs o'er his honor'd hearſe;
" In ſad proceſſion wander round the ſhrine,
" And weep him mortal, whom ye ſung divine!
" Say firſt, what Pow'r inſpir'd his dauntleſs
" breaſt
" With ſcorn of danger, and inglorious reſt,
" To quit imperial London's gorgeous plains,
" Where, rob'd in thouſand tints, bright Pleaſure
" reigns?—
" What Pow'r inſpir'd his dauntleſs breaſt to brave
" The ſcorch'd Equator, and th' Antarctic wave?
" Climes, where fierce ſuns in cloudleſs ardors
" ſhine,
" And pour the dazzling deluge round the Line;
" The realms of froſt, where icy mountains riſe,
" 'Mid the pale ſummer of the polar ſkies?—
" IT WAS HUMANITY!—on coaſts unknown,
" The ſhiv'ring natives of the frozen zone,
" And the ſwart Indian, as he faintly ſtrays
" ' Where Cancer reddens in the ſolar blaze,'
" She bade him ſeek;—on each inclement ſhore
" Plant the rich ſeeds of her exhauſtleſs ſtore;
" Unite the ſavage hearts, and hoſtile hands,
" In the firm compact of her gentle bands;
" Strew her ſoft comforts o'er the barren plain,
" Sing her ſweet lays, and conſecrate her fane.
" IT WAS HUMANITY!—O Nymph divine!
" I ſee thy light ſtep print the burning Line!
" There thy bright eye the dubious pilot guides,
" The faint oar ſtruggling with the ſcalding tides.—
" On as thou lead'ſt the bold, the glorious prow,
" Mild, and more mild, the ſloping ſun-beams
" glow;
" Now weak and pale the leſſen'd luſtres play,
" As round th' horizon rolls the timid day;
" Barb'd with the fleeted ſnow, the driving hail,
" Ruſh the fierce arrows of the polar gale;
" And thro' the dim, unvaried, ling'ring hours,
" Wide o'er the waves incumbent horror low'rs."

Captain Cook's endeavours to ſerve the inhabitants of New Zealand, by the vegetables and animals he left among them, are thus deſcribed.

" To theſe the Hero leads his living ſtore,
" And pours new wonders on th' uncultur'd ſhore;
" The ſilky fleece, fair fruit, and golden grain;
" And future herds and harveſts bleſs the plain.
" O'er the green ſoil his Kids exulting play,
" And ſounds his clarion loud the Bird of day;
" The downy Gooſe her ruffled boſom laves,
" Trims her white wing, and wantons in the
" waves;
" Stern moves the Bull along th' affrighted ſhores,
" And countleſs nations tremble as he roars."

I ſhall only add the pathetic and animated concluſion of this fine Poem.

" But ah!—aloft on Albion's rocky ſteep,
" That frowns incumbent o'er the boiling deep,
" Solicitous, and ſad, a ſofter form
" Eyes the lone flood, and deprecates the ſtorm.—
" Ill-fated matron!—for, alas! in vain
" Thy eager glances wander o'er the main!—
" 'Tis the vex'd billows, that inſurgent rave,
" Their white foam ſilvers yonder diſtant wave,
" 'Tis not his ſails!—thy huſband comes no more!
" His bones now whiten an accurſed ſhore!—
" Retire,—for hark! the ſea-gull ſhrieking ſoars,
" The lurid atmoſphere portentous low'rs;
" Night's ſullen ſpirit groans in ev'ry gale,
" And o'er the waters draws the darkling veil,
" Sighs in thy hair, and chills thy throbbing
" breaſt—
" Go, wretched mourner!—weep thy griefs to reſt!
" Yet, tho' through life is loſt each fond delight,
" Tho' ſet thy earthly ſun in dreary night,
" Oh! raiſe thy thoughts to yonder ſtarry plain,
" And own thy ſorrow ſelfiſh, weak, and vain:
" Since, while Britannia, to his virtues juſt,
" Twines the bright wreath, and rears th' immor-
" tal buſt;
" While on each wind of heav'n his fame ſhall riſe,
" In endleſs incenſe to the ſmiling ſkies;
" THE ATTENDANT POWER, that bade his ſails
" expand,
" And waft her bleſſings to each barren land,
" Now raptur'd bears him to th' immortal plains,
" Where Mercy hails him with congenial ſtrains;
" Where ſoars, upon Joy's white plume, his ſpirit free,
" And angels choir him, while he waits for THEE.

Captain Cook's diſcoveries, among other effects, have opened new ſcenes for a poetical fancy to range in, and preſented new images to the ſelection of genius and taſte. The Morais, in particular, of the inhabitants of the South Sea Iſlands, afford a fine ſubject for the exerciſe of a plaintive muſe. Such a muſe hath ſeized upon the ſubject; and, at the ſame time, has added another wreath to the memory of our Navigator. I refer to a Lady, who hath already, in many paſſages of her " Peru," in her " Ode on the Peace," and, above all, in her " Irregular Fragment," amply proved to the world, that ſhe poſſeſſes not only the talent of elegant and harmonious verſification,

(y) From the books of the Royal Society and papers in the poſſeſſion of Joſeph Banks

reſpect. Accordingly, it was reſolved to do this by a medal; and a voluntary ſubſcription was opened for the purpoſe. To ſuch of the Fellows of the Society as ſubſcribed twenty guineas, a gold medal was appropriated: ſilver medals were aſſigned to thoſe who contributed a ſmaller ſum; and to each of the other Members one in bronze was given. The Subſcribers of twenty guineas were Sir Joſeph Banks, Preſident; the Prince of Anſpach, the Duke of Montagu, Lord Mulgrave, and Meſſieurs Cavendiſh, Peachey, Perrin, Poli, and Shuttleworth. Many deſigns, as might be expected, were propoſed upon the occaſion. The medal which was actually ſtruck, contains, on one ſide, the head of Captain Cook in profile, and round it, JAC. COOK OCEANI INVESTIGATOR ACERRIMUS; and on the exergue, REG. SOC. LOND. SOCIO SUO. On the reverſe is a repreſentation of Britannia, holding a globe. Round her is inſcribed, NIL INTENTATUM NOSTRI LIQUERE; and on the exergue, AUSPICIIS GEORGII III. Of the gold medals which were ſtruck on this occaſion, one was preſented to his Majeſty, another to the Queen, and a third to the Prince of Wales. Two were ſent abroad: the firſt to the French King, on account of the protection he had granted to the ſhips under the command of Captain Cook; and a ſecond to the Empreſs of Ruſſia, in whoſe dominions the ſame ſhips had been received and treated with every degree of friendſhip and kindneſs. Both theſe preſents were highly acceptable to the great perſonages to whom they were tranſmitted. The French King expreſſed his ſatisfaction in a very handſome letter to the Royal Society, ſigned by himſelf, and underſigned by the Marquis de Vergennes; and the Empreſs of Ruſſia commiſſioned Count Oſterman to ſignify to Mr. Fitzherbert the ſenſe ſhe entertained of the value of the preſent, and that ſhe had cauſed it to be forthwith depoſited in the Muſeum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. As a farther teſtimony of the pleaſure ſhe derived from it, the Empreſs preſented to the Royal Society a large and beautiful gold medal, containing on one ſide the effigies of herſelf, and on the reverſe a repreſentation of the ſtatue of Peter the Great. After the general aſſignment of the medals, (which took place in the ſpring of the year 1784) there being a ſurplus of money ſtill remaining, the Preſident and Council reſolved that an additional number ſhould be ſtruck off in gold, to be diſpoſed of as preſents to Mrs. Cook, the Earl of Sandwich, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Cooke, Provoſt of King's College, Cambridge, and Mr. Planta. About the ſame time, it was agreed, that Mr. Aubert ſhould be allowed to have a gold medal of Captain Cook, on his paying for the gold, and the expence of ſtriking it; in conſideration of his intention to preſent it to the King of Poland (*y*).

(*y*) From the books of the Royal Society, and papers in the poſſeſſion of Sir Joſeph Banks.

During the two viſits of the Reſolution and Diſcovery at Kamtſchatka, it was from Colonel Behm, the Commandant of that Province, that the ſhips, and the officers and men belonging to them, had received every kind of aſſiſtance which it was in his power to beſtow. His liberal and hoſpitable behaviour to the Engliſh navigators, is related at large in Captain King's Voyage. Such was the ſenſe entertained of it by the Lords of the Admiralty, that they determined to make a preſent to the Colonel of a magnificent piece of plate, with an inſcription expreſſive of his humane and generous diſpoſition and conduct. The elegant pen of Dr. Cooke was employed in drawing up the inſcription, which, after it had been ſubjected to the opinion and correction of ſome Gentlemen of the firſt eminence in claſſical taſte, was as follows:

cation, but the ſpirit of true poetry. The concluſion of the Poem I refer to is as follows.

" Great COOK! Ambition's lofty flame
So oft directed to deſtroy,
Led *Thee* to circle with thy name,
The Smile of love, and hope, and joy!
Thoſe fires that lend the dang'rous blaze
The devious comet trails afar,
Might form the pure, benignant rays
That gild the morning's gentle ſtar—
Sure, where the Hero's aſhes reſt,
The nations late emerg'd from night
Still haſte—with love's unwearied care:
That ſpot in laviſh flowers is dreſt,
And fancy's dear, inventive rite
Still paid with fond obſervance there!

" Ah no!—around his fatal grave
No laviſh flowers were ever ſtrew'd,
No votive gifts were ever laid—
His blood a ſavage ſhore bedew'd!
His mangled limbs, one haſty prayer,
One pious tear by friendſhip paid,
Were caſt upon the raging wave!
Deep in the wild abyſs he lies,
Far from the cheriſh'd ſcene of home;
Far, far from Her whoſe faithful ſighs
A huſband's trackleſs courſe purſue;
Whoſe tender fancy loves to roam
With *Him* o'er lands and oceans new;
And gilds with Hope's deluding form
The gloomy path-way of the ſtorm.

" Yet, COOK! immortal wreaths are thine!—
While Albion's grateful toil ſhall raiſe
The marble tomb, the trophied buſt,
For ages faithful to its truſt;
While, eager to record thy praiſe,
She bids the Muſe of Hiſtory twine
The chaplet of undying fame,
And tell each poliſh'd land thy worth;
The ruder natives of the earth
Shall oft repeat thy honour'd name;
While infants catch the frequent ſound,
And learn to liſp the oral tale;
Whoſe fond remembrance ſhall prevail
Till Time has reach'd his deſtin'd bound."

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that female poets have hitherto been the chief celebrators of Captain Cook in this country. Perhaps a ſubject which would furniſh materials for as rich a production as Camoen's Luſiad, and which would adorn the pen of a Hayley or a Cowper, may hereafter call forth the genius of ſome poet of the ſtronger ſex.

" VIRO

" VIRO EGREGIO MAGNO DE BEHM; qui Imperatricis Auguſtiſſimæ Catherinæ auſpiciis,
" ſummâque animi benignitate, ſæva, quibus præerat, Kamtſchatkæ littora, navibus naut-
" iſque Britannicis, hoſpita præbuit: eoſque, in terminis, ſi qui eſſent Imperio Ruſſico,
" fruſtrâ, explorandis, mala multa perpeſſos, iteratâ vice excepit, refecit, recreavit, et
" commeatû omni cumulatè auctos dimiſit; REI NAVALIS BRITANNICÆ SEPTEMVIRI in
" aliquam benevolentiæ tam inſignis memoriam, amiciſſimo, gratiſſimoque animo, ſuo,
" patriæque nomine, D. D. D.

" M.DCC.LXXXI (z)."

(z) From papers in the poſſeſſion of Sir Joſeph Banks.

Sir Hugh Palliſer, who, through life, manifeſted an invariable regard and friendſhip for Captain Cook, has diſplayed a ſignal inſtance, ſince the Captain's deceaſe, of the affection and eſteem in which he holds his memory. At his eſtate in Buckinghamſhire, Sir Hugh hath conſtructed a ſmall building, on which he has erected a pillar, containing the fine character of our great Navigator that is given at the end of the Introduction to the laſt Voyage, and the principal part of which has been inſerted in the preſent work. This character was drawn up by a moſt reſpectable Gentleman, who has long been at the head of the naval profeſſion; the honourable Admiral Forbes, Admiral of the Fleet, and General of Marines; to whom Captain Cook was only known by his eminent merit and his extraordinary actions (*a*).

(*a*) From the information of Sir Hugh Palliſer.

Amidſt the numerous teſtimonies of regard that have been paid to Captain Cook's merits and memory, the important object of providing for his family hath not been forgotten. Soon after the intelligence arrived of his unfortunate deceaſe, this matter was taken up by the Lords of the Admiralty, with a zeal and an effect, which the following authentic document will fully diſplay.

" At the Court at St. James's, the
" (L. S.) " 2d of February, 1780;

" Preſent,

" The KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

" Whereas there was this day read, at the Board, a memorial from the Right Honourable
" the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, dated the 27th of laſt month, in the words
" following; viz.

" Having received an authentic account of the death of that great Navigator, Captain
" James Cook, who has had the honour of being employed by Your Majeſty in three
" different voyages, for the diſcovery of unknown countries, in the moſt diſtant parts
" of the globe; we think it our duty humbly to repreſent to Your Majeſty, that this
" meritorious officer, after having received from Your Majeſty's gracious benevolence,
" as a reward for his public ſervices in two ſucceſsful circumnavigations, a comfortable
" and honourable retreat, where he might have lived many years to benefit his family,
" he voluntarily relinquiſhed that eaſe and emolument to undertake another of theſe
" voyages of diſcovery, in which the life of a Commander, who does his duty, muſt
" always be particularly expoſed, and in which, in the execution of that duty, he fell,
" leaving his family, whom his public ſpirit had led him to abandon, as a legacy to his
" country. We do therefore humbly propoſe, that Your Majeſty will be graciouſly
" pleaſed to order a penſion of two hundred pounds a year to be ſettled on the widow,
" and twenty-five pounds a year upon each of the three ſons of the ſaid Captain James
" Cook, and that the ſame be placed on the ordinary eſtimate of the navy.

" His Majeſty, taking the ſaid memorial into His Royal conſideration, was pleaſed,
" with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, as it is hereby ordered, that a penſion
" of two hundred pounds a year be ſettled on the widow, and twenty-five pounds a year
" upon each of the three ſons of the ſaid Captain James Cook, and that the ſame be placed
" on the ordinary eſtimate of His Majeſty's navy; and the Lords Commiſſioners of the
" Admiralty are to give the neceſſary directions herein accordingly.

" W. FAWKENER."

The preceding memorial to the King was ſigned by the Earl of Sandwich, Mr. Buller, the Earl of Liſburne, Mr. Penton, Lord Mulgrave, and Mr. Mann; and the ſeveral officers of the Board of Admiralty ſeconded the ardour of their ſuperiors, by the ſpeed and generoſity with which his Majeſty's royal grant to Captain Cook's widow and children paſſed through the uſual forms (*b*). Another occaſion was afterwards ſeized of conferring a ſubſtantial benefit on the Captain's family. The charts and plates, belonging to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, were provided at the expence of Government; the conſequence of which was, that a large profit accrued from the ſale of the publication. Of this profit, half was conſigned, in truſt, to Sir Hugh Palliſer and Mr. Stephens, to be applied to the uſe of Mrs.

(*b*) From the information of Sir Joſeph Banks.

Cook, during her natural life, and afterwards to be divided between her children [SS]. Honour, as well as emolument, hath graciouſly been conferred by his Majeſty upon the deſcendants of Captain Cook. On the third of September, 1785, a coat of arms was granted to the family, of which a deſcription will be given below [TT]. Our Navigator had ſix children; James, Nathaniel, Elizabeth, Joſeph, George, and Hugh. Of theſe, Joſeph and George died ſoon after their birth, and Elizabeth in the fifth year of her age. James, the eldeſt ſon, who was born at St. Paul's, Shadwell, on the thirteenth of October, 1763, is now a Lieutenant in Majeſty's navy. In a letter, written by Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, in 1785, from Granada, to Mrs. Cook, he is ſpoken of in terms of high approbation. Nathaniel, who was born on the fourteenth of December, 1764, at Mile-end Old Town, was brought up, likewiſe, in the naval ſervice, and was unfortunately loſt on board his Majeſty's ſhip Thunderer, Commodore Walſingham, in the hurricane which happened at Jamaica on the third of October, 1780. He is ſaid to have been a moſt promiſing youth. Hugh, the youngeſt, was born on the twenty-ſecond of May, 1776; and was ſo called after the name of his father's great friend, Sir Hugh Palliſer (*c*).

(*c*) From the information of Mrs. Cook.

It hath often been mentioned, in terms of no ſmall regret, that a monument hath not yet been erected to the memory of Captain Cook, in Weſtminſter Abbey. The wiſh and the hope of ſuch a monument are hinted at in the cloſe of the Biſhop of Carliſle's Introduction, ſo often referred to; and the ſame ſentiment is expreſſed by the author of the Eulogium, at the end of that Introduction. Sir Hugh Palliſer has alſo ſpoken to the like purpoſe, in a communication I received from him. It would certainly redound to the honour of the nation, to order a magnificent memorial of the abilities and ſervices of our illuſtrious Navigator; on which account, a tribute of that kind may be regarded as a deſirable thing. But a monument in Weſtminſter Abbey would be of little conſequence to the reputation of Captain Cook. His fame ſtands upon a wider baſe, and will ſurvive the comparatively periſhing materials of braſs, or ſtone, or marble. The name of Cook will be held in honour, and recited with applauſe, ſo long as the records of human events ſhall continue in the earth: nor is it poſſible to ſay, what may be the influence and rewards, which, in other worlds, ſhall be found to attend upon eminent examples of wiſdom and of virtue.] K.

[*SS*] *And afterwards to be divided between her children.*] A fourth was allotted to Captain King, and the remaining fourth to Mr. Bligh, and to the repreſentatives of Captain Clerke. Mr. Anderſon's repreſentatives had previouſly been gratified.

[*TT*] *Of which a deſcription will be given below.*] Azure, between the two polar ſtars Or, a ſphere on the plane of the meridian, north pole elevated, circles of latitude for every ten degrees, and of longitude for every fifteen, ſhewing the Pacific Ocean between ſixty and two hundred and forty Weſt, bounded on one ſide by America, on the other by Aſia and New Holland, in memory of the diſcoveries made by him in that ocean, ſo very far beyond all former navigators. His track thereon is marked with red lines. And for creſt, on a wreath of the colours, is an arm imbowed, veſted in the uniform of a Captain of the Royal Navy. In the hand is the union jack, on a ſtaff Proper. The arm is encircled by a wreath of palm and laurel.

COOPER, or COUPER (THOMAS), a learned Biſhop in the XVIth Century, was born in the city of Oxford, about the year 1517, but not of ſuch mean parentage as is inſinuated by Anthony Wood [*A*]. He was educated in grammar-learning in the ſchool joining to St. Mary Magdalen-College, of which he was a Choriſter (*a*). Making great proficiency there beyond his years, he was elected firſt Demi, and then in 1539 Probationer, and, the year following, perpetual Fellow of that College (*b*). On the 7th of July 1539, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*), and that of Maſter, June 6, 1543 (*d*). About which time, he became Maſter of the School wherein he had received his education (*e*). In 1546, he left his Fellowſhip, being then probably married, and applied himſelf to the ſtudies of polite Literature and Phyſic (*f*). When Queen Mary came to the Crown, he being inclined to the Proteſtant Religion, took the degree of Bachelor of Phyſic, in 1556 (*g*), and practiſed in that faculty at Oxford (*h*). But, after that Queen's death, he returned to his former ſtudy of Divinity, and became a frequent and celebrated Preacher (*i*). March 18, 1566-7, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor, and Doctor in Divinity (*k*); and, about that time, was made Dean of Chriſt-Church in Oxford (*l*); and for ſeveral years after, was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity (*m*). In 1569, he was made Dean of Glouceſter (*n*); and February 24, 1570, conſecrated Biſhop of Lincoln (*o*). The 27th of July 1572, he preached a ſermon at St. Paul's-Croſs, in vindication of the Church of England, and its Liturgy; to which an anſwer was ſent him by a diſaffected perſon (*p*); which anſwer the induſtrious Mr. Strype hath printed at length, in his Annals of the Reformation (*q*). A few years after, he was deſired to viſit King's College in Cambridge [*B*], but refuſed to do it, unleſs he had a ſpecial commiſſion for that

(*a*) Wood, *Ath.* edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 265.
(*b*) *Ibid.* & *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.* ii. p. 196.
(*c*) *Idem, Faſti*, vol. i. col. 62.
(*d*) *Ibid.* col. 67. & *Hiſt. & Antiq. ubi ſupra.*
(*e*) *Hiſt. & Antiq. ibid. & Ath. ubi ſupra.* See alſo *Balei Scriptor. Illuſt. Majoris Bryt.* Cent. IX. No. 74. p. 755, edit. *Oporini.*
(*f*) *Athen. ubi ſupra.*
(*g*) *Faſti*, vol. i. col. 83.
(*h*) *Athen. ubi ſupra.*
(*i*) *Ibid.*
(*k*) *Faſti, ubi ſupra*, col. 97.
(*l*) *Athen. ubi ſupra*; *et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.* ii. p. 255.
(*m*) See *Faſti*, vol. i. col. 100, 101. 103, 104.
(*n*) Wood, *Ath.* vol. i. col. 158. 263.
(*o*) *Godwin. de Præſulibus*, edit. 1616, 4to. p. 362; and Wood, *Ath. ubi ſupra*, col. 242. 265. 712.
(*p*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 193, edit. 1725.
(*q*) *Ibid. &c.*

[*A*] *But not of ſuch mean parentage as is inſinuated by A. Wood.*] He was the ſon of *John* Couper, fourth ſon of Thomas Couper of the city of Cheſter, Eſq; by Iſabel daughter and ſole heireſs to Richard Goodman, Eſq; Mayor of that city, A. D. 1497: which John was ſent to Oxford, and entered a Commoner of St. Mary-Magdalen-Hall; but, before he took a degree, unhappily married ſo much to the diſpleaſure of his parents, that they never took notice of him afterwards, and he lived in Oxford very obſcurely all the reſt of his days (1).

[*B*] *He was deſired to viſit King's College in Cambridge.*] Of which, by Statute, he was the legal Viſitor;

(1) From the information of William Cowper, Eſq.

that purpoſe (*r*). Upon occaſion of the public exerciſes (known by the name of *Propheſyings*) being continued in ſeveral parts of his dioceſe, particularly in Hertfordſhire [*C*], the Queen ſent him a letter, in 1577, to put a ſtop to thoſe exerciſes (*s*). There was a deſign, in 1579, to remove him to Norwich, on the intended tranſlation of Biſhop Scambler to Ely; but, for certain reaſons [*D*], Dr. Cooper declined this offer (*t*). He did a good ſervice to his dioceſe in 1582, by getting a commiſſion ſuperſeded, that had been obtained under pretence of diſcovering concealed lands and eſtates granted by the Crown; but which, in reality, was very perplexing and oppreſſive both to the Clergy and Laity (*u*). His diſtinguiſhed merit and abilities having recommended him to his Sovereign's favour and eſteem, he was tranſlated in 1584, to the rich Biſhopric of Wincheſter (*w*); where, as he had done before in every other ſtation, he became much noted for his learning and ſanctity of life (*x*). Soon after his conſecration, he went and reſided in his new dioceſe; and becauſe it abounded with great numbers of Recuſants, he thought it neceſſary to take an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion along with him (*y*). Moreover, being apprehenſive of great danger from them, and of an invaſion that way, he petitioned the Privy-Council, to ſuppreſs the boldneſs of the Papiſts in the county of Southampton [*E*]. Not long after, he was accuſed of Covetouſneſs (*z*), of which he cleared himſelf [*F*]. Upon the diſcovery of William Parry's treaſon, he put out 'an order of Prayer and Thankſgiving for the preſer-'vation of the Queen's life and ſafety; to be uſed in the Dioceſe of Wincheſter (*a*).' In the year 1588, he preached at St. Paul's-Croſs, on the 17th of November, being a day of public thankſgiving, as well for the Queen's acceſſion to the throne, as for the ſignal victory obtained over the Spaniſh Armada (*b*). This reverend and holy Biſhop, as Mr. Wood ſtyles him (*c*), died at Wincheſter, April 29, 1594, and was buried in the cathedral there, on the ſouth-ſide of the choir, a little above the Biſhop's ſeat. Over his grave was ſoon after laid a flat marble, with a Latin inſcription in proſe and verſe [*G*]. The ſeveral

(*r*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 419.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 486, 487; and Appendix to B. ii. No. 9. p. 111.

(*t*) *Ibid.* Annals, p. 590, 591.

(*u*) *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 112.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 175. *Godwin. de Præſulibus*, &c. p. 301.

(*x*) Wood, *Ath. ubi ſupra.*

(*y*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 239, 240.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 175, 176.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 260, 261.

(*b*) *Ibid* p. 526. Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, p. 751.

(*c*) *Athenæ, ubi ſupra*, col. 266.

Viſitor; but as his viſitations there were but from three years to three years, and it was not yet three years ſince his laſt viſitation, he thought he could not take upon himſelf to viſit them, without an extraordinary commiſſion (2).

[*C*] *The Queen ſent him a Letter in* 1757, *to put a ſtop to the Propheſyings, that were continued in his Dioceſe.*] Theſe Propheſyings, otherwiſe named *Exerciſes*, were grounded upon 1 Corinth. XIV. 31. *Ye may all propheſy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.* They were ſet on foot in ſeveral parts of the kingdom about the year 1571 (3); and conſiſted of conferences among the Clergy, for the better improving of themſelves, and one another, in the knowledge of Scripture and Divinity. For that purpoſe, certain Miniſters within a convenient compaſs in each Dioceſe, aſſembled together in a pariſh church, commonly in ſome market-town; and there, one after another, gave their judgments briefly of the ſenſe of ſome place or places of Scripture, propounded before to be diſcuſſed, either by the Biſhop, or the Archdeacon's order, or ſome other grave perſon: and then it was determined by a Moderator (4). The chief members of the aſſemblies were *Moderators*, *Writers*, and *Speakers*. The Moderators, who were generally four in number, pitched upon the parts of Scripture that were to be handled. The Writers collected ſeveral obſervations upon every verſe of thoſe parts of Scripture, and ſo proceeded upon the whole. The Speakers diſcourſed, or enlarged, upon ſuch portions as were ſeverally aſſigned to them. Their method of proceeding was thus: They began and ended with prayer: then the firſt Moderator propoſed and read the firſt verſe of the text, or chapter that was to be handled. Upon which verſe the Writers read in order the obſervations they had gathered. Then the Speaker aſſigned to that part of the text, enlarged upon the ſame. After him the reſt of the Speakers had liberty to give any brief notes upon that verſe. In the mean time, the Moderator's care, was to take notice of any error, negligence, or ignorance in any of the Writers and Speakers, and to correct and reform them. After which he farther added ſuch obſervations as he had gathered upon that verſe. And after him the reſt of the Moderators, in due order, did the like, till as much was ſaid upon that verſe, as was thought convenient. All the time, both the Speakers and Writers, took notice in writing, of the obſervations given by any of the Speakers or Moderators. And ſo all the Moderators proceeded with the whole text, or chapter, verſe by verſe (5). Theſe Propheſyings, or Exerciſes, were put down in the Dioceſe of Norwich in 1574 (6), but continued in others, particularly in the North, for above ten years after (7). However, they were almoſt generally ſuppreſſed in 1577 (8), on account of their being thought to be Seminaries of Puritaniſm.

(2) Strype's Annals, *ubi ſupra*, p. 419.

(3) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 90, &c.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 219.

(5) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 90, &c. 318, 319, &c. vol. iii. p. 328, 329.

(6) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 460. 462.

(7) *Idem.* Annals, vol. iii. p. 328.

(8) See Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, 2d edit. 1732, vol. i. p. 352, &c.

[*D*] *For certain reaſons Dr. Cooper declined the offer of the See of Norwich.*] His reaſons were; that the greatneſs of the charge, and number of churches, would be either little or nothing diminiſhed: the troubleſomeneſs, and danger, of the Dioceſe far greater, than where he was: the credit of the place nothing more: the benefit of the living no whit amended: and the charges of the alteration very great (9).

(9) Strype's Ann. vol. ii. p. 590, 591.

[*E*] *He petitioned the Council to ſuppreſs the boldneſs of the Papiſts*, &c.] Among other methods for it, he propoſed, 'That an hundred, or two, of obſtinate 'recuſants, luſty men, well able to labour, might by 'ſome convenient commiſſion be taken up and ſent 'into Flanders as pioneers and labourers. Whereby 'the country ſhould be diſburthened of a company of 'dangerous people. And the reſt that remained be 'put in ſome fear (10).'

(10) *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 240.

[*F*] *He was accuſed of Covetouſneſs.*] Of which he cleared himſelf, by producing a ſchedule of the value of his biſhoprick, and the charges payable out of it. By that it appeared, that the clear value, or rent of aſſize, of that biſhoprick amounted then to two thouſand ſeven hundred pounds ten ſhillings and ſixpence, yearly; and the charges iſſuing out of it, to two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-ſeven pounds: ſo remained clear to him, only three hundred and ninety eight pounds nine ſhillings. From the ſame ſchedule it moreover appears, that ſome of the Courtiers were quartered upon this biſhopric. For there is one article in it thus, 'My Lord of Leiceſter's fee 100*l.*' And another, 'Paid yearly in annuities, granted by Biſhop 'Gardiner and Biſhop White; wherein Sir Fr. Wal-'ſingham's fee is contained—218*l.* 6*s.* 8*d* (11).

(11) Strype's Annals, Appendix to vol. iii. B. i. No. [xxx] p. 58.

[*G*] *With a Latin inſcription in proſe and verſe.*] Which is as follows. Round the ſtone. *Hic jacet Thomas Cooper olim Lincolnienſis, nuper Wintonienſis Epiſcopus munificentiſſimus, doctiſſimus, vigilantiſſimus Præſul; qui religioſiſſimè in domino obiit Aprilis* 29. *an. dom.* 1594. In the middle of the ſtone are theſe verſes.

Theſaurus, Chronicorum, Cooperi cætera ſcripta*
Dum remanent, celebris Cooperi fama manebit.
Oxonienſis erat, Gloceſtrenſiſque Decanus,
Continuus primæ Vicecancellarius Urbis,

Tum

(*) It is ſo printed in Wood, but it ſhould be *Chronicon*, in order to make up both the ſenſe and the verſe.

ſeveral books he publiſhed, were theſe: I. 'The Epitome of Chronicles from the 'ſeventeenth year after Chriſt, to 1540, and thence afterwards to the year 1560.' Lond. 1560, 4*to*. The two firſt parts of this Chronicle, and the beginning of the third as far as the ſeventeenth year after Chriſt, were compoſed by Thomas Lanquet, a young man of twenty-four years of age. But he being cut off by untimely death, Mr. Cooper finiſhed the work; and his part, which is the third, contains almoſt thrice as much as Lanquet's two parts, being chiefly taken from Achilles Pyrminius. When it was finiſhed, a third perſon publiſhed it ſurreptitiouſly, and in a very faulty manner, in 1559, under the title of *Lanquet's Chronicle:* whereupon, our author reviſed, corrected, and publiſhed it again in 1560, under the general title of *Cooper's Chronicle*, &c. The running title to the firſt and ſecond part, is *Lanquet's Chronicle*; and to the third, *The Epitome of Chronicles*. II. *Theſaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Brittanicæ*, &c. and *Dictionarium Hiſtoricum & Poeticum*. Lond. 1565, fol. This Dictionary was ſo much eſteemed by Queen Elizabeth, that ſhe endeavoured to promote the author as high in the church as ſhe could (*d*). It is an improvement of *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*; Elyot's Library or Dictionary; printed at Lond. 1541, fol. to which Mr. Cooper added thirty-three thouſand words and phraſes, beſides a fuller account of the true ſignification of words (*e*): Or rather, it is taken out of Robert Stephens's *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ*, and out of *Friſii Lexicon Latino-Teutonicum* (*f*). III. 'A brief Expoſition of ſuch Chapters of the Old Teſtament, as uſually are read in the 'Church at Common-Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the Year.' Lond. 1573, 4*to*. IV. 'Sermon at Lincoln 1575, on Matth. xvi. 26, 27.' Lond. 8*vo*. V. 'Twelve Ser-'mons on Rom. i. 16. Matth. vii. 15, 16. 1 Cor. x. 1. 3. 5. Matth. xiii. 3. 5. and John viii. 46.' Lond. 1580, 4*to*. VI. 'An Admonition to the People of England. 'Wherein are anſwered not only the ſlanderous Untruths, reproachfully uttered by *Mar-'tin*, the Libeller, but alſo many other Crimes by ſome of his brood, objected generally 'againſt all Biſhops, and the chief of the Clergy; purpoſely to deface and diſcredit the 'preſent ſtate of the Church.' Lond. 1589, 4*to*. This was a ſolid and judicious anſwer to John ap Henry's ſcurrilous and abuſive libels againſt the Eſtabliſhed Church, publiſhed under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate* (*g*). Ap Henry, or his Club of Puritans, replied to the Biſhop's book, in two ludicrous pamphlets, intitled, 'Ha'ye any work for a Cooper?' and 'More Work for a Cooper (*h*).'——Biſhop Cooper's character is repreſented by ſeveral writers in a very advantageous light. One ſtyles him (*i*), a very learned man, eloquent, and well acquainted with the Engliſh and Latin languages. Another (*k*) ſays of him, that he was a man of great gravity, learning, and holineſs of life. He was, ſays A. Wood (*l*), furniſhed with all kind of learning almoſt beyond all his contemporaries, and not only adorned the pulpit with his ſermons, but alſo the Commonwealth of Learning with his writings. 'Of him, ſays Sir John Harrington (*m*), I can ſay much, and I ſhould 'do him great wrong if I ſhould ſay nothing: For he was indeed a reverent man, very 'well learned, exceeding induſtrious; and, which was in thoſe dayes counted a great praiſe 'to him, and a chief cauſe of his preferment, he wrote that great Dictionary that yet bears 'his name. His life in Oxford was very commendable, and in ſome ſort ſaint-like; for, 'if it be ſaint-like to live unreprovable, to bear a croſs patiently, to forgive great injuries 'freely, this man's example is ſampleleſs in this age.' He married a wife at Oxford [*H*], with whom he happened to be very unhappy, ſhe proving unfaithful to his bed. 'The 'whole Univerſity, in reverence of the man, and indignity of the matter, offered to ſeparate 'her from him by public authority, and ſo to ſet him free, being the innocent party. 'But he would by no means agree thereto, alledging he knew his own infirmity, that he 'might not live unmarried; and to divorce and marry again, he would not charge his 'conſcience with ſo great a ſcandal.'

(*d*) Wood, *Ath. ubi ſupra*, col. 266.

(*e*) Wood, *ibid.* col. 67.

(*f*) Wood, *Ath. et Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.* ii. p. 196.

(*g*) See Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. i. col. 258, 259; and Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 288.

(*h*) Strype, *ibid.* and Wood, *ubi ſupra*; and col. 266.

(*i*) *Baleus, ubi ſupra — puerorum olim pædagogus doctiſſimus, vir facundus, & utriuſque linguæ peritus.*

(*k*) *Godwin. de Præſul.* p. 305.

(*m*) A brief Survey of the State of the Church of England in Queen Elizabeth and K. James's Reign. Being a Character and Hiſtory of the Biſhops of thoſe Times, Lond. 1653, 8*vo*. p. 62, 64.

(*l*) *Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.* ii. p. 255.

(†) It ſhould be *Lincolnenſis*.

Tum Lincolnienſis † ſit Præſul, & inde movetur
Wintoniam, denos ubi ſedit Epiſcopus annos.
Summè doctus erat, ſummèque benignus egenis,
Et ſummo ſtudio divina oracula pandit.
Terra tegit corpus, ſed ſpiritus eſt ſuper aſtra:
Coeleſtes animæ, coeleſti pace fruentur.

Below.

In obitum D. Thomæ Cooperi, Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſoris, W. S. - Δειλάτιχον (12).

(12) Wood, *Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.* ii. p. 196, 197.

i. e. 'Here lies Thomas Cooper, formerly Biſhop 'of Lincoln, and late of Wincheſter, a very bounti-'ful, learned and vigilant prelate, who died piouſly 'in the Lord, April 29, in the year 1594. While 'Cooper's Dictionary, Chronicle, and other writings 'are in being, Cooper's great fame will laſt. He was 'of Oxford, Dean of Glouceſter, for ſeveral years Vice-'Chancellor of the former; then he became Biſhop 'of Lincoln, and thence was tranſlated to Wincheſter, 'where he ſat Biſhop ten years. He was very learned, 'extremely bountiful to the poor, and with great di-'ligence explained the divine oracles. The earth 'covers his body, but his ſoul is above the firmament: 'heavenly ſouls ſhall enjoy heavenly peace.'

'Theſe ten verſes on the death of Dr. Thomas Coo-'per, S. T. P. were made by W. S.'

[*H*] *He married a wife at Oxford*, &c.] By her he had two daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Dr. John Bellew, ſome time Provoſt of Oriel-College, and Chancellor of the Dioceſe of Lincoln; and Mary, who was married to John Gouldwell, Gent (13). C.

(13) From the ſame information as above.

COOPER (ANTHONY ASHLEY), Earl of Shafteſbury, one of the ableſt perſons, greateſt Politicians, and moſt diſtinguiſhed Miniſters in the laſt century. He derived from his birth, all the advantages that could ſpring from an honourable deſcent joined to a large fortune. His father was Sir John Cooper of Rockborn in the county of Southampton, Bart.

Bart. by Anne, daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir Anthony Aſhley, of Winborne St. Giles in the county of Dorſet, Knight and Baronet (*a*); from whom he inherited an eſtate of eight thouſand pounds a year, and all the influence that aroſe from ſuch a fortune, and the credit of his anceſtors in the Weſt of England, which was very conſiderable (*b*)[*A*] He was born at Winborne St. Giles, July 22, 1621 (*c*), and educated with great care under the eye of his parents during his infancy, in which he diſcovered ſuch extraordinary parts, as not only gave hopes of his becoming one day a perſon of excellent abilities, but rendered him even at that time the ſubject of general admiration; ſo that while a very boy he was conſidered as a prodigy, and, if we may credit his Hiſtorian, very extraordinary things were predicted of him (*d*)[*B*]. He had the misfortune to loſe his father, March 23, 1631, before he was ten years of age, and thereby, as his only child, became entitled to his large eſtate (*e*). At the age of fifteen he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and became a Fellow-Commoner of Exeter college, under the tuition of the famous Dr. Prideaux who was then Rector of it, and is ſaid to have ſtudied hard there for about two years (*f*), and very well maintained the character with which he came thither, of being a ſingular and moſt ſurprizing genius. He removed from thence to Lincoln's-Inn (*g*), where he applied himſelf with great vigour and diligence to the ſtudy of the Law, but more eſpecially turned his thoughts to the gaining a perfect ſkill in the conſtitution of this kingdom, in which, as in every thing elſe that claimed his attention, he became a wonderful proficient, and on various occaſions in the future courſe of life, clearly diſcovered, that no man more thoroughly underſtood it than himſelf (*h*). He was thus employed, when, in the nineteenth year of his age, he was choſen one of the Burgeſſes to repreſent the town of Tewkeſbury in Glouceſterſhire, in that Parliament which met at Weſtminſter April 13, 1640 (*i*), and of which very great hopes were entertained, but, to the great ſorrow of the nation, were all fruſtrated by its ſudden, unexpected, and fatal diſſolution (*k*). We have no account of his diſtinguiſhing himſelf in that aſſembly, and indeed there was but very little time for it. It is however highly probable that he was very well affected to the King's ſervice, of which he gave ſufficient proofs at the beginning of the Civil Wars, by repairing to Oxford, and offering his ſervice there to his Majeſty, not for ſubduing or conquering his country, but for reducing ſuch, as had either deſerted or miſtaken their duty, to his Majeſty's obedience. This was a very extraordinary ſcheme for a perſon of two or three and twenty years of age to propoſe, and therefore it is not at all ſtrange that it ſhould ſurprize his Majeſty, when, in an audience obtained for that purpoſe, he propoſed

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 481.
(*b*) Rawleigh Redivivus, or the Life and Death of the Right Hon. Anthony late Earl of Shafteſbury, Lond. 1683, 8vo. p. 6.
(*c*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 720. Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 371, where there is a glaring miſtake of 1624 for 1621.
(*d*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 9, 10.
(*e*) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 371.
(*f*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 720.
(*g*) Memoirs of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 5.
(*h*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 11.
(*i*) Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, MS.
(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Oxf. fol. p. 44.

[*A*] *Which was very conſiderable.*] As to this Gentleman's deſcent, by the father's ſide, we find, that in the 22d of Henry VIII. Richard Cooper, Eſq; purchaſed from Sir Amyas Pawlet the Manor of Pawlet (1), in Somerſetſhire, ſtill in the poſſeſſion of this family, and erected into a Barony in their favour by King Charles II. This Richard Cooper, by Jane his wife, daughter of Sir John Kingſmill, of Sydmonton, in the county of Southampton, Knight, had iſſue John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the ſame county, who was afterwards knighted, and was the father of Sir John Cooper, Knt. mentioned in the text, and who was alſo created Baronet, July 4, 1622. As for his mother's family, ſhe was deſcended by the females from the ancient houſes of Hamlynes (2), Pleſheys, and Malmaines, poſſeſſors of Winborne St. Giles, from whom it deſcended to Anthony Aſhley, Eſq; who, for his great ſervices in the Cadiz expedition, where he acted as Secretary at War, had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him (3). He was afterwards promoted to be one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council in the reign of King James I (4); but falling under the diſpleaſure of that Prince, and being removed from his office, his large fortune, which conſiſted of two thouſand marks a year in real eſtate, and as much in money and effects, tempted one Sir James Creighton (5) to enter into a wicked conſpiracy with Henry Smith and Mary Rice, ſervants to Sir Anthony, in the year 1610, to deprive him of his life and fortune; in order to which, Mary Rice preſented a petition to the King, ſetting forth, that her huſband, William Rice, dead eighteen years before, was poiſoned by Henry Smith, at the inſtance of Sir Anthony Aſhley, and Henry Smith confeſſed the ſame: but upon referring this petition to the Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, the whole iniquity was found out, and the conſpirators puniſhed in the Star-Chamber. This Sir Anthony Aſhley, July 3, 1622, was created a Baronet (6), who by his wife, daughter of Philip Okeover, of Okeover, in the county of Stafford, had only one daughter, Anne, who married Sir John Cooper, by whom ſhe had this only ſon, to whom his grandfather was alſo godfather, and gave him both his names, ſo that he was chriſtened Anthony Aſhley, as being the preſumptive heir of both families (7).

(1) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 370.
(2) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 481.
(3) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 726.
(4) Liſt of Civil Officers in the Reign of King James I. MS.
(5) Coke's Reports, P. xii. p. 91.
(6) Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets, and the Time of their Creation.
(7) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 6. Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 371.

[*B*] *Were predicted of him.*] As the ancients were given to believe in omens and prodigies, ſo it was the foible of the laſt, as well as ſome preceding ages, to yield but too much faith to pretended prophecies and idle prognoſtications. Of this nature we may reckon what a certain writer tells us of a Proteſtant Gentleman, that flying out of Germany for his religion, was charitably received and entertained by Sir John Cooper, who being extremely taken with the wonderful parts of his ſon, who could not then be above nine years old, addreſſed him, in the preſence of his father, in theſe words (8), 'Child, if thou wilt be religious, 'and keep cloſe to God, and take care to avoid the 'vain and deſtructive allurements of prophaneneſs 'and debauchery, and entertain a fixed reſolution to 'improve all thy parts and abilities for the advancing the Proteſtant Religion, you ſhall be a man of 'the largeſt parts in Chriſtendom, and ſhall be an inſtrument of doing an extraordinary piece of ſervice 'to your King, which ſhall be very acceptable to 'him, whereupon you ſhall ſtand high in his favour, 'and be promoted to very great honour, yet ſhall afterwards loſe your Prince's favour, and be as much 'diſreſpected as before honoured and admired; yet, 'at the ſame time, you ſhall be one of the moſt popular men under Heaven: and that you may know 'that this will fall out according to my prediction, 'pray remember this that I am now going to tell you, 'and write it down in your pocket-book that you 'may not forget it. Not long after your coming 'from the Univerſity, you ſhall be in extream danger 'of drowning, telling him the very day when it 'ſhould happen.' The author afterwards proceeds to ſhew, that this accident did happen, and was followed by all the other events hinted at in the prediction, which was not publiſhed till after the Earl of Shafteſbury's death, and it is very probable was invented not long before it.

(8) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 9.

putting

putting an end to the war by acting upon such principles (*l*). We have this fact from a person who had the best opportunities of knowing the truth of it, whose candour in any other instance was never doubted, and whose account however has been neglected because it is without date, and does not seem to agree with other relations. But for all this it might very well have happened in the spring of the year 1643, and seems equally to deserve the reader's notice and belief [*C*]. It is very certain that Weymouth submitted on the ninth of August the same year (*m*), and we have a very long account in the work of the noble Historian, of the dispute that happened between Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford, as to the appointing Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper Governor of that place, which was at first positively refused by the King, and at last, though not without great difficulty, granted (*n*). Whoever will take the pains to compare and consider these two seemingly inconsistent accounts, will find them very reconcileable, and clearly perceive, that the truth is to be collected from adverting to this circumstance, that as the former is given us by the friend of this Gentleman; so the latter, which for this purpose was also inserted in the notes [*D*], was penned when the noble author had no good opinion of the person

(*l*) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 471.

(*m*) Britain's Remembrancer, p. 23.

(*n*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 348. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 260.

[*C*] *To deserve the reader's notice and belief.*] As no body was better acquainted with this noble Peer than Mr. Locke, so it is highly probable, that what he has left us concerning him was taken from his own mouth, or, if received from any other authority, at least confirmed by himself. What is said in the text is sufficient to shew, that it might possibly be true, and the authorities just mentioned, may induce us to believe it really was so (9). Mr. Locke's account runs thus: 'Being at Oxford in the beginning of the civil 'war, for he was on that side as long as he had any 'hopes to serve his country there, he was brought to 'King Charles I. by the Lord Falkland, his friend, 'then Secretary of State, and presented to him, as 'having something to offer to his Majesty worth his 'consideration. At this audience he told the King, 'that he thought he could put an end to the war if 'his Majesty pleased, and would assist him in it. The 'King answered, that he was a very young man for 'so great an undertaking. Sir, replied he, that will 'not be the worse for your affairs, provided I do the 'business. Whereupon the King shewing a willingness to hear him, he discoursed to him to this purpose. The Gentlemen and men of estates, who first 'engaged in that war, seeing now, after a year or two, 'that it seems to be no nearer the end than it was at 'first, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well 'satisfied would be glad to be in quiet at home again, 'if they could be assured of a redress of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties secured to 'them. This I am satisfied is the present temper generally through all England, and particularly in those 'parts where my estate and concerns lie. If therefore 'your Majesty will empower me to treat with the Parliament garrisons, to grant them a full and general 'pardon, with an assurance that a general amnesty '(arms being laid down on both sides) should reinstate 'all things in the same posture they were before the 'war, and then a free Parliament should do what 'more remained to be done for the settlement of the 'nation.' He added farther,

'That he would begin and try the experiment first 'in his own country, and doubted not but the good 'success he should have there, would open him the 'gates of other adjoining garrisons, bringing them the 'news of peace, and security in laying down their arms. 'Being furnished with full power, according to his desire, away he goes to Dorsetshire, where he managed 'a treaty with the garrisons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorchester, and others, and was so successful in it, that 'one of them was actually put into his hands, as the 'others were to have been some few days after. But 'Prince Maurice, who commanded some of the 'King's forces, being with his army then in those 'parts, no sooner heard that the town was surrendered, but he presently marched into it, and gave 'the pillage of it to his soldiers. This Sir Anthony 'saw with the utmost displeasure, and could not 'forbear to express his resentments to the Prince, so 'that there passed some pretty hot words between 'them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his design broken. All that he could do was, 'that he sent to the other garrisons he was in treaty 'with to stand upon their guard, for that he could 'not secure his articles to them, and so this design 'proved abortive, and died in silence.'

(9) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 471.

[*D*] *Is also inserted in the notes.*] It is only by this method of carefully comparing, and candidly considering, the same passages, as they are variously related by persons of different sentiments and opposite opinions, that the real matter of fact ever comes to be known. The Earl of Clarendon was so much concerned in this affair, that he must have known it to the bottom: but whether he has related all he knew, or shewn how or why Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper came to be suspected at Oxford, the reader must judge for himself. The story, as he tells it, runs thus (10). 'There was, says he, an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble 'to the King, upon a difference between Prince Maurice and the Marquis. It hath been said, that the 'Earl of Carnarvon, who was General of the horse of 'the western army, had marched from Bristol the day 'before the Prince, and had taken Dorchester and 'Weymouth before his Highness came up to the 'army, both considerable places, and the seats of great 'malignity. The former was not thought necessary 'to be made a garrison, but the latter was the best 'port town of that county, and to be kept with great 'care. The Marquis had made some promise of 'the government thereof when it should be taken, of 'which they made no doubt, to Sir Anthony-Ashley 'Cooper, a young Gentleman of that county, of a 'fair and plentiful fortune, and one who, in the 'opinion of most men, was like to advance the place 'by being governor of it, and to raise men for the 'defence of it, without lessening the army, and had, 'in expectation of it, made some provision of officers 'and soldiers, when it should be time to call them 'together. Prince Maurice, on the other side, had 'some other person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge when it should fall. 'In the moment that the town was taken, and before 'the Prince came thither, Sir Anthony hearing that 'the Marquis came not with the army, but remained 'some time at Bristol, made all the haste he could to 'him, and came thither the same day the King left 'it, and applied himself to the Marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged 'to make it good, and that it was in his power so to 'do, since it appeared that the town was taken, before the King had declared to him, that he should 'not go to the army till when he ought to be looked 'upon as General of it. He conferred with the 'Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in 'which his honour was concerned, and on which his 'heart was set. "Sir Anthony came likewise to "him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his "assistance; that after so much charge he had been "put to in the expectation of it, and to prepare for "it, he might not be exposed to the mirth and contempt of the country." It was evident, that if he 'returned with the commission from the Marquis '(which he was most inclined to give him) both he 'and the commission would be affronted, and the town 'would not be suffered to submit to him: therefore

(10) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 348.

perſon of whom he was ſpeaking. Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper was alſo at that time High-Sheriff of the county of Dorſet, and choſe therefore in that quality, rather than by virtue of any military commiſſion, to raiſe, as he had power to do, the whole ſtrength of the county, and to embark them at once in the cauſe of the King and the Conſtitution (*o*). To this intent he iſſued his ſummons for aſſembling the *Poſſe Comitatus*, on a day certain at Dorcheſter, which is the county town, but, before that day came, he was invited to Oxford by a letter from his Majeſty; Col. Goring was ſent into his neighbourhood with ſome forces (*p*); and Col. William Aſhburnham came to him at Dorcheſter, and produced a commiſſion of ſuch a nature, as plainly enough demonſtrated that there was no intention to confide in him, or to allow him to proceed in that way which he thought could alone determine this conteſt, without involving the nation in a long and bloody war (*q*). He conferred notwithſtanding with Col. Aſhburnham, told him what he had done, and with what view; but perceiving plainly that his behaviour was diſliked, and his perſon in danger, he retired, firſt to his own houſe, and from thence went into the Parliament quarters (*r*). Neither was it long after that he went up to London, where he was very well received by the leading men on that ſide, who knew well his weight and intereſt in his county, and had a very high opinion of his parts and capacity to ſerve them, in caſe they could attach him thoroughly to their intereſts. This however was not very eaſily done, for though the Noble Hiſtorian is pleaſed to ſay, (and though it be his it is but a coarſe ſaying) *That he gave himſelf up body and ſoul to the Parliament* (*s*), yet this does not very clearly appear, ſince it is very certain that he betrayed none of the counſels with which he was truſted at Oxford, nor took any other ſtep, by which he might render his former connections any way uſeful to thoſe whom he had now joined (*t*). But it is indeed evident that he accepted a commiſſion from the Parliament (*u*), and raiſed forces in Dorſetſhire for the recovery of ſome places out of the hands of thoſe, who he thought had nothing elſe in view but carrying on a war for the entire reduction of the kingdom, the merit of which might entitle them to great rewards, from the new government that might be then eſtabliſhed upon the ruins of the antient and legal conſtitution (*w*); and it is no wonder at all that he ſhould oppoſe this, if we conſider how large an eſtate he had, and conſequently, excluſive of principles, how much it was his private intereſt to look unto the ſafety of his country (*x*). In October 1644 he took Wareham by ſtorm, and very ſoon after reduced all the adjacent parts of Dorſetſhire. This, and ſome other actions of the ſame nature, might poſſibly induce the Earl of Clarendon to add to the harſh character beforementioned, that he became *an implacable enemy to the Royal family* (*y*). One may reaſonably ſuppoſe they had other ſentiments of him at Oxford, ſince he was truſted with ſome private negotiations between his Majeſty and Denzil Lord Hollis, at the treaty of Uxbridge, for which the latter was afterwards queſtioned in Parliament, and had loſt

(*o*) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 16, 17.

(*p*) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 479.

(*q*) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 17.

(*r*) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 478.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſt. p. 399.

(*t*) Locke's Works, vol. ii. p. 473.

(*u*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(*w*) Locke's Works, vol. ii. p. 473.

(*x*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 18.

(*y*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 399.

'the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no 'other way but to appeal to the King, and deſire his 'favour, as well as his juſtice, in giving his commiſ-'ſion to the perſon deſigned by the Marquis, which 'would remove that part of the exception which 'would moſt trouble the Prince; and he offered to 'write himſelf very earneſtly to the King. Beſides 'his deſire to gratify the Marquis, he did, in truth, 'believe it of great importance to his Majeſty's ſer-'vice, to engage a perſon of ſuch a fortune and in-'tereſt ſo thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believed 'ſuch an obligation muſt needs do, the flexibility and 'inſtability of that Gentleman's nature not being 'then underſtood or ſuſpected.

'He did write with all the ſkill and importunity 'he could uſe to the King, and writ to the Lord 'Faulkland, "To take Sir John Colepepper with "him, if he found any averſion in the King, that "they might together diſcourſe and prevail with "him." But his Majeſty poſitively and obſtinately 'refuſed to grant it, and ſaid, "He would not, to "pleaſe the Marquis in an unjuſt pretence, put a "public diſobligation and affront upon his nephew." 'So the expreſs returned without effect, and the 'Marquis was as ſenſibly touched as could be ima-'gined, and ſaid, "That he was fallen from all "credit with the King, and was made incapable of "doing him further ſervice; that his fidelity ſhould "never be leſſened towards him, (as in truth he was "incapable of a diſloyal thought), but ſince he was "become ſo totally uſeleſs to the King and to his "friends, he hoped his Majeſty would give him leave "to retire to his own houſe, where he doubted not "he ſhould be ſuffered to live privately, and quietly "to pray for the King." The Chancellor knew 'well the nature of the Marquis, that would never 'give him leave to purſue any reſolution which he 'found might prove inconvenient to his Majeſty, for 'whom he had all poſſible duty; yet he knew too, 'that the miſchief was not ſmall, from the obſerva-'tion that the Marquis thought himſelf ill uſed, and 'that there were too many who would take the op-'portunity to foment thoſe jealouſies and diſcontents, 'and therefore reſolved (having diſpatched all things 'which were incumbent on him at Briſtol, and uſed 'all freedom with the Marquis for the diſpelling all 'troubleſome imaginations) to go himſelf to the King, 'and to repreſent that affair to him, and the probable 'conſequences of it, with new inſtances. And, at 'laſt, with very great difficulty, he did ſo far prevail 'with his Majeſty, that he gave a commiſſion to Sir 'Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, to be Governor of Wey-'mouth, which he was the more eaſily perſuaded to, 'out of ſome prejudice he had to the perſon who he 'underſtood was deſigned to that government.' The words *a little before this time*, at the beginning of this account, refer to the plundering of Weymouth and Melcombe, by Prince Maurice, which this writer acknowledges, at the ſame time he excuſes it all he can. He adds however, that upon this, Lyme and Poole, the only two garriſons the Parliament had in thoſe parts, inſtead of ſubmitting, ſent the Prince ſo peremptory an anſwer, that though he wanted not either troops or cannon, he did not think fit to approach them (11). This agrees exactly with the former relation, and we may eaſily diſcern why thoſe who had broken their words with Sir Anthony were afraid to truſt him; neither are the words the noble Hiſtorian puts into his mouth common ſenſe, if he had not been deeper engaged than from this relation appears. This ſevere cenſure upon his mutability therefore might have been ſpared: if any reflections were to be made, they ought to have fallen upon that great ſoldier of fortune, who made ſo free with his own word, the liberties of the Engliſh nation, and the King his uncle's intereſts (12).

(11) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 359. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 346.

(12) Hiſtory of King Charles I. p. 313.

his

his life, if Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper could have found his memory of what paſſed in that buſineſs (z) [E]. Neither was this the only ſervice he did the Royal cauſe: for when it began every where to decline, and conſequently when there could be no motives of intereſt to induce him, he thought of a ſurprizing expedient for giving a check to the power of the Parliament, by raiſing the CLUB-MEN (a), who put Sir Thomas Fairfax, after the fatal battle of Naſeby, to a ſtand, and which deſign had probably given a new turn to affairs, if it had been as vigorouſly executed, as it was wiſely and warily concerted (b) [F]. Thus was Sir Anthony employed in propping the Royal Cauſe, when the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, abandoned the King, and accepted paſſes from the Parliament to retire beyond the ſeas (c). Towards the end of 1645 he was choſen Sheriff of Norfolk (d), and approved by Parliament. The next year he was Sheriff of Wiltſhire, and had an ordinance of Parliament to enable him to reſide out of the county (e). In 1651 he was of the Committee of Twenty, appointed to conſider of ways and means for reforming the Law (f). He was alſo one of the Members of that Convention that met after General Cromwell turned out the Long Parliament, and was very active in oppoſing his ambitious deſigns, which occaſioned the diſſolution of that aſſembly (g). He was again a Member of the Parliament of 1654, and was one of the principal perſons who ſigned that famous Proteſtation, charging the Protector with tyranny and arbitrary government: neither was it in Cromwell's power, when it was at the higheſt, to prevent his being elected, which forced him to turn him, and other honeſt Gentlemen, out of the Houſe, which was done more than once, but particularly in 1656, when he ſhewed as much courage and firmneſs in expoſing and thwarting the illegal meaſures of that arbitrary Uſurper, as any man in the kingdom (h). It is indeed true, that the Protector endeavoured to gain him, as he did other perſons of eminent parts and extenſive influence, by appointing him one of his Privy-Council: but as to what has been ſuggeſted, of his aiming to become his ſon-in-law, and coming by that means into the chief management of affairs, may be well conſidered as a calumny (i), ſince it can be hardly doubted, that had it been true, Cromwell would not have miſſed that opportunity, of fixing him in the ſupport of his government and of his family. When the Protector Richard was depoſed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony one of their Council of State (k), and a Commiſſioner for managing the army. He was at that very time engaged in a ſecret correſpondence with the friends of his Majeſty King Charles II. laid the ſcheme of Sir George Booth's inſurrection in 1659, and, if he had not been defeated, would have joined him with all the ſtrength of Dorſetſhire (l). This could not be ſo ſecretly carried, but that the Parliament had notice of it, and upon a complaint, that though Sir George Booth was the hand, yet another Knight was the head of that buſineſs, he was not only queſtioned but impriſoned. He defended himſelf with great art and ſkill, notwithſtanding which, it was with infinite difficulty that he was acquitted and diſcharged (m) [G]. The

(z) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 473, 474.

(a) See this both proved and explained in the note.

(b) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of GreatBritainand Ireland, p. 157.

(c) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 289.

(d) Whitlocke's Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 185.

(e) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 94.

(f) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 372.

(g) Heath's Chron. p. 350, 353.

(h) This famous Proteſtation was ſignedby Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, and 116 other Perſons.

(i) Liſt of the Protector's Privy Council, printed upon a broad half Sheet.

(k) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 131.

(l) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 38. Heath's Chron. p. 427.

(m) Compleat Stateſman, p. 26.

[E] *Could have found his memory of what paſſed in that buſineſs.*] In the treaty at Uxbridge the King had ſome ſeparate and private communication with Lord Hollis, then Mr. Hollis, and the Lord Commiſſioner Whitlocke. Lord Saville, who, about that time, was created Earl of Eſſex, going over afterwards to the Parliament (13), gave information of this, and the warm and violent party, who hated Hollis for adhering ſteadily to his principles, were very deſirous of having this imputation fixed upon him, which they apprehended it was in the power of Sir Anthony to do. There had been an old enmity between them, and Mr. Hollis had prevented Sir Anthony from coming into the Houſe of Commons, though he had been fairly elected. When the latter came to be examined, he ſaid, that though what he knew of that matter might poſſibly tend to acquit Hollis of the charge, yet he could not ſuffer himſelf to ſay any thing about it, becauſe it would look as if he would have taken this occaſion to revenge himſelf, in caſe it had been in his power (14). This did not ſatisfy the Houſe by any means, ſo that they ordered him to withdraw, and threatened him with a commitment to the Tower. That had no effect, and though ſeveral of his friends came out to him in the Lobby, and perſuaded him to ſatisfy the Houſe; yet he would not depart from his firſt reſolution, but anſwered, he neither could nor would remember any thing about it. After a long debate, the main queſtion was put, and, for want of evidence, Mr. Hollis, though with difficulty, was acquitted (15). He went ſome time after to make his acknowledgments to Sir Anthony, who told him, he was not at all obliged to him, that he would have done the ſame thing for any other man in the like circumſtances; but added, that he knew the value of his friendſhip, and ſhould be glad to merit it, by having the greateſt regard for him for the future, which offer was very readily accepted, and a friendſhip commenced from thence, which laſted as long as their lives (16).

(13) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 354.

(14) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 473.

(15) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 161.

(16) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 473.

[F] *As it was wiſely and warily concerted.*] The true ſtate of the buſineſs there hinted at, was briefly this: Sir Anthony met with Serjeant Fountaine, by accident, at an inn, and in diſcourſing about public affairs, they quickly agreed in their ſentiments, that the nation would be equally undone, which ever ſide prevailed, and that therefore it ought to be the aim of all well-diſpoſed perſons to compel the violent of both parties to ſacrifice their animoſities and private views to the intereſt of the public, that abſolutely required a peace (17). In order to bring this about, the Commons in ſeveral counties were encouraged to take up arms, to declare themſelves neuters, and to inſiſt upon a treaty, by which they might be reſtored to the benefit of the laws, and of the Conſtitution (18). This was carried ſo far, that Sir Thomas Fairfax received their propoſals, and promiſed to communicate them to the Parliament; but General Cromwell and others, bent upon driving things to extremities, attacked ſome bodies of club-men, and getting the better of them, cut the poor people to pieces without mercy, which diſconcerted the ſcheme, and frighted thoſe who had the management of it from purſuing it as they intended (19). The reader will obſerve, that this was built upon the ſame principles with that propoſition which Sir Anthony had made to the King about a year before.

(17) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 455. Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 472.

(18) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of GreatBritain and Ireland, p. 157. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 171. 173.

(19) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain, &c. p. 163.

[G] *That he was acquitted and diſcharged.*] Theſe were times of infinite perplexity, and in which even men of the greateſt abilities had much ado to ſecure themſelves. It was on May 13, 1659, that Sir Anthony

The Rump afterwards appointed him one of the Committee to ſecure the Tower, one of the Six Commiſſioners for the command of the army, and Colonel of a regiment of horſe (*n*). Soon after, with eight other members of the old Council of State, he ſigned a letter to General Monk to encourage him to march into England (*o*), which was the firſt direct ſtep made towards the Reſtoration, as Sir Anthony's regiment of horſe was one of the firſt that joined that General, upon his marching into this kingdom (*p*). It was by his influence that the abjuration oath was laid aſide; and even the Noble Hiſtorian is pleaſed to allow, that as the revolt of the fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Lawſon, was what broke the heart of the Committee of Safety; ſo he is alſo forced to own, that this was brought about by Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, who gained that gallant officer (*q*) from his old patron Sir Henry Vane, and prevailed upon him to tell Sir Henry, when he came in perſon to the fleet, that he would ſubmit to no authority but that of the Parliament. He was alſo very inſtrumental in quaſhing General Lambert's deſign, which had otherwiſe prevented the King's return (*r*); and though no doubt General Monk's intentions for the ſervice of the King were very ſincere, yet it is certain that Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper put it out of his power to act otherwiſe than he did, by firſt procuring that great man an unlimited commiſſion from the Parliament, and then obliging him in the Council of State, to remove ſuch officers as they could not depend upon, and particularly Sir William Lockhart, who was Governor of Dunkirk, and to re place them by perſons of whom they had a better opinion, as in that caſe by Edward Harley, which left no room for diſputes (*s*). He was returned a member for Dorſetſhire, in that which was called the Healing Parliament, which ſat April 25, 1660, and a reſolution being taken to reſtore the Conſtitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the Houſe of Commons to carry their invitation to the King (*t*); and it was in his performing this ſervice, that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was Lord High-Chancellor, a circumſtance neceſſary to be mentioned, on account of the ſcandalous reflections that were afterwards made upon it (*u*). Upon his return to England, and the King's coming over, he was, together with General Monk, and other great perſons, ſworn of His Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council (*w*). He was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for the trial of the regicides, and the reflection made thereupon by the Oxford Hiſtorian might have been ſpared, ſince nothing is more certain, than that he had nothing to do with the counſels of thoſe, that either be-

(*n*) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 694.
(*o*) Baker's Chr. p. 672.
(*p*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 699.
(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 704, 705. Baker's Chron. p. 677.
(*r*) Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 303.
(*s*) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 478.
(*t*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 447.
(*u*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 48.
(*w*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 52. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 722.

thony-Aſhley Cooper was appointed one of the Council of State, in which the executive part of the government was veſted (20). Upon the 18th of the ſame month a charge was brought before that council againſt Sir Anthony and the Lord Commiſſioner Whitlocke, for correſponding with the King, or ſome of his Miniſters abroad (21). It was the misfortune of this noble perſon, of whom we are ſpeaking, to be as little in the good graces of Whitlocke, as of Clarendon, as will very plainly appear from the following account, which he gives us of Sir Anthony's defence (22). 'Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper made the higheſt 'profeſſions that could be made of his innocence, and 'the higheſt imprecations of God's judgments upon 'him and his poſterity, if ever he had any correſpon-'dence with the King, or with Sir Edward Hyde, or 'any of the King's Miniſters or friends; and his ex-'preſſions were ſo high, that they bred in ſome the 'more ſuſpicion of him; but at this time he was be-'lieved, and what followed afterwards is known.' It appears from hence, and from another paſſage that we ſhall have occaſion to mention immediately, that this gentleman had no opinion of Sir Anthony's ſincerity or veracity. But the queſtion is, or at leaſt ought to be, whether this opinion was well founded? Sir Anthony's life and fortune were at ſtake in this caſe; and, which is more, the welfare and ſafety of this nation: if therefore Sir Anthony had no concern or intercourſe with the King, or his friends abroad, though he had concerted meaſures for procuring a free Parliament, in which the ſenſe of the nation might be known, in reference to the government they were moſt inclined to live under, he certainly had a right to defend himſelf in what manner he thought proper: no doubt this was none of the moſt eligible methods, but perhaps it was the only method to preſerve himſelf amongſt ſuch people. Now the fact was really thus, and this is not an apology contrived for the defence of this noble perſon's memory, but ariſes from evidence, which I will inſtantly produce. Many years after this, when he was Earl of Shafteſbury, and a priſoner in the tower, he wrote a letter to King Charles II. the following paſſage in which fully ſhews his principles, and from what views he promoted the Reſtoration (23). The facts contained in it are very curious and very important, and I believe there will be hardly found any man ſo great a Sceptick as to believe, that the Earl of Shafteſbury would depart from truth, in a letter written to his ſovereign, upon ſubjects of which that Prince was as much maſter as he. 'I had the 'honour to have a principal hand in your Reſtoration, 'neither did I act in it but on a principle of piety and 'honour: I never betrayed, as your Majeſty knows, 'the party or councils I was of. I kept no correſpon-'dence with, nor I made no ſecret addreſſes to, your 'Majeſty; neither did I endeavour or obtain any pri-'vate terms or articles for myſelf, or reward for what 'I had done, or ſhould do. In whatever I did towards 'the ſervice of your Majeſty, I was ſolely acted by the 'ſenſe of that duty I owed to God, the Engliſh nation, 'and your Majeſty's juſt right and title. I ſaw the 'hand of Providence that had led us through various 'forms of government, and had given power into the 'hands of ſeveral ſorts of men, but he had given none 'of them a heart to uſe it as they ſhould: they all 'fell to the prey, ſought not the good or ſettlement 'of the nation, endeavoured only the enlargement 'and continuance of their own authority, and graſped 'at thoſe very powers they had complained of ſo much, 'and for which ſo bloody and ſo fatal a war had been 'raiſed, and continued in the bowels of the nation. 'I obſerved the leaders of the great parties of religion, 'both laity and clergy, ready and forward to deliver 'up the rights and liberties of the people, and to in-'troduce an abſolute dominion; ſo that tyranny might 'be eſtabliſhed in the hands of thoſe that favoured 'their way, and with whom they might have hopes to 'divide the preſent ſpoil, having no eye to poſterity, 'or thought of future things.' The accuſation which occaſioned this note hung in the Houſe of Commons 'till the 14th of September, 1659, and then we have the following account of it from an author before cited (24). 'Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper voted not guilty 'of the accuſation againſt him, of having correſpon-'dence with the King. The queſtion was not brought 'againſt me for the ſame matter, there being no 'ground for it as there was for the other.'

(20) Rawleigh Redivius, p. 42.
(21) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679. — Complete Stateſman, p. 27.
(22) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679.
(23) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 479.
(24) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683.

trayed or ſhed the blood of their Sovereign (*x*). Upon the approach of the coronation, the King his maſter thought fit to raiſe him to the dignity of the peerage, and, by Letters Patent dated April 20, 1661, created him Baron Aſhley of Winborne St. Giles's, with very honourable mention of the ſhare he had in bringing him back to his kingdom (*y*) [*H*]. He was ſoon after made Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer (*z*); and upon the death of that loyal old Peer, and his great friend and patron, the wiſe and worthy Earl of Southampton, he was appointed one of the Lords Commiſſioners (*a*) for executing the office of High-Treaſurer. He continued in the counſels and in the confidence of the King his maſter, during the happieſt part of his reign, and ſtood as high in his favour as any of his Miniſters. He was afterwards made Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorſet (*b*); and on the twenty-third of April 1672, he was created Baron Cooper of Pawlet in the county of Somerſet, and Earl of Shafteſbury (*c*). At this time the Lord Keeper Bridgeman parting with the Seals, he was, on the fourth day of November, raiſed to the great and envied poſt of Lord High-Chancellor of England (*d*), which office he executed, as even his enemies allow, with equal ability and integrity [*I*]. In his other capacities, of a Miniſter and Privy-Counſellor, he has been variouſly ſpoken of, and it would require a volume to enter into the merits of the queſtion, and to diſcuſs fairly and impartially what has been ſaid, and what might be ſaid, on both ſides. In this article, however, we cannot be expected to enter into any ſuch field; and ſhall therefore be content with obſerving, that from the public records of his diſcharge of theſe offices, particularly his ſpeeches in Parliament upon the ſwearing in the Lord High-Treaſurer Clifford, his ſucceſſor Sir Thomas Oſborne and Mr. Baron Thurland (*e*), we muſt conclude him one of the ableſt men, and one of the moſt accompliſhed orators, this nation has ever bred. The ſhort time that he was at the helm was a ſeaſon of ſtorms and tempeſts, and it is but doing him ſtrict juſtice to ſay, that they could not either affright or diſtract him. Whatever he did he did with his might, and there was a ſpirit and dignity in his adminiſtration, which that government could never recover after he left it (*f*). He was the ſoul and genius of the Miniſtry while he made a part of it; but whether he did not carry things too high, and out

(*x*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52. Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col 722.

(*y*) *Bill. Sign. de ann.* 13 *Car.* II.

(*z*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52.

(*a*) Dugd. Chron. Series, p. 116.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 377.

(*c*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53.

(*d*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 723. North's Examen. p. 33.

(*e*) See thoſe Speeches in Rawleigh Redivivus, and in Echard's Hiſt. of England.

(*f*) Memoirs; and A juſt Vindication of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 13.

[*H*] *In bringing him back to his kingdom.*] We have already ſhewn, from as good authority as can be deſired, that this noble perſon, as he acted very cautiouſly on one ſide in the management of that nice affair, behaved alſo very diſintereſtedly on the other. Whitlocke very frankly owns, that he was ready to have gone to the King with propoſals, and what he blames this great man for, was an intention to reſtore the King, without making terms (25). It was, however, the judgment of Lord Aſhley, that this was the only right way of acting; for he thought that any terms ſo made would alter the Conſtitution; and what he chiefly aimed at by bringing back the king, was reviving the Conſtitution, which, from the experience of ſucceſſive changes, he judged would be a bleſſing to the nation. Sir Philip Warwick tells us in his Memoirs, that himſelf, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Geoffery Palmer, met Mr. Anneſly, afterwards Earl of Angleſey, Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, and Sir William Morrice, before the Healing Parliament ſat, by which his Majeſty was very well informed of their good intentions for his ſervice (26). The ſame writer informs us, that General Monk was tampered with by the French Embaſſador, and great offers made to ſupport him, in caſe he had been ſuſceptible of French counſels; and acquaints us, that it was upon the appointing of a new Council of State, the names of ſome of which he gives us, and amongſt them Sir Anthony, that the old republicans began to fear the calling back of the King (27). There is alſo extant a letter to Admiral Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, from Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, upon Lambert's defeat, which plainly ſhews his ſenſe of things in general, and of that ſeaſonable ſtroke in particular (28). But the words in the preamble to his patent are ſo full and expreſs, that they need not any authority to ſupport, or commentary to explain, them. In this his Majeſty takes notice (29), 'that he had in 'ſundry reſpects manifeſted his loyalty to King Charles 'I. and his great affection to his country in the late 'perilous and difficult times, and likewiſe to him, by 'his prudent and ſeaſonable advice and conſultation 'with General Monk, in order to his reſtoration, in 'conſideration of which acceptable ſervices he created 'him to the degree and dignity of a Baron.'

(25) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 691.

(26) Memoirs of Affairs after the King's murder, p. 428.

(27) Warwick's Memoirs p. 426, 427.

(28) See this Letter in the firſt Volume of this Work, p. 303.

(29) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 481.

[*I*] *With equal ability and integrity.*] He reſided, during his continuance in that employment, at Exeter-houſe in the Strand, and proceeded from thence to Weſtminſter, with all the ſolemnity poſſible; for it was his opinion, that ceremony and ſtate were both uſeful and neceſſary to keep up the credit of great offices (30); for to uſe his Lordſhip's own words to Baron Thurland, Reputation is a thing of conſequence to magiſtrates as well as merchants. He wore an aſh-coloured ſilk gown, richly laced, and did not at all alter his garb upon his acceſſion to that high ſeat of judicature. He was deſirous of cutting buſineſs ſhort, and of avoiding forms, in which we are told, that the Lawyers gave him ſo much trouble, that to be able to proceed, he was forced to return to them: however, he was as expeditious as it was poſſible, and his quick penetration enabled him to ſee very far in a ſhort time, and what he ſaw, his eloquence made every body elſe ſee; ſo that whatever he decreed was ſo plain, and ſo perſpicuous, that there needed no learning to perceive he was in the right, nor was it poſſible to puzzle things again ſo much as to create a doubt that he was in the wrong (31). This gave him a high reputation at that time; ſo that Mr. Dryden, to beget an opinion of his own impartiality, in that moſt invidious character which he gave of his Lordſhip, was forced to throw in a fine compliment upon his integrity in the diſtribution of juſtice (32). It was a point of too great conſequence to be omitted, and it ſeems was then too well underſtood to be miſrepreſented. Some attempts have been ſince made to leſſen his character, as a Chancellor; but whoever conſiders them attentively, and obſerves that they are deſtitute of facts, and publiſhed at a great diſtance of time, will not be much moved by them (33). Another writer, immediately after his Lordſhip's death, ſpeaks of his behaviour thus (34): 'With what 'prudence, candour, honour, and integrity, he acquitted himſelf in that great and weighty employment, 'the tranſactions of the Court of Chancery, during 'the time of his Chancellorſhip, will beſt teſtify. Juſtice then ran in an equal channel, ſo that the cauſe 'of the rich was not ſuffered to ſwallow up the rights 'of the poor, nor was the ſtrong or cunning oppreſſor 'permitted to devour the weak or unſkilful oppoſer; 'but the abuſed found relief ſuitable to their diſtreſs, 'and thoſe by whom they were abuſed a ſevere reprehenſion, anſwerable to their crimes. The miſchievous conſequences which commonly ariſe from 'the delays, and other practices of that court were, 'by his ingenious and judicious management, very 'much abated, and every thing weighed and determined with exact judgment and equity.'

(30) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 377.

(31) Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 301.

(32) Dryden's Original Poems and Tranſlations, vol. i. p. 156, 157.

(33) North's Examen. p. 59.

(34) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53, 54.

of the reach of all other capacities but his own, it would favour of raſhneſs to determine (g) [K]. When the King had taken a reſolution, as he was apt to take ſuch reſolutions without conſulting others, of changing meaſures, the Chancellor very quickly diſcerned it; and as he knew it was for his ſafety, ſo he thought it no diminution to his honour, to follow the example of his Prince, and therefore he changed in time, in which his enemies ſay he had a very great dexterity; and, on the other hand, his friends believe, that he made a virtue of neceſſity, and when he ſaw that his great parts could be no longer ſerviceable to his Maſter in office, he thought it very allowable to make uſe of them to ſave himſelf (h): and in this it is no ſmall commendation, that he retired with credit, where it would have been the higheſt point of wiſdom in any other man to have eſcaped ruin (i). The Duke of York was apprehenſive, from his conduct in Parliament, that he ſhould find him in many reſpects uncomplying, and was therefore very earneſt with the King to remove him, which however his Majeſty was not much inclined to do, becauſe he had a great opinion of his ſkill in finding out expedients, and of diverting dangers before things came to extremity (k). At length, however, that point was carried, and Nov. 9, 1673, the Earl of Shafteſbury reſigned the Great-Seal, but with ſome particular circumſtances, with the knowledge of which the reader cannot be diſpleaſed (l) [L]. After he had thus quitted

(g) This ſeems to be inſinuated by Mr. Dryden, in his *Abſalom and Achitophel.*

(h) Sir William Temple's Memoirs, London, 1692, 8*vo.* p. 71.

(i) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 87.

(k) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 723.

(l) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 898.

[K] *It would ſavour of raſhneſs to determine.*] All that is ſaid, either in our general hiſtories, or private memoirs, of the conduct of the Earl of Shafteſbury while in power, and as it were at the head of the adminiſtration, is liable to many objections, and ought therefore to be read with much circumſpection. Such as have written direct apologies for him, of which there are ſeveral, will have every thing to have been not only well and wiſely, but uprightly and virtuouſly done, which, perhaps, is more than ought to be advanced in favour of any Miniſter (35). On the other hand, ſuch as make no ſecret of their diſlike to this great man, very ſeldom ſhew the leaſt ſcruple of painting him in the blackeſt colours; and both diſcover how far they deviate both from impartiality and truth, by running into palpable abſurdities, and viſible contradictions. A few inſtances ſeem to be requiſite, that it may appear we have collected the materials of this article with that caution and care which its importance demands. There were three great ſtrokes which diſtinguiſhed the period of his miniſtry, and it is not a little difficult to form a right judgment of his behaviour in any one of them. The *firſt* of theſe is as to his ſhutting up the Exchequer. In reference to this, Sir Joſeph Tyley's manuſcript (36) poſitively affirms, that the meaſure was of Lord Aſhley's contrivance, but that it was picked out of him when heated with wine, and in a free converſation by Sir Thomas Clifford, who, by that artifice, got himſelf advanced to the Peerage, and to the high dignity of Lord Treaſurer of England. An honourable author affirms the direct contrary; he compares the Earl of Shafteſbury and the Lord Clifford to a ſub-ſheriff and a ſheriff; the former, he ſays, had the authority, and the latter carried the wand (*). Both theſe ſtories cannot be true, and it is highly probable that neither of them are ſo. The Earl of Shafteſbury was not a man to be over-reached, and Lord Clifford had too great a capacity to ſtoop to any direction. It is moſt likely, that they acted in concert; and though it may be very true, that the Earl of Shafteſbury was ambitious of being Treaſurer, yet he might be prevailed upon to give way to the Lord Clifford, becauſe the very meaſure required the aſſiſtance of a Chancellor, and none of the great men in that adminiſtration were capable of exerciſing that office but the Earl of Shafteſbury. The Earls of Clarendon and Southampton had mutually ſupported each other in thoſe poſts, and we may very reaſonably ſuppoſe, that Shafteſbury and Clifford propoſed to follow their examples. Indeed it is certain they did follow them as long as they were in power; and whoever conſiders the ſpeeches made by the Chancellor Shafteſbury, at the admiſſion of Lord Clifford, and his ſucceſſor, the Lord Oſborne, to the office of Treaſurer, will ſee ſuch a manifeſt difference as will give no ſmall weight to this conjecture (37). The *ſecond* great ſtroke was, the declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, in which both theſe great Miniſters were equally concerned, though with very different views, for Lord Clifford was then a concealed, and not long after a declared, Papiſt: the Earl of Shafteſbury was deſirous of obliging the Diſſenters. The former was for maintaining this Declaration, even againſt the opinion of Parliament; the latter, finding his maſter wavering, gave up the Declaration, that he might put himſelf at the head of the Proteſtant intereſt. They both acted, conſidering the circumſtances under which the Declaration was framed, like wiſe Stateſmen; and, when they came to divide, each of them ſhewed a ſteadineſs to his principles, not in the leaſt unworthy of a great politician; ſo that Lord Clifford retired with credit, and the Earl of Shafteſbury kept his power when he loſt his poſt; and when no longer able to rule a Court, ſhewed his dexterity in becoming the ruler of the people (38). The *third* great ſtroke was peculiarly his, and that was, the iſſuing writs during the receſs of Parliament, in virtue of his office, and making uſe of his intereſt in the country to procure elections in conſequence of thoſe writs, agreeable to the views of his adminiſtration. Father Orleans, who had his lights from King James, applauds this meaſure, and acknowledges as well the candour as the capacity of the Chancellor, in reſpect to his maſter's ſervice (39). The honourable writer before-mentioned gives us quite another account. He tells us (40), the Chancellor did it to bring in his own creatures in Dorſetſhire more eſpecially, and to keep out the friends of Col. Strangeways, whom he diſliked for many reaſons, but moſt for being a very loyal gentleman. It happens unluckily, that he entirely overturns his own ſyſtem, by acknowledging, that all the perſons brought in by Shafteſbury's intereſt, were Royaliſts (41). However, the Houſe of Commons turned them out again without the leaſt ſtruggle, either on the part of theſe new members, or of the Crown. Shafteſbury ſaid upon this, that if the King would not ſupport his Chancellor, his Chancellor could do little in that capacity for his maſter's ſervice. Upon the whole, it ſeems to be pretty clear, that the Earl of Shafteſbury was in hopes the Court would have proſecuted the Dutch war with ſuch ſucceſs, as to have carried the glory of the Engliſh flag to the utmoſt height, promoted the Engliſh commerce in it's largeſt extent, and have ſacrificed that kind of bigotry, which he judged to be the bane of the Proteſtant Religion, in which caſe he thought the power of the Crown, and the grandeur of the people, muſt have ſtood upon the ſame baſis; but finding that other ſchemes were bringing upon the carpet, though not by the King, but rather the Duke, he choſe to make a ſhort turn, and to comply with thoſe who could ſave him, inſtead of continuing to play a deſperate game in conjunction with ſuch, as, to make their peace, might be tempted to make him a victim (42).

(35) Of theſe there are many, ſuch as Rawleigh Redivivus. Memoirs and Vindication of the Earl of Shafteſbury. Compleat Stateſman, &c. in print; and there are ſeveral others in MS.

(36) As it is cited by Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory.

(*) North's Examen, p. 38.

(37) See both thoſe Speeches in Echard's Hiſtory.

(38) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 296.

(39) Hiſt. of the Revolutions in England, under the Family of the Stuarts, p. 242.

(40) North's Examen, p. 42. 56.

(41) *Id. ib.* p. 56.

(42) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 38. 84, 85.

[L] *With the knowledge of which the reader cannot be diſpleaſed.*] We have this relation, which is pleaſant enough in it's circumſtances, and theſe are ſo much the more credible, from their agreeing exactly with the characters of the perſons mentioned, from Mr. Archdeacon Echard, which we ſhall give the reader in his own words (43). 'Soon after the breaking up of the 'Parliament, the Earl was ſent for, on a Sunday morn-'ing, to Court, as was alſo Sir Heneage Finch, Attor-'ney-General, to whom the ſeals were promiſed. As 'ſoon as the Earl came, he retired with the King in-'to the cloſet, while the prevailing party waited in 'triumph

(43) Hiſtory of England, p. 898.

quitted the Court, he continued to make a great figure in Parliament: his abilities enabled him to ſhine, and his inclinations did not incline him to reſt (*m*). In 1675, the Lord Treaſurer Danby introduced the Teſt Bill into the Houſe of Lords, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Earl of Shafteſbury, who, if we may believe a great Prelate, diſtinguiſhed himſelf more in this Seſſions than ever he had done (*n*), which is ſomewhat ſingular, conſidering he had long before attained the reputation of being one of the greateſt Speakers of that age. In this indeed he ſhewed his parts, and contradicted the character that ſome had given him, of being an indiſcreet Orator, by inſiſting, for a full hour, on the folly and impropriety of condemning all reſiſtance by an expreſs law (*o*). He ſhewed, that as government could not ſubſiſt if men might reſiſt as often as they were diſpleaſed; ſo liberty muſt be loſt, if in no caſe reſiſtance was lawful. He obſerved, that a King might be in the hands of a faction, and then it would be treaſon to oppoſe what had the ſanction of his name, though it was to reſcue his authority. He delivered this diſcourſe with his uſual eaſe and freedom, though he knew that every word he ſaid was watched, and his enemies had the mortification of finding, that he could ſay what he pleaſed, without putting it in their power, how much ſoever it was in their will, to hurt him (*p*). A diſpute between the two Houſes, occaſioned an unexpected prorogation, by which the bill was loſt. There enſued upon this a receſs of fifteen months, and when the Parliament met again Feb. 16, 1676-7, the Duke of Buckingham argued, that it ought to be conſidered as diſſolved. The Earl of Shafteſbury was of the ſame opinion, and maintained it with ſo much warmth, that together with the Duke beforementioned, the Earl of Saliſbury, and the Lord Wharton, he was ſent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, though the other Lords upon their ſubmiſſion were ſpeedily diſcharged (*q*). In order to be delivered from his confinement, he applied himſelf to the Court of King's-Bench, where, after his Counſel had done ſpeaking, he argued his own caſe with much eloquence and wit. He was notwithſtanding remanded to the Tower, and, at the next meeting of Parliament, this application was magnified into a great crime by the then Lord Treaſurer Danby, who very ſoon after was obliged to have recourſe to the ſame method for his own deliverance, and felt very ſenſibly the weight of thoſe ſevere doctrines, which he took ſo much pains to eſtabliſh upon this occaſion (*r*). At length the Earl of Shafteſbury made a full ſubmiſſion, and, upon an addreſs of the Houſe of Peers, the King was pleaſed to diſcharge him (*s*), and the precedent made in his caſe was afterwards reverſed (*t*). He managed the oppoſition to the Earl of Danby's adminiſtration with ſuch vigour and dexterity, that it was found abſolutely impoſſible to do any thing effectually in Parliament, without changing the ſyſtem which then prevailed. The King, who deſired nothing ſo much as to be eaſy, reſolving to make ſuch a change, diſmiſſed all the Privy Council at once, and formed a new one: this was declared April 21, 1679, and at the ſame time the Earl of Shafteſbury was appointed Lord Preſident (*u*). This was one of the beſt received, as well as one of the moſt popular meaſures, in his whole reign, and was equally acceptable to the people at home, and to the natural allies of this nation abroad (*w*). It had not however long the good effects that were expected from it, which was owing to the factions at Court; and thoſe quickly roſe to ſuch a height, that the Earl was removed from that high employment on the fifth of October following (*x*). He had drawn upon himſelf the implacable hatred of the Duke of York, by ſteadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an Excluſion Bill. In reſpect to this he was indeed immoveable, notwithſtanding he knew the King would never conſent to it, and though moſt of his friends were inclined to accept the expedient offered by the Court, of providing againſt what they feared, by eſtabliſhing legal limitations. It is not our buſineſs to determine in ſo nice and important a point; but this we may have leave to ſay, that his Lordſhip's reaſons were clear and weighty, allowing his principles to be well founded (*y*) [*M*]. The

(*m*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 4.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 384.

(*o*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 7. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, vol. i. p. 384.

(*p*) Vindication of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 35. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 384.

(*q*) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 402.

(*r*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 25, 26, 27. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 431. 434. 437.

(*s*) Father Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 247.

(*t*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 28.

(*u*) Sir William Temple's Works, vol. i. p. 334.

(*w*) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 456.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 383.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 469. 477. 482. 494. 502.

'triumph to ſee him return without the purſe. His 'Lordſhip being alone with the King, ſaid, *Sir, I 'know you intend to give the ſeals to the Attorney Gene-'ral, but I am ſure your Majeſty never intended to diſ-'miſs me with contempt.* The King, who could not 'do an ill-natured thing, replyed, *God's fiſh, my 'Lord, I will not do it with any circumſtance that may 'look like an affront. Then Sir,* ſaid the Earl, *I de-'ſire your Majeſty will permit me to carry the ſeals before 'you to chapel, and ſend for them afterwards from my 'houſe.* To which his Majeſty readily complied, and 'the Earl entertained the King with news, and other 'diverting ſtories, 'till the very minute he was to go 'to chapel, purpoſely to amuſe the courtiers and his 'ſucceſſor, who he believed was upon the rack for 'fear he ſhould prevail upon the King to change his 'mind. The King and the ſtill Chancellor came out 'of the cloſet talking together, and ſmiling, and 'went together to chapel, which ſurprized them all, 'who could have no opportunity to inform them-'ſelves what was to be expected; and ſome ran im-'mediately to tell the Duke of York all their mea-'ſures were broken; and the Attorney-General was 'ſaid to be inconſolable. After ſermon the Earl went 'home with the ſeals, and that evening the King gave 'them to the Attorney-General, a man of great parts 'and abilities, with the title of Lord Keeper.

[*M*] *Allowing his principles to be well founded.*] It was a misfortune to the Earl of Shafteſbury, that thoſe who were angry with him have tranſmitted to poſterity the hiſtory of thoſe times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had ſo large a ſhare. As for inſtance, Sir William Temple having come in by the intereſt of the Earl of Arlington, and being afterwards ſupported by that of the Lord Treaſurer Danby, could not avoid feeling a diſtaſte to one who left the former, and oppoſed the latter; and of this there are viſible marks in thoſe paſſages of his Memoirs, where the Earl of Shafteſbury is mentioned (44). The Biſhop of Saliſbury was very intimate in his turn with the

(44) Temple's Works, vol. i. p. 334, 335. 337. 339, 340, 341. 343, &c.

The diſcovery of the Popiſh plot opened a way for ſubverting the Earl of Danby's miniſtry, and the general opinion ſeems to be, that this induced the Earl of Shafteſbury to puſh that matter, not only with vigour but vehemence. There is nothing plainer than that he was the author and promoter of all the proſecutions that followed thereupon, as well in the inferior Courts, as in Parliament; with a view of quaſhing the Popiſh party entirely, and of excluding the Duke, which were the points he had moſt at heart, and which, without doubt, he purſued with unrelenting ſeverity (z). Upon the King's ſummoning a Parliament to meet at Oxford, March 21, 1680-1, he joined with ſeveral Lords in a petition to prevent its meeting there (a), which however failed of ſucceſs. He was preſent in that Parliament, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Excluſion Bill, which however was thrown out in the Houſe of Lords. He is likewiſe ſaid to have uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have reconciled his Majeſty to that meaſure, but without effect (b). It is no wonder that ſuch a conduct as this ſhould inflame the Duke and his friends againſt him, and not long after, an occaſion either offered or was found, to make him feel the weight of their reſentments. Upon the diſſolution of that Parliament, and his return to London, one Bryan Haines applied himſelf to him, under pretence that he could make ſtill clearer diſcoveries than hitherto had been made of the Popiſh plot, and the murther of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, provided, that for this ſervice, he might obtain a pardon (c). But when this man was brought before the Privy-Council, he gave quite another account, and boldly charged the Earl with endeavouring to ſuborn him (d). Upon this information his Lordſhip was apprehended on the ſecond of July 1681, and after being examined by his Majeſty in Council, he was committed to the Tower, where he remained upwards of four months, notwithſtanding he petitioned, and took every other legal method to obtain a trial, or to be admitted to bail according to the *Habeas Corpus* Act (e). At length, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1681, a bill was preſented to the Grand Jury at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, againſt him, for high-treaſon, and the witneſſes were examined in open court. They certainly teſtified enough, or rather too much: for, on the one hand, the evidence they gave was very incredible in itſelf; and, on the other, their characters were ſo infamous, that even a probable ſtory would ſcarcely have deſerved belief upon their depoſition (f). But what was chiefly relied on, was a paper found in the Earl's ſtudy, which contained the draught of an aſſociation: yet it was neither written, or ſo much as marked, with his hand; and though it contained many ſtrange things, yet it was full of the higheſt

(z) Hiſt. of the Revolutions in England, p. 249. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 486.

(a) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 89.

(b) North's Examen, p. 123.

(c) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 103. North's Examen, p. 117. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 506.

(d) North's Examen, p. 117.

(e) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories. Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 104. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 506.

(f) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 400.

the Earl of Shafteſbury, as well as other great men of thoſe times, but had the misfortune to be upon bad terms with him afterwards, by bringing the unfortunate Lord Stafford to charge Shafteſbury at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, with being a friend to the Papiſts a little before he ſuffered death (45). The Hon. Roger North had his reaſons alſo for diſliking him, which he tells us very fairly; ſpeaks upon all occaſions as an enemy, but as an enemy declared, and therefore the leſs to be feared (46). It cannot be aſſerted, that when theſe writers relate facts concerning this noble Lord, they do not deſerve credit; for as men of ſenſe and reputation, that is due to whatever they relate, as a thing known: but theſe remarks, and many more that might be added, are ſufficient to take off the edge of their cenſures, to leſſen the credibility of their conjectures, and to keep the reader from having an implicit faith in the characters they have drawn of a man they did not love, and that chiefly, becauſe he oppoſed thoſe who are the heroes of their reſpective works, ſuch as Lord Halifax, Lord Danby, and Lord North. As to the point of the Bill of Excluſion, it is generally mentioned as an inſtance of the Earl of Shafteſbury's diſlike to monarchy, and thoſe who oppoſed it are magnified as men who were beſt affected to what was, at that time, eſteemed the Engliſh Conſtitution. One of thoſe writers ſays, that the Earl of Shafteſbury never denied his changing ſides, but, on the contrary, took a pleaſure in relating the many turns he had made, and in ſhewing that he made them at the proper times (47). It might have been added, that he valued himſelf likewiſe upon never betraying thoſe he left, and upon quitting parties without leaving his principles. He had a good opinion of King Charles the ſecond's inclinations, and thought his affairs were prejudiced by carrying the dead weight of a Popiſh ſucceſſor. This he thought neceſſary to be removed, and thought the only way to remove it, without prejudice to the monarchy, was to exclude the Duke of York, and paſs on to the next heir. He judged that ſuch a law, would be no improper inſtance of the abſolute power of a King and Parliament, might provide for the ſafety of the ſubject, and yet leave the power of the Crown entire, without tinging the Conſtitution with the leaſt colour of a common wealth (48). How far he might act in this from his perſonal reſentment againſt the Duke of York, what views he might have of re-eſtabliſhing his own power, or what ſchemes he might be drawn into after the diſſolution of the Oxford Parliament, are out of the caſe. We are ſpeaking of the grounds upon which he promoted the Excluſion, and how far they were reconcileable to his former principles, of which the reader, from what has been ſaid, may very eaſily ſettle his judgment. As for Lord Halifax, who was the great patron of the limitations, he made no ſcruple of owning, that he meant thereby not to limit the ſucceſſor only, but to leſſen and curtail the prerogatives of the Crown. He carried it ſo far, if we may believe the Biſhop of Sarum, and there is not the leaſt colour for diſbelieving him, as to inſinuate, that a Popiſh King was a bleſſing, as it afforded an opportunity of putting all his ſucceſſors under theſe reſtraints (49). Now granting theſe accounts to be true, there cannot be any thing clearer than that Shafteſbury continued a Royaliſt, though at the head of an oppoſition, and that Lord Halifax acted, or affected to act, upon the maxims of a common-wealth's man, when in the ſervice of the Court. The reaſons why Shafteſbury always rejected the ſcheme of limitations were, firſt, becauſe he thought it was not for the benefit of the ſubject, that the prerogatives of the Crown ſhould be leſſened, but that the abuſe of thoſe prerogatives by Miniſters ſhould be puniſhed; and therefore he conceived it unjuſt, that the Engliſh Monarchy ſhould ſuffer for the fault of the Duke of York; and ſecondly, he thought limitations impracticable, becauſe, if the perſon limited came to be King, and had a Parliament to his mind, thoſe limitations might be as eaſily and as legally repealed as ever they were enacted. It is evident, that neither of theſe objections lay againſt his ſcheme of the Excluſion; for that would have left the Monarchy ſound and entire, and have placed ſuch a new head as would have always maintained his own title, and muſt have governed by law, in order to have it effectually in his power to do that; which would have been an advantage to the nation, rather than an inconvenience.

(45) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. i. p. 494.

(46) In his Examen, and in his Life of Lord North, as often as he mentions him.

(47) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 97.

(48) Collected from his ſeveral Speeches made upon that occaſion in Parliament.

(49) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 456.

zeal for the preſervation of the King's perſon (*g*). Upon the whole, the Jury thought fit to return the bill *Ignoramus*. This occaſioned a very high controverſy, many aſſerting that this was inconſiſtent with their oaths, and others, who took themſelves to be as good judges, maintaining as poſitively, that, conſiſtently with their oaths, they could not have found another verdict; and ſeveral things were publiſhed on both ſides (*h*) [*N*]. It is certain that great

(g) Remarks upon the new Project of Aſſociation, where the Aſſociation is printed at large.
(*h*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 121.

[*N*] *Were publiſhed on both ſides.*] The reader will find a full account of the proceedings againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury, upon this bill of indictment, in it's proper place (50), and will there ſee what was ſworn againſt him, and by whom. The great deſign of the Court was to make it evident to all the world, that the King could not obtain juſtice, even for the higheſt offences committed againſt him by a ſubject, from the manifeſt partiality of the Grand Juries in London, diſpoſed and packed by malecontent ſheriffs. The proof of this was ſuppoſed to depend on the manifeſt ſtrength of the evidence offered to prove the facts laid in this indictment, which it was alledged the Grand Jury could not reject, without breach of their oaths (51). On the other hand, it was inſiſted upon, that the Grand Jury being ſworn to bring in a *true verdict*, they could not, in their conſciences, return *Bilà vera*, where the evidence was inconſiſtent, given by infamous witneſſes, and made up of abſurd and incredible relations; in ſhort, that a Grand Jury was bound to return *Ignoramus*, notwithſtanding any evidence, when they, in their conſciences, ſaw reaſon not to believe that evidence (52). To this purpoſe, a ſtrong and bold piece was written, as a certain great Prelate informs us, by the learned and ingenious Mr. Somers, afterwards Lord Somers, and Chancellor of England (53). As for the Aſſociation mentioned in the text, the ſame Prelate tells us, and indeed it is very probable, that it was put into the hands of the Earl of Shafteſbury when the Parliament ſat at Oxford, in which an Aſſociation had been propoſed, as a neceſſary ſecurity againſt the apprehenſions of Popery, and the dangers ariſing from a Popiſh Succeſſor after the Excluſion Bill was rejected (54). Thus much is certain, that the Aſſociation was not mentioned in the indictment, but was offered as a ſupplemental and corroborative proof of what was ſworn againſt his Lordſhip by the witneſſes. There was another ſtrange circumſtance attended this, that one Mr. Wilſon, who, on the part of the Earl, attended to receive back ſuch of his papers as were ſeized, and were not conſidered as criminal, and to mark thoſe of another nature, that it might appear they were really found in the Earl's cuſtody; I ſay it was another ſtrange circumſtance in regard to this Aſſociation, that it was not indorſed as the other papers were, and that Mr. Wilſon was committed for High-Treaſon (55). To ſay the plain truth, theſe were very dreadful times, when all parties had recourſe to the moſt unjuſtifiable methods for carrying their points. Such as oppoſed the Government made no ſcruple of publiſhing the moſt bitter and injurious libels againſt it. On the other hand, thoſe employed by the Court ſacrificed truth and decency, without the leaſt ſcruple. Marchmont Needham, who had been employed by the Regicides and the Parliament, to vilify the Royal Family in the moſt ſcandalous and barbarous manner, was paid by the Miniſters to abuſe and defame the Earl of Shafteſbury, which he did with all the alacrity in the world (56), and his abuſe is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble perſon by the Oxford Hiſtorian (57). It was given out, with the like deſign, that the Earl of Shafteſbury had the vanity to expect to be choſen King of Poland, and this made way for calling him Count *Tatſky*, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out of the ulcer between his ribs when he was Lord Chancellor (58). It was alſo a ſtanding jeſt with the lower form of Wits, to ſtile him *Shiftſbury* inſtead of *Shafteſbury* (59). A very grave author is pleaſed to tell us, that when his Lordſhip was Chancellor, one Sir Paul Neal watered his mares with Rheniſh and ſugar, that is, entertained his miſtreſſes (60); which, if true, was certainly a ſtory that needed not to be communicated to poſterity. We are told, that King Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once ſaid to the Earl at Court, in a vein of raillery and good humour, and in reference only to his amours, *I believe*, Shafteſbury, *thou art the wickedeſt fellow in my dominions*. To which, with a low bow, and a very grave face, the Earl replied, *May it pleaſe your Majeſty, of a* ſubject *I believe I am*; at which the merry Monarch laughed heartily. When parties were at their greateſt height, the King would very often honour him with his converſation, and would aſk his opinion upon indifferent things, which was not pleaſing to the Miniſters, as it carried nothing of that averſion which they would have had the world believe he entertained againſt his Lordſhip (61). In return, there is good reaſon to maintain, that whatever lengths party might carry him, his Lordſhip ſtill retained a deep ſenſe of that favour, with which his indulgent maſter had honoured him (62); and it happens a little ſtrangely, that the author who has drawn this noble perſon's character in the blackeſt colours has, notwithſtanding, left us a paſſage, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of it (63). 'If he was a friend really to any 'human kind beſides himſelf, I believe it was to 'King Charles II. whoſe gaiety, breeding, wit, good 'humour, familiarity, and diſpoſition, to enjoy the 'pleaſures of ſociety and greatneſs, engaged him very 'much, that had a great ſhare of wit, agreeableneſs, 'and gallantry himſelf. But this ſame ſuperiority 'ſpoiled all; his Majeſty would not be always in'fluenced by him, but would take ſhort turns on his 'toe, and ſo fruſtrate his projects: and by that, 'finding he could not work under him, ſtrove, if 'poſſible, to reduce his authority, and get above 'him. It ſeems, by what was given out, that he 'would not have hurt the King perſonally, but kept 'him tame in a cage with his ordinary pleaſures 'about him.' C.

(50) State Trials, vol. iii. p. 418.
(51) North's Examen, p. 111.
(52) See the third part of No Proteſtant Plot, ſaid to be written by the famous Robert Ferguſon.
(53) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 509. Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 108.
(54) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 506.
(55) North's Examen, p. 112. Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 107, 108.
(56) In a quarto pamphlet, intituled, A Packet of Advices and Animadverſions, ſent from London to the men of Shafteſbury, which is of uſe for all his Majeſty's ſubjects in the three Kingdoms, London, 1676.
(57) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 721, 722, 723.
(58) See the Preface to Dryden's Poem upon the Medal.
(59) North's Examen, p. 42. Life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 331.
(60) North's Examen, p. 60.
(61) Character of King Charles II. p. 5.
(62) See his Letter to the King, at the end of Locke's Memoirs concerning the Earl's Life.
(63) North's Examen, p. 119.

**** [In the preceding narrative, there are two errors in point of fact, which require to be noticed. It is ſaid that, in 1643, Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper was High Sheriff of the county of Dorſet, and choſe in that quality, rather than by virtue of any military commiſſion, to raiſe the whole ſtrength of the county, in the cauſe of the King and the Conſtitution. But it appears, from the Rolls of Dorſetſhire, which have been examined by a near relation of the family, that this account is not true. The miſtake, of Sir Anthony's having been High Sheriff that year, aroſe from the active part which he then took in the public tranſactions of the county, as related in the article.

Another error, far leſs natural, and more eaſy to be avoided, but which, nevertheleſs, has been adopted by all his Biographers, is, that in 1645 he was High Sheriff of Norfolk. But with that county he had no connection, nor had he any property in it; ſo that he could have no pretenſion to exerciſe there the office deſcribed. The fact is, that the Sheriff of Norfolk at the time ſpecified was Sir Jacob Aſtley, afterwards created Lord Aſtley.

Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, firſt Earl of Shafteſbury, was ſo diſtinguiſhed by his abilities and character, was advanced to ſuch high ſtations, and took ſo active a part in the public tranſactions of his time, that his name frequently occurs in all the general hiſtories of that period. Few, however, of the hiſtorical works that have lately been produced, record any other facts concerning him than thoſe which are mentioned by the writers of the laſt century. We only meet with different repreſentations of his character, according to the reſpective views and ſentiments of the authors by whom his actions are related. The hiſtorian from whom we derive the moſt of what appears to be new with regard to the Earl of Shafteſbury, is Sir John Dalrymple. This Gentleman has aſcertained two circumſtances concerning him, which redound not a little to his honour. In the firſt place, Sir John has

great rejoicings were made upon his Lordſhip's acquittal and diſcharge, and a MEDAL was alſo ſtruck upon that occaſion, which gave a ſubject to the ſatyric muſe of Mr. Dryden, whoſe poem under that title is thought not at all inferior to any of his writings; which however decides nothing as to the fact, ſince Poets do not always ſucceed beſt upon the baſis of truth or reaſon (*i*). The Earl, as ſoon as he was at liberty, endeavoured to vindicate himſelf by law, and brought an action againſt one Mr. Cradock, for ſpeaking of him as a traytor. A rule however being made upon the motion of the defendant, that the trial ſhould not be had before a Jury either of London or Middleſex, but in any other county that his Lordſhip ſhould chuſe, he thought fit to diſcontinue his ſuit (*k*). He reſided for many

(*i*) Dryden's Original Poems and Tranſlations, p. 289. Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 389.

(*k*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 122.

has clearly proved, that the Earl, though he is always reckoned one of the cabal, had no concern in the iniquitous treaty which King Charles the Second entered into with the court of France in 1670, and by which he became a penſioner to Lewis the Fourteenth. The only members of the cabal who were privy to this treaty, were Lord Clifford and the Earl of Arlington; and it was conducted by the Lord Arundel of Wardour (64). Secondly, in the liſts which Sir John Dalrymple has given of thoſe Gentlemen who are ſaid to have received ſums of money from the French court, Lord Shafteſbury's name does not appear. Indeed, it is certain, from the beſt authority, that he refuſed large offers from that court; and his integrity in this reſpect is acknowledged by our hiſtorian (65). Whatever were the Earl's faults, he was above being bribed to act againſt the intereſts of his country; nor would he condeſcend to accept of any gratifications from the King of France, even when others of his party thought they might honeſtly do it, for the purpoſe of more effectually oppoſing the arbitrary deſigns of Charles the Second.—Another circumſtance redounding to Lord Shafteſbury's honour, mentioned by Sir John Dalrymple, is, that his Lordſhip promoted the *Habeas Corpus* Act, that great palladium of the perſonal liberty of the ſubject (66).—Sir John has, likewiſe, taken notice of a remarkable inſtance of the Earl's popularity, in the latter part of his Life. This was in 1681, when the Grand Jury returned *ignoramus* to the Bill for High Treaſon that had been preferred againſt him; at which time the acclamations in the court were ſo great as to laſt an hour (67).

(64) Dalrymple's Review of Events after the Reſtoration, p. 29, 30.

(65) Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. p. 325. Part i.

(66) Review, *ubi ſupra*, p. 57.

(67) Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 4. note.

In theſe few things Sir John Dalrymple has borne an honourable teſtimony to Lord Shafteſbury's memory; but, in almoſt every other reſpect, he has been very ſevere upon his Lordſhip, and hath not only retailed the charges commonly urged againſt his character, but has loaded it with freſh accuſations. Speaking of his being raiſed to the Peerage, upon the Reſtoration, Sir John ſays, that it was an honour afterwards ill requited by him (68): but ſurely the dignity conferred upon Aſhley Cooper could afford no juſt reaſon why he ſhould not oppoſe the meaſures of Charles the Second, when he found them to be arbitrary and tyrannical. Another point animadverted upon, is Lord Aſhley's having aſſiſted at the trial of the Regicides. "The moſt cruel circumſtance," obſerves our Hiſtorian, "in the trial of theſe perſons was, that ſeveral of the popular party, of whom Aſhley Cooper was one, ſate as their judges, and doomed them to die for that rebellion to which they had incited them (69)." Though we are far from approving of Lord Aſhley's conduct on this occaſion, we think, at the ſame time, that it was by no means ſo malignant as is here repreſented. There is ſomething unjuſt in thus ſingling out his particular name, and expoſing it to cenſure, when others were equally guilty, and ought, therefore, to have been mentioned. But it is not a fact that Lord Aſhley doomed the Regicides to die for a rebellion to which he had incited them. He did not himſelf engage in the parliamentary cauſe till his endeavours to ſerve the King had, through miſrepreſentation, proved wholly ineffectual. When he did engage in that cauſe, he continued in arms but a very little time; and there is not the leaſt ſhadow of a reaſon for believing that any of the perſons in queſtion were influenced by him in the part they took againſt Charles the Firſt. Beſides, it was not for their being concerned in the grand rebellion (as it is commonly called) that he joined in condemning them, but for their having been Regicides; for their having been the active and immediate inſtruments in bringing the King to the block; an event which Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, in conjunction with the reſt of the Preſbyterians, muſt have regarded with the utmoſt abhorrence.

(68) Review, *ubi ſupra*, p. 20.

(69) *Ibid.* p. 21.

In the progreſs of his hiſtory, Sir John Dalrymple aſſerts, without heſitation, that it was by the advice of the Earl of Shafteſbury that Charles the Second ſeized the iſſues of the Exchequer (70). He aſcribes to the Earl all the unconſtitutional meaſures which had been adopted previouſly to his putting himſelf at the head of the oppoſition to the court (71); and yet Sir John had before acknowledged that his Lordſhip, while in power, was ſupported by the people, becauſe he pretended a reverence for their rights (72). Nay, our hiſtorian has not ſcrupled to repreſent Lord Shafteſbury as the contriver of the Popiſh Plot. His note upon the ſubject is too curious to be omitted. "It has been much doubted," ſays he, "whether "Shafteſbury contrived the Popiſh Plot, or if he "only made uſe of it, after it broke out. Some "papers I have ſeen convince me he contrived it, "though the perſons he made uſe of as informers ran "beyond their inſtructions. The common objection "to the ſuppoſition of his contriving the plot, is, "the abſurdity of its circumſtances. When Shafteſ"bury himſelf was preſſed with regard to that ab"ſurdity, he made an anſwer which ſhows equally "the depth and the irregularity of his genius. An "account of it is in North's Examen, p. 95. "'A "certain Lord of his confidence in Parliament, once "aſked him what he intended to do with the plot, "which was ſo full of nonſenſe as would ſcarce go "down with *tantum non* ideots: what then could he "propoſe by preſſing the belief of it upon men of "common ſenſe, and eſpecially in Parliament."— "It is no matter," ſaid he, "the more nonſenſical "the better: if we cannot bring them to ſwallow "worſe nonſenſe than that, we ſhall never do any "good with them (73).'" It is much to be lamented that Sir John Dalrymple has not produced the papers which convinced him that the Earl of Shafteſbury was the contriver of the Popiſh Plot. Amidſt all the curious and valuable letters and memorials which compoſe the ſecond volume of Sir John's publication, nothing could have been of greater importance than the production of theſe papers. If they had been publiſhed, and if they had been found undeniably to aſcertain the fact which Sir John Dalrymple ſuppoſes them to prove, they would not only have for ever fixed, without controverſy, the flagitiouſneſs of Lord Shafteſbury's character, but would have cleared up one of the moſt obſcure and intricate parts of the Engliſh hiſtory. As to the anecdote related by Roger North, it does not come up to the point; not to mention that he was a very prejudiced writer, and that every one, who is acquainted with the world, knows what little ſtreſs is often to be laid on the ſtories which are told on the authority of certain Lords, or other nameleſs perſons. Till, therefore, the papers in queſtion ſhall be produced, and till it ſhall appear that they contain not merely ſurmizes, but undoubted facts, we muſt be permitted to pay no regard to Sir John Dalrymple's opinion. It is acknowledged, that the Earl of Shafteſbury proſecuted, with great violence, the perſons who were accuſed of being concerned in the Popiſh Plot; nor have we any intention of attempting to vindicate his conduct in this reſpect. At the ſame time, we perceive

(70) *Ibid.* p. 33.

(71) *Ibid.* p. 35.

(72) *Ibid.* p. 32.

(73) *Ibid.* p. 43. note.

(74) Hiſtory of England, vol. p. 282.

(75) *Ibid.* p. 424.

many years at Thanet Houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet; but finding his health decay, his ſpirits declining, and the times growing ſtill more and more tempeſtuous, to which we may add, that thoſe who were his bittereſt enemies were now in the zenith of their power, he thought it high time to ſeek for ſome place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the ſmall remainder of his life in peace (*l*). It was with this view, that in the month of November, 1682, he embarked for Holland, and arriving ſafely at Amſterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a houſe there, propoſing to live in a manner ſuitable to his quality, being viſited by perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and treated with all the deference and reſpect that he could deſire; but being ſeized by his old

(*l*) Kennet's and Echard's Hiſtories.

ceive no ſufficient reaſon for queſtioning his belief in the reality of that plot. In ſuch a belief, however miſtaken it might be, he only concurred in ſentiment with the wiſeſt and beſt men of that period, with the nation in general, and with the ſolemn declarations of the two Houſes of Parliament. That he was the contriver of the plot appears to us to be altogether incredible. If this had been the caſe, how could a fact ſo atrocious and important have eſcaped, for ſuch a length of time, the moſt complete detection? No one had more bitter enemies than the Earl of Shafteſbury; and they would have rejoiced in every opportunity of expoſing his character and actions. Nor would ſuch an opportunity have been wanting, if he had been guilty of the crime with which he is charged. The plot grew into diſcredit; ſeveral of the informers, and particularly Titus Oates, were ſeverely puniſhed for the teſtimonies they had given; and yet it never appeared, in the courſe of the evidence, that the contrivance of this famous conſpiracy originated in Lord Shafteſbury. We have much perſonal reſpect for Sir John Dalrymple, and are fully ſenſible of the value of the hiſtorical information contained in his memoirs; but we muſt be permitted to ſay, that he is ſometimes too precipitate in his deciſions.

Since the preceding reflections were written, we have had the pleaſure of finding them confirmed by the opinion of Mrs. Macaulay Graham. This ingenious Lady obſerves in general, that the whole plot contains ſuch low abſurdities and palpable contradictions, that it is impoſſible it could be invented, or adopted by any man of parts or education (74); and with regard to Lord Shafteſbury in particular, ſhe has the following remark. He "has been accuſed of forging the circumſtances of the Popiſh Plot. But in all our hiſtorical reſearches, we cannot find any traces either of the Earl's having been the original contriver of thoſe circumſtances depoſed by Oates and Bedloe, or even of aggravating the contrivance of others: and if this had been the caſe, it is impoſſible, conſidering the low and corrupt characters of the witneſſes, and the malicious vigilance of the court, that he ſhould have eſcaped detection (75)."

(74) Hiſtory of England, vol. vii. p. 282.

(75) *Ibid.* p. 423, 424.

The ſame juſtly celebrated female hiſtorian has made a ſeries of reflections on the Popiſh Plot, which are ſo impartial and judicious, that the inſertion of them will probably afford a gratification to our readers. Nor can they be regarded as foreign to the ſubject of the preſent article, ſince Lord Shafteſbury took ſo active and capital a part in the proceedings relative to the plot.

"It is, ſays Mrs. Macaulay Graham, the violence, the virulence, and the want of candour in all parties, which have deceived the judgment of all the hiſtorians who have written on theſe times. Mr. Hume enumerates every circumſtance which is the moſt favourable to the Papiſts, without making any mention of all thoſe variety of incidents which confirmed the doubts even of the moſt ſcrupulous men of theſe times, and led them to believe, that many circumſtances of the plot were true, though many were added, and others much magnified; and then he pronounces, that the party formed againſt the King and his brother were compoſed of a populace ſo credulous from prejudice, ſo blended with religious antipathy, as implicitly to believe the moſt palpable abſurdities, and conducted by leaders ſo little ſcrupulous, as to endeavour, by encouraging perjury, ſubornation, lies, impoſtures, and even by ſhedding innocent blood, to gratify their own furious ambition, and ſubvert all legal authority. That there are ſuch individuals in all parties, to the ſhame of human nature, it muſt be acknowledged. But Mr. Hume, who makes very ſlight animadverſions on the depraved conduct of the other party, of the wicked uſe they made of witneſſes, whom they acknowledged to have been corrupt and perjured, might have taken into conſideration that unhappy facility which attends all vulgar characters, in the believing every report which they wiſh to believe; and, in particular, if ſuch report ſhould gratify the views of avarice, ambition, or the keener feelings of reſentment: that the Earl of Shafteſbury, and ſeveral others, were at this time well acquainted with the intentions on foot, not only to procure a toleration, but a re-eſtabliſhment of Popery in this kingdom as the national religion, and that, with the deſire of giving a general alarm to the public, they might be led to believe that there was ſomething at bottom more black than appeared on the ſurface of things, and which might induce them to go on in their endeavours to unravel the myſtery; and that even the manifold inconſiſtencies and abſurdities contained in the narratives, inſtead of diſcouraging them, might ſerve only as farther incentives to diſcover the bottom of the plot, and might be conſidered as objections which a more complete information would fully remove.

"Theſe are the grounds of juſtification, or at leaſt palliation, for the warmth with which the popular leaders proſecuted the plot, which may lead to ſome uſeful obſervations, that may aſſiſt us to unravel that maze of intricate circumſtances and incidents, which, by their oppoſition to each other, hold the judgment in ſuſpenſe, and prevent the candid mind from proceeding to any deciſive determination on this very obſcure part of the Engliſh hiſtory. It is to be remembered, that Charles had not only favoured all the ambitious views of France, but had actually entered into a conſpiracy with the French court, to deſtroy one of the chief ſupports of the Proteſtant intereſt, in the reduction of the United Provinces: that he had actually ſupported that part of the demands of France, which provided for the re-eſtabliſhment of Popery in Holland, by refuſing to make a peace with the States General, till they had complied with all the exorbitant conditions offered by the haughty Lewis: that he had actually entered into a treaty, by which that monarch was to ſupply him with men and arms to ſubdue the liberties of his own ſubjects, and to re-eſtabliſh Popery in England; and that he had pledged his faith, to avow to the whole world his own converſion to the ſee of Rome: that his brother, the preſumptive heir to the crown, had, with more integrity, though leſs policy, avowed his converſion: that both the brothers had married Papiſts, and by their reſpective marriage contracts, the Romiſh religion was openly celebrated in the royal palaces of England: that by the legal protection given to the family prieſts, and the connivance to other individuals of this order without number, to frequent the metropolis, and diſperſe themſelves all over the kingdom, the great work of converſion was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, and with ſuch countenance from the court, that it alarmed the fears of the church, and induced them to put the nation on their guard againſt the impending evil. With theſe apparent dangers the Duke of York, and his Secretary, with other inferior emiſſaries, were employed in carrying on criminal correſpondences with the courts of Rome and Paris, to take advantage of the favourable criſis, and to lend their aſſiſtance towards the rooting out the peſtilent northern hereſy. The Jeſuits in England had their corre-

old diſtemper the gout, it ſpeedily flew up into his ſtomach, and ſoon became mortal; ſo that he expired on the twenty-ſecond of Jan. 1682-3, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age (*m*.) His

(*m*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 125. Compl. Hiſt. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 400. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 158.

correſpondence with the brotherhood all over Europe; and, with their patron in Rome, under whoſe authority, and by whoſe direction they proceeded in all things, had their ſtated times and places of rendezvous, had held their general aſſembly, agreeably to ſummons, on the very ſame day in April, mentioned by Oates, in the Duke of York's own houſe, according to what this Prince confeſſed to Sir John Reresby: and, in addition to theſe circumſtances, the Ducheſs of York, to cover the retreat of thoſe prieſts and jeſuits who were deepeſt in the ſecret, made a private voyage to Holland. It is affirmed in one of the trials of the Papiſts, that Ewers, who is often and very materially mentioned in Dugdale's evidence, was one of theſe prieſts; and candour muſt acknowledge, that it is difficult to conceive why a Secretary of State ſhould order the Mayor of Dover to arreſt and detain Norris, together with his companion, unleſs it was apprehended that the party had ſtill ſome ſecrets not known to the public. From all theſe circumſtances it is highly probable that Oates, though not ſo much in the confidence of the leaders of the party as to be entruſted with any plans or ſchemes which they had formed for the entire converſion of the Engliſh, and the bringing its Church into obedience to the See of Rome, had heard enough from the inferior emiſſaries to be convinced, that there was ſome grand deſign carrying on, which was to be fatal to the Proteſtant cauſe, and that ſtirred up by reſentment for the contempt with which he was treated, and the poverty in which he was ſuffered to remain, he had made up in invention for the want of knowledge of particulars; and that Bedloe and the whole crew of informers, had all grounded their ſeveral depoſitions on what they had obſerved to be the common talk and expectations of the party, viz. that Proteſtantiſm in England would be ſoon extirpated, and the Romiſh religion prevail. Turberville, ſome time before he thought of following the trade of a witneſs, told Dr. Lloyd, afterwards Biſhop of St. Aſaph, that this opinion was current among all the Papiſts; alſo that a great deal of blood would be ſhed before it could be brought about; and all the converts from Popery, whether they acted the part of witneſſes, or not, frequently mentioned this circumſtance in their private diſcourſe.

"It is poſſible that the moſt extraordinary and the moſt incredible parts of the depoſitions might ariſe from the extravagant conceits of the inferior Papiſts, who endeavoured in this manner to account for the ſanguine hopes which their leaders had of rooting out, in a ſhort time, the northern hereſy; and, in regard to the evidence ſo circumſtantially given in of the deſign of killing the King, it is more than probable that it aroſe from ſome very imprudent expreſſions of a warm reſentment which the party had conceived againſt his Majeſty, for the having broken his word in regard to the avowing his converſion, and the taking meaſures for the re-eſtabliſhment of Popery, according to his treaty with France; and the continual aſſertion, that his Majeſty had deceived them, I think may very fairly be applied to the King's having taken the money from France on this pretence, and the afterwards refuſing to fulfil the conditions on which the money was given.

"Can any man of candour ſay, that a conſpiracy to re-eſtabliſh Popery as the national religion is not proved by Charles's firſt treaty with France, and by Coleman's letters? and will not any man of candour acknowledge, that ſuch a conſpiracy was juſtly the object of public concern? All the injuſtice, therefore, which accompanied the proſecution of the plot lay in the iniquity of the bench, and in the iniquity of thoſe who endeavoured to divert the ſtorm of public reſentment from the proper objects to the inferior emiſſaries. With ſuch encouragement as the King's being a concealed, and his brother an avowed Papiſt, this ſect muſt, agreeably to their religious opinions, have acted criminally if they had not made a full uſe of the opportunity to deſtroy hereſy and reſtore the ancient conſtitution of the Church of Chriſt: and though the corruptions of intereſt might mix with the deſigns of the leaders, the generality of the party were, undoubtedly, actuated by the laudable motives of conſcience and pious zeal. All the criminality lay on the ſide of the King and his brother, who, by the baſeſt treachery and the moſt flagrant breach of truſt, had formed a conſpiracy againſt thoſe people whom they were bound by every law, human and divine, to protect. It was againſt them and againſt them only, that the reſentment of the nation could, with any degree of juſtice, fall. To reduce their power within ſafe and ſalutary bounds, ſhould have been the general and particular concern of every ſect of Proteſtants; and to this grand object the wiſdom of Parliament ought to have been alone directed. But in any attempts of this nature it is plain that the Commons would have been forſaken by the High Church-party and the Houſe of Lords; and in conſequence of ſuch a deſertion by the majority of the nation. In this light we are to conſider the Popiſh ſufferers as victims ſacrificed by the court to appeaſe the wrath of the people; and, on the other ſide, as victims to the policy of the deep intriguers in the oppoſition, to expoſe the guilt of the court. The ways, it muſt be acknowledged, to obtain this end, by procuring evidence through the temptation of a reward, were infamous: yet, to the reproach of modern times, this ſnare for the lives of the innocent, and for the conſciences of the corrupt, is a practice which ſtill prevails in the adminiſtration of Government, and is ſtill ſupported by the wiſdom of the bench, as a lawful, a laudable, and a neceſſary expedient to obtain juſtice on public delinquents (76)."

(76) Hiſtory of England, vol. vii. p. 283—289.

To return to Sir John Dalrymple: that hiſtorian, in ſome other reſpects, bears very hard upon the memory of Lord Shafteſbury, and not always, in our opinion, with ſufficient reaſon. In his account of the Earl's death, he ſays, on the authority of a letter written from Holland, that he was full of ſuſpicions and fears; that he would not ſleep, except in his cloaths, that he might be ready to ſtart up; and that the paſſions which agitated him muſt have made a ſtrong impreſſion upon thoſe who ſaw him; for they imagined, that, even when he ſlept, he kept his eyes open (77). Sir John, however, has afterwards acknowledged, that he laid an undue ſtreſs upon this letter; and that if he had known the character of the writer, (one Maſſal) to have been ſo bad as he ſince found it to have been, he certainly ſhould not have given credit to any thing ſaid by him (78).

(77) Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. i. p. 25.

(78) Memoirs, &c. vol. ii. Appendix to the Review of Events, p. 325.

Mrs. Macaulay Graham in ſeveral reſpects follows Sir John Dalrymple, in the accounts ſhe occaſionally gives of Lord Shafteſbury's conduct; though in others ſhe differs from that hiſtorian. One inſtance to this purpoſe we have already ſeen. Another occurs in her repreſentation of the motives by which the Earl was actuated in quitting the ſervice of King Charles the Second; and as ſhe has hence taken occaſion to enter pretty largely into a deſcription of her views of his Lordſhip's character, we ſhall tranſcribe the paſſage.

"At this period of time, ſays ſhe, the Earl of Shafteſbury's conduct is ſo myſterious, that it has given riſe to various conjectures, which appear almoſt equally improbable and groundleſs. It has been repreſented by ſome writers, that he was diſguſted by the King's timidity, and was determined to abandon the ſervice of a Prince who had not the reſolution to carry any hazardous enterprize into execution; by others, that he was offended with the not having his irregular writs ſupported by the royal authority; and ſome of the royaliſts carry their prejudices ſo far as to aſſert, that he had conceived a hatred to the royal brothers, and entered into the intrigues of the court, with the intention of betraying its councils, of expoſing it to the reſentment of the injured public, and thus laying the foundation of ſuch jealouſies between the King and his people, as might end in the change of government, or in renewing thoſe civil diſtractions which

His body being embalmed was tranſported to England, and the corps being landed at Poole in Dorſetſhire, the Gentlemen of that county, out of their extraordinary regard to his memory,

which he had found favourable to his views of intereſt and ambition.

"The aſſertion, that Shafteſbury was diſguſted with the King's timidity, is, I think, contradicted by plain matters of fact; which ſhew that his Majeſty kept firm to his purpoſe of ſubduing the refractory ſpirit of Parliament, till after the period when Shafteſbury, by a bold and unexpected ſtroke of policy, threw off the odium he had incurred from his intrigues with the court, and ſecured his perſonal ſafety by a timely oppoſition to thoſe meaſures which he had approved in the cabinet. That Shafteſbury ſhould take any great offence at the want of ſupport to his irregular writs, is not very likely; becauſe the King had, as far as lay in his power, exculpated his Miniſter, by declaring to the Parliament that they were iſſued in obedience to his command; and the laſt aſſertion ſtands on no grounds of probability, ſince it is plain, that the Earl had not imbibed any of thoſe republican prejudices which war againſt a tranquil ſubmiſſion to the government of an individual, or any of thoſe fixed notions in religious matters which could tend to the making him uneaſy under the legal eſtabliſhment. It was from the provocation of a perſonal diſguſt only, that he firſt left the royal party. He had been patronized by Cromwell, and was a firm ſupporter of his uſurpation: he was active in the introducing monarchy again into the kingdom; was raiſed by the reigning family to the dignity of a Peer; and his ſervices, as had been thoſe of many of the warm royaliſts, were not forgotten: on theſe reaſons he could have no provocations adequate to the contracting ſuch a deep reſentment againſt the royal brothers, as ſhould engage him in ſuch dark and dangerous projects of revenge.

"It appears from the whole tenour of Shafteſbury's conduct, that he was a turbulent and an ambitious man; that he prized his perſonal power and intereſt ſuperior to any of thoſe objects which affect the general happineſs; but he was incapable of that mean avarice which ſubjects men to criminal and diſhonourable actions, on the lucre of pecuniary gain, and was the only individual of the Cabal who refuſed the accepting a bribe from the French King. As the Earl of Shafteſbury's abilities were great, his expectations were ſanguine; and in all probability he entered into the treaty with France, in the hopes, by ſuch a compliance with the King's favourite project, to direct the counſels of the cabinet, and become the ſole Miniſter.

"The whimſical and abſurd deſign of altering the religion of the country, the folly and extravagance of which Shafteſbury's underſtanding would immediately have pointed out, he was an entire ſtranger to: the ſcheme of ſubduing Holland, and lulling the ſuſpicions of the nation aſleep, on the King's growing greatneſs, by national acquiſitions, though highly criminal, did not in ſpeculation appear impracticable; and the authority of the Prince is never terrible to an ambitious Miniſter, who is flattered with the idea that he ſhall be able to render it perſonal to himſelf.

"On this view of the ſubject, Shafteſbury engaged in the attempt of ſubverting the conſtitution of his country, with all that daring ſpirit of enterprize which is peculiar to men who are ſenſible of the ſuperiority of their genius; and he was undoubtedly encouraged in the undertaking by the divided ſtate of the nation; the perſecution under which the Non-Conformiſts groaned, which would readily incline them to ſupport that power which offered them protection; the important conceſſions made to the prerogative; the compliant, if not corrupt, conduct of the Parliament; and that general ſpirit of ſubmiſſion which poſſeſſed the whole nation.

"The very unexpected ill ſucceſs of the war, which occaſioned the neceſſity of applying to the Parliament before the progreſs of power was brought to a ſufficient maturity, the Duke's injudicious declaration of his religion, which explained to the whole nation the meaning of that myſterious conduct in Government which had puzzled the politicians, and, in all probability, diſcovered to Shafteſbury the ſecret intentions of the treaty, gave a very different aſpect to affairs than what the firſt appearances had carried; and in addition to theſe reaſons for altering the plan of his conduct, the Earl of Shafteſbury found himſelf engaged in the moſt hazardous enterprize, with men whoſe abilities were inferior to his own, who were envious of each other's intereſt with the King, who were not united by any tie of mutual confidence, who were quarrelling among themſelves, and who had all more the ear of the Sovereign than the Chancellor, who had the mortification to find himſelf not equal in royal favour with the rake Buckingham, the impetuous bigot Clifford, or that dull, yet profligate tool of power, Lauderdale. Theſe were undoubtedly ſufficient reaſons for the Earl of Shafteſbury to take ſhelter under the ſhield of popularity, from thoſe evils which an inferior underſtanding could eaſily foreſee. By his not carrying his courtſhip to the popular party ſo far as to part with his high office, it appears that he intended, either by favour or fear, to preſerve, if poſſible, his place in the Adminiſtration, and to direct his future conduct on the principles of preferment, or fierce oppoſition, as times and incidents ſhould adviſe (79)."

(79) Hiſtory of England, vol. vi. p. 410—414.

In the relation of the Earl of Shafteſbury's death, Mrs. Macaulay Graham has inadvertently been led to copy Sir John Dalrymple's miſtaken account of that tranſaction; and ſhe has accompanied her narration with a reflection on his Lordſhip, which we muſt regard as more ſevere than juſt. "His furious "temper," ſays ſhe, "united to his great capacity, "had done the cauſe of liberty and the friends of the "conſtitution ſo much miſchief, that he may juſtly "be ſaid to be the author of that ſhort-lived, though "ruinous power of the royal brothers, which proved "ſo fatal to the moſt illuſtrious characters of the age: "an eminent proof that the love of action, ſo inſeparable to exalted virtue, is a very miſchievous "quality when it is not governed by benevolence "and diſcretion; and that when the mind is left a "prey to the tyranny of unruly paſſions, the extent "of mental abilities and the vigour of imagination, "by exalting our deſires, and enlarging our power "of committing evil, and attracting the envy of "mankind, becomes a real misfortune, and ſerves "only to render us more diſtinguiſhed, though leſs "pitied objects of wretchedneſs (80)." A little after, our female hiſtorian expreſſes herſelf with greater candour, and, in our opinion, with greater truth. "It is alſo proper," ſhe ſays, "to obſerve, "conſidering the manner in which the Earl's cha"racter has been blackened, and the many faults "which it is neceſſary for an hiſtorian to have ob"ſerved in his conduct, that whilſt he poſſeſſed the "high office of Chancellor, his decrees were equally "remarkable for juſtice and integrity; and as he "was the only man among the Cabal who had a "ſufficient ſenſe of honour to withſtand the corrup"tions of French bribery, even when countenanced "by the example, and encouraged by the permiſ"ſion of his Sovereign, it may juſtly be inferred, "that the exceptionable and vicious part of his con"duct, as a Miniſter and Patriot, neither lay in the "baſeneſs of his heart, or the defect of his judgment; "and that the keen and galling paſſions of ambition "and revenge, were the great corruptors of a noble "nature (81)."

(80) *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 423.

(81) *Ibid.* p. 424.

Mr. Macpherſon's character of the Earl of Shafteſbury, whether ſtrictly juſt or not, muſt be allowed to be drawn with a maſterly hand. It occurs in the account which that hiſtorian gives of the Cabal. "The Lord Aſhley," ſays he, "whoſe name ſtands "fourth in the Committee, was firſt in abilities and "extraordinary talents. Bound by no principle, "and reſtrained by no ties, his uncommon parts "having room to play, appeared in their utmoſt "force to the world. Bold and intrepid in his "counſels, yet full of addreſs in his manner, he could

mory, came uninvited, and accompanied it to Winborne St. Giles's, where he was interred with his anceſtors (*n*); and, in 1732, a noble monument, with a large inſcription to his honour,

(*n*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 125.

" execute with confidence, whatever he had planned " with art. Naturally reſtleſs in his temper, he loved " trouble from its amuſement, and though ambi- " tious, was fond of confuſion, more as a field of " action, than as the means of acquiring power. His " knowledge of human nature was very extenſive. " He was acquainted with the tempers of men, and " commanded them through the channel of their " ruling paſſions. Without the reputation of con- " ſtancy, he gained the confidence of parties through " their opinion of his talents; and though he de- " ſerted meaſures frequently, he never betrayed his " friends. He was an eloquent ſpeaker; but more " ſubtle in his argument, than ſolid in his judgment; " indefatigable in buſineſs, but verſatile and change- " able in his ſchemes. Meaſuring the rules of policy " by his own variable paſſions, he was attached to no " political principle, to no particular ſyſtem of go- " vernment. Now a republican, now all for mo- " narchy; to-day a ſupporter of liberty, to-morrow " the ſlave of abſolute power: and thus, though re- " gularly under the dominion of his inſatiable de- " ſires, he ſeemed always inconſiſtent with himſelf. " During the firſt years of Charles, the attachment " of the nation to their Sovereign deprived him of a " field for exerting his abilities, which were only " calculated to ſhine in times of tumult and confu- " ſion. He continued in office, more through the " influence of the Earl of Southampton, whoſe niece " he had married, than from any opinion of his po- " litical conſequence. When Buckingham acquired " influence, he attached himſelf to his counſels; and " this near approach to Charles, was the means of " diſcovering to him talents, which he deemed ſuit- " able for executing his ſchemes (82)."

(82) Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 134, 135.

Of all the writers that have characteriſed the Earl of Shafteſbury, Mr. Horace Walpole is the moſt ſevere. This Gentleman, after his account of the Earl of Rocheſter, thus introduces the ſubject of the preſent article. " As Lord Rocheſter was immerſed " only in the vices of that reign, his was an innocent " character compared to thoſe who were plunged in " its crimes. A great weight of the latter fell to the " ſhare of the Lord in queſtion, who had canted " tyranny under Cromwell, practiſed it under " Charles the Second, and who diſgraced the cauſe " of liberty by being the buſieſt inſtrument for it, " when every other party had rejected him. It was " the weakeſt vanity in him to brag that Cromwell " would have made him King: the beſt he could " hope for was not to be believed; if true, it only " proved that Cromwell took him for a fool. That " he ſhould have acted in the trials of the Regicides " was but agreeable to his character—or to his want " of it. Let us haſten to his works: he was rather a " copious writer for faction than an author; for in no " light can one imagine that he wiſhed to be re- " membered." Mr. Walpole, after giving a liſt of the Earl's writings, which conſiſt chiefly of ſpeeches made in Parliament, concludes as follows. " One " cannot but obſerve with concern what I have be- " fore remarked, that writing the life of a man is " too apt to inſtill partiality for the ſubject. The " hiſtory of Lord Shafteſbury in the Biographia is " almoſt a panegyric; whereas a bon-mot of the Earl " himſelf was his trueſt character. Charles the " ſecond ſaid to him one day; " Shafteſbury, I be- " lieve thou art the wickedeſt fellow in my domi- " nions." He bowed, and replied, " Of a ſubject, " Sir, I believe I am (83)."

(83) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England, vol. ii. p. 48, 49. 56.

Such is the account which Mr. Walpole has given of the Earl of Shafteſbury; and it will eaſily be imagined, that we have not inſerted it by way of approbation, but of cenſure. Nor could even a ſevere cenſure of it be imputed either to a want of juſtice or of candour. Mr. Walpole, who is ſo exquiſite a judge of painting, ought to have underſtood better the drawing of a moral picture, the delineation of a character. In his repreſentation, the Earl appears not only deſtitute of virtue, but of ability: and yet his Lordſhip's bittereſt enemies have acknowledged, that his talents were of the firſt order. They have equally acknowledged, that he never betrayed his friends, and that he ſtood firm againſt the allurements of bribery. As to the ſtory of his bragging that Cromwell would have made him King, let thoſe believe it, who are capable of giving credit to all the partial and prejudiced anecdotes, which, upon very doubtful authority, have been recorded to his diſadvantage.

Extremely different is the treatment which the Earl of Shafteſbury has received from the judicious Rapin. That hiſtorian, while he relates the actions of the Earl with fidelity, whether favourable or unfavourable to his memory, has accompanied his narration with reflections which are equally the dictates of truth and of candour. Upon occaſion of his Lordſhip's quitting the ſervice of the court, and becoming the leader of the oppoſition, M. Rapin has made the following remarks.

" The Earl of Shafteſbury from this time was always in the head of the country party, and cauſed the King to undergo great mortifications, as will hereafter appear. But I muſt give here a very material caution to thoſe who read father Orleans's hiſtory, or ſuch Engliſh or foreign authors as eſpouſe the King's cauſe. All theſe writers paint the Earl of Shafteſbury in very black colours. He was, according to them, the greateſt villain that ever lived; his wickedneſs was anſwerable to the extent of his genius, and the depth of his penetration. He was perpetually contriving how to torment the King and Duke of York, or rather to ruin them irrecoverably. He was not only the head but the ſoul, of his party, by which they were actuated. In ſhort, every thing tranſacted afterwards by the Parliament againſt the King, is ſolely imputed to him, and it is artfully inſinuated, that, had it not been for ſuch an agent, the nation would have remained in tranquility, and the Parliament, content with the King's favourable anſwers, and gracious promiſes, would have been quiet, and attempted nothing againſt the court. Thus, according to theſe writers, all the meaſures and precautions taken afterwards by the Parliament againſt the deſigns of the court, were entirely owing to Shafteſbury's malice and revenge. It is eaſy to perceive, that their deſign is to cauſe to vaniſh the grounds of the Parliament's fear and complaint of the conduct of the court, by inſinuating, that theſe complaints were frivolous, and the effects of Shafteſbury's vengeance, who, they ſay, directed both Houſes of Parliament, or rather had them entirely at command. For my part, I am no way concerned to vindicate the Earl of Shafteſbury's honour, but believe myſelf obliged to remark, for the more eaſy diſcovery of the truth, that the project of the Cabal to render the King abſolute, and introduce Popery, is of unqueſtionable certainty. The authors juſt mentioned, ſcruple not to own it, and ſhould they deny it, the thing would not be leſs true. Conſequently the Parliament coming to a full and exact knowledge of this deſign, which was only ſuſpected before, had all the reaſon in the world for their fear and caution againſt the King and his Miniſters. This being granted, let the Earl of Shafteſbury have been a villain, or an honeſt man; let him have betrayed the King's ſecrets, and acted only through a ſpirit of revenge; let his fear of the Parliament be the ſole motive of his engaging in the country party againſt the King; or let him have acted from a principle of honour and duty, in order to ſave the Church and State, the thing itſelf remains the ſame. The good or bad qualities of the Earl of Shafteſbury did not cauſe the Parliament to have more or leſs reaſon to fear the deſigns of the King and his Miniſters. If they were prejudicial to religion and the ſtate, as cannot be denied, the Parliament had reaſon to take the beſt meaſures to prevent them. Why therefore are theſe meaſures, theſe precautions, aſcribed to Shafteſbury's malice and artifices, ſince there was another and more natural cauſe. Before the Earl of Shafteſbury appeared in the party contrary to the court, the Parlia-

honour, was erected by his worthy deſcendant, the late Earl of Shafteſbury (o). His Lordſhip married three wives; the firſt, Margaret, daughter to Thomas Lord Coventry, by whom he had no iſſue; ſecondly, Frances, daughter to David Earl of Exeter, by whom he had

(o) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 383.

Parliament had begun to take theſe precautions, though the court's deſigns were yet but ſuſpected: they were better informed by the Earl of Shafteſbury: why therefore is it ſuppoſed, that after this information, they ſuddenly relinquiſh their former motives, and act only with a view to ſerve as inſtruments of Shafteſbury's revenge? This is not even probable, and yet the authors abovementioned loſe no opportunity of reproaching the Earl of Shafteſbury, and aſcribing ſolely to him all the mortifications the King afterwards received. Beſides the reader's inſtruction, my deſign, in what I have ſaid, is to hinder ſuch as have read, or ſhall read the other hiſtorians, from thinking it ſtrange that I do not every moment exclaim againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury's conduct, as if he were the ſole author of what was done againſt the King; and that I content myſelf with ſaying in a word, this Lord uſed all his intereſt and credit to break the meaſures of the King and his Miniſters (84)."

(84) Hiſt. of Eng. vol. xi. p. 393—395. fourth ed. 8vo.

M. Rapin had before obſerved, that Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper was one of the greateſt geniuſes England had produced for many years; and that this is the teſtimony equally given him by friends and enemies (85).

(85) *Ibid.* p. 337.

In the Britiſh Biography, the writer of the article concerning his Lordſhip has ſummed up his character in a few words, and with exemplary candour. "The "Earl of Shafteſbury," ſays the Biographer, "was a "man of very great abilities, profoundly ſkilled in "the laws and conſtitution of his country, and one of "the greateſt Stateſmen and moſt accompliſhed Ora"tors of the age in which he lived. He has been "much cenſured for his ambition, and the mutabi"lity of his conduct; and it muſt be confeſſed that "his behaviour, when in power, was, in many in"ſtances, very exceptionable; though it may, per"haps, be doubted, whether there is ſufficient foun"dation for the ſeverity with which he has been "treated by ſome ingenious writers (86)."

(86) Britiſh Biog. vol. vi. p. 169.

We ſhall add the portrait that has been drawn of our famous Stateſman by the late Mr. Granger. "The great talents of the Earl of Shafteſbury, and "his exact knowledge of men and things, contri"buted to render him one of the firſt characters of "his age. But the violence of his paſſions, and the "flexibility of his principles, prompted him to act "very different, and even contrary parts. This was "in ſome meaſure owing to the changes in the times "in which he lived; but is more to be attributed to "the mutability of his character, which ever varied "with the intereſts of his ambition. When we con"ſider him as ſitting in the higheſt tribunal of the "kingdom, explaining and correcting the laws, de"tecting fraud, and exerting all the powers of his "eloquence on the ſide of juſtice; we admire the "able Lawyer, the commanding Orator, and the "upright Judge. But when he enters into all the "iniquitous meaſures of the *Cabal*, when he proſti"tutes his eloquence to enſlave his country, and be"comes the factious leader and the popular incen"diary; we regard him with an equal mixture of "horror and regret (87)." It may here be remarked, that it is now deciſively known, that Lord Shafteſbury did not enter into all the iniquitous meaſures of the *Cabal:* nor is it true that he proſtituted his eloquence to enſlave his country. Whatever may be thought of one or two of his ſpeeches, which he delivered officially, when Lord Chancellor, it is certain that his abilities as an Orator were uſually exerted in the cauſe of liberty, and to preſerve the kingdom from becoming ſubject to civil tyranny and religious perſecution.

(87) Biog. Hiſt. of Eng. vol. iii. P. 362, 363. ſecond edition.

Theſe are the various repreſentations which have been given of the Earl of Shafteſbury's character; and moſt of them, we ſee, are highly to his diſadvantage. Sir John Dalrymple obſerves, that every thing has been written againſt him, and nothing for him (88). This is not ſtrictly true, as is evident from Collins's Peerage, and the paſſages which we have quoted from Rapin and the Britiſh Biography. There were, likewiſe, one or two accounts of him, publiſhed ſoon after his death, which were entirely of a panegyrical nature. Theſe we have read, but do not think them worthy of particular notice, as they are rather party publications than juſt pieces of Biographical compoſition. Mr. Locke's account of our eminent Stateſman, though ſhort, and very imperfect, is a ſufficient teſtimony of the high opinion which that great Philoſopher entertained of his Lordſhip.

(88) Memoirs, &c. vol. ii. Appendix to the Review of Events, P. 325.

A complete life of the Earl of Shafteſbury, by which we mean a full and particular narrative of his political conduct, and which would, in fact, comprehend the principal events of his time, is ſtill a deſideratum in the hiſtorical literature of this country: nor have the noble family been unmindful of the ſubject. His Lordſhip's deſcendants have wiſhed to reſcue their anceſtor from the obloquy with which his memory has been loaded, and to ſet his actions in a juſt light; but the deſign has not yet been fully carried into execution. The Earl had himſelf written a hiſtory of his own times, which, when he was obliged to flee to Holland, he entruſted to the care of Mr. Locke. Unfortunately for the public, when Algernon Sidney was infamouſly put to death, on a charge of treaſon grounded upon papers which were found in his cloſet, Mr. Locke, intimidated with the apprehenſion of a like proſecution, committed Lord Shafteſbury's manuſcript to the flames. The profeſſed deſign of the work was to diſplay to the world the principles and motives by which his enemies had been actuated, and to give a true and impartial account of his own conduct. Whatever degree of ſelf-love may be ſuppoſed, in certain caſes, to have operated upon his Lordſhip's mind, it will be allowed, that, in conſequence of his genius, his knowledge, the eminent ſtations he occupied, and his acceſs to the ſources of information, he muſt have been capable of throwing great light on the tranſactions of the time. The hiſtory began with the Reformation, and traced the courſe of events down to the Civil War, with a view of pointing out the defects of the Conſtitution, and of ſtating what ought farther to be done, in order to ſtrengthen and confirm the liberties of the people. It is underſtood that the Earl was particularly excellent in his characters. Some of theſe, in looſe papers, are ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the family. The largeſt fragment now remaining is in the early part of the work, where the author has drawn the characters of the principal Gentlemen who flouriſhed in the county of Dorſet, at the time in which he arrived to man's eſtate. From this fragment, a curious extract, ſome years ſince, made its way to the public. We mean the account of the Hon. William Haſtings, of Woodlands in Dorſetſhire, by his quality ſon, brother, and uncle to the Earls of Huntingdon; which account is ſaid to have firſt appeared in Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, and has ſince been publiſhed in the Connoiſſeur, and the Britiſh Biography (89). Were it not to be ſeen in books of eaſy acceſs, we ſhould here have inſerted it with pleaſure. It affords a ſtriking example of Lord Shafteſbury's talent in characteriſtic compoſition; and Mr. Walpole, who in no other reſpect has ſpoken favourably of his Lordſhip, has obſerved, that it is a curious and well drawn portrait of our ancient Engliſh gentry (90).

(89) Connoiſſeur, vol. iii. p. 75—79. N° 81. Britiſh Biography, vol. vi. p. 170, 171. I have examined the whole of Evans's edition of Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*; without finding there the character of William Haſtings.

(90) Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 55, 56.

For the loſs which was occaſioned by Mr. Locke's timidity or prudence, he was ſolicitous to make ſome degree of reparation. Accordingly, he formed an intention of writing, at large, the hiſtory of his noble friend; and if he had accompliſhed his intention, his work would undoubtedly have been a very valuable preſent to the public. It muſt, therefore, be regretted, that he was prevented from proceeding any farther in the completion of his deſign than collecting the few materials which occur in his letter to a perſon of quality.

But though Lord Shafteſbury's own memoirs were thus

had Anthony his ſon and heir (*p*); and thirdly, Margaret, daughter of William Lord Spencer, by whom he left no iſſue (*q*). Anthony, his only ſon and ſucceſſor, was born on the 16th of January, 1651, and married Dorothy, daughter to John Earl of Rutland, by whom he had two ſons, Anthony and Maurice, and four daughters, Lady Frances, married to

(*p*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 482; where he is entirely miſtaken as to his Lordſhip's having iſſue by his laſt wife, and not by his ſecond.

(*q*) This appears from the inſcription upon his monument.

thus unfortunately deſtroyed, and Mr. Locke failed of executing his purpoſe, there was another Biographer, who wrote a Life of the Earl, ſoon after his deceaſe. This was Thomas Stringer, Eſq; of Ivy Church, near Saliſbury, a Gentleman of great integrity and excellent character; who had held, we believe, under his Lordſhip, when High-Chancellor of England, the office of Clerk of the preſentations; and who was much eſteemed by ſome of the principal perſons of the age. With Mr. Locke in particular, he maintained an intimate friendſhip to the time of his death, which happened in 1702. Mr. Stringer's account has been the ground-work on which the narrative intended for the public eye, by the noble family, has been built. It contained a valuable hiſtory of the Earl's life; but was probably much inferior in compoſition to what Mr. Locke's would have been; and indeed, in its original form, it was too imperfect for publication. Sometime about the year 1732, this manuſcript, together with the reſt of the Shafteſbury papers, was put into the hands of Mr. Benjamin Martyn, a Gentleman who was then known in the literary world, in conſequence of having written a tragedy, entitled Timoleon, which had been acted with ſucceſs at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Mr. Martyn made Mr. Stringer's manuſcript the baſis of his own work, which he enriched with ſuch ſpeeches of the Earl as are yet remaining, and with ſeveral particulars drawn from ſome looſe papers left by his Lordſhip. He availed himſelf, likewiſe, of other means of information, which more recent publications had afforded; and prefixed to the whole an introduction of conſiderable length, wherein he paſſed very high encomiums on our great Stateſman, and ſtrengthened them by the teſtimonies of Mr. Locke and Monſ. Le Clerc. He added, alſo, ſtrictures on L'Eſtrange, Sir William Temple, Biſhop Burnet, and others, who had written to his Lordſhip's diſadvantage. One anecdote, which we well remember, it cannot but be agreeable to the public and to the noble family to ſee related. It is well known with what ſeverity the Earl of Shafteſbury's character is treated by Dryden, in his Abſalom and Achitophel. Nevertheleſs, ſoon after that fine ſatire appeared, his Lordſhip, having the nomination of a Scholar, as Governor of the Charter-Houſe, gave it to one of the Poet's ſons, without any ſolicitation on the part of the father, or of any other perſon. This act of generoſity had ſuch an effect upon Dryden, that, to teſtify his gratitude, he added, in the ſecond edition of the poem, the four following lines, in celebration of the Earl's conduct as Lord Chancellor.

In Iſrael's court ne'er ſat an Abethdin
With more diſcerning eyes, or hands more clean,
Unbrib'd, unſought, the wretched to redreſs,
Swift of diſpatch, and eaſy of acceſs.

When King Charles the Second read theſe lines, he told Dryden that he had ſpoiled by them all which he had before ſaid of Shafteſbury.

Notwithſtanding the pains that had been taken by Mr. Martyn, the late Earl of Shafteſbury did not think the work ſufficiently finiſhed for publication; and, therefore, ſomewhat more than twenty years ago, he put it into the hands of his friend, Dr. Gregory Sharpe, Maſter of the Temple. All, however, that Dr. Sharpe performed, was to recommend it to the care of a Gentleman ſtill living, who is diſtinguiſhed for his accurate acquaintance with the hiſtory of England; and for the aſtoniſhing preciſion and extent of his memory with reſpect to the minuteſt circumſtances of the facts, dates, and perſons which occur in the whole courſe of that hiſtory. This Gentleman examined Mr. Martyn's manuſcript with attention, pointed out its errors, made references, and ſuggeſted a number of inſtances in which it might be improved, but did not proceed much farther in the undertaking. At length, the work was conſigned to another perſon, who ſpent conſiderable labour upon it, enlarged it by a variety of additions, and had it in contemplation to avail himſelf of every degree of information which might render it a correct hiſtory of the time, as well as a narrative of the Life of Lord Shafteſbury. The reaſons (not unfriendly on either ſide) which prevented the perſon now mentioned from completing his deſign, and occaſioned him to return the papers to the noble family, are not of ſufficient conſequence to be here related. Whether the work is likely ſoon to appear, it is not in our power to aſcertain. In the mean while, it is a neceſſary act of juſtice to the memory of the firſt Earl of Shafteſbury, and cannot but be agreeable to every one of his deſcendants, and to our readers in general, to mention a few of the things which may be expected to be elucidated, whenever the account of him ſhall be publiſhed.

In the twenty-firſt volume of the Parliamentary hiſtory, there is a long ſpeech againſt Richard Cromwell's Houſe of Lords, concerning which the writers of that hiſtory ſay, that they do not warrant the authenticneſs of it, becauſe they think it too bold for the time. They add, "but that it is as old, is clear "from all appearances." Indeed, ſoon after it is ſaid to have been delivered, it was publiſhed under the title of "A ſeaſonable Speech, made by a Wor-"thy Member of Parliament in the Houſe of Com-"mons, concerning the other Houſe." According to the Shafteſbury papers, the perſon by whom it was actually ſpoken was Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper; and it reflects great credit on his ſpirit, courage, and eloquence. Were it not too long, we ſhould gladly have inſerted it from the Parliamentary Hiſtory (91).

(91) Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. xxi. p. 297—310. ſecond edit.

It is well known that few things have been deemed more cenſurable in the Earl of Clarendon's conduct, than the part he took with regard to the ſale of Dunkirk. This tranſaction Lord Aſhley ſtrenuouſly oppoſed; and he was equally hoſtile to that Stateſman's narrow principles and policy reſpecting the Diſſenters. The penalties of the Act of Uniformity, and the ſeverities of the Five Mile Act were regarded by him with the greateſt abhorrence, and he contended againſt them to the utmoſt of his power.

Another object diſplayed in the unpubliſhed Life of Lord Shafteſbury, is his zeal for the promotion of manufactures, trade, and commerce. This object he was particularly led to by his ſituation as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he employed himſelf upon it with unremitting attention and ardour. The numerous papers which are now in the poſſeſſion of the family, relative to matters of a commercial nature, are full proofs of what is here aſſerted.

A farther circumſtance, mentioned and enlarged upon to the credit of Lord Aſhley, is his having prevented the King, in 1666, from going to war with the Hamburghers, on account of an attack which four Dutch men of war had made on ſome Engliſh merchant ſhips that lay in the Elbe. The city of Hamburgh was in no degree blameable on this occaſion. It was, however, with difficulty that Lord Aſhley could diſſuade his Majeſty from proceeding to extremities. No account of this tranſaction has, we believe, made its way into any of our general hiſtories.

After the Earl of Clarendon's diſgrace, ſome popular meaſures were, for a ſhort time, purſued by Government. The triple alliance was formed againſt the encroaching power of France; new regulations were iſſued with regard to the mode of conducting public buſineſs; ſeveral rules and ordinances were eſtabliſhed and ratified, reſpecting navigation; a declaration was made by the King, to Parliament, in favour of Proteſtant Diſſenters; and an order appeared in the Gazette, calculated to ſuppreſs, as much as poſſible, the practice of duelling. In theſe and other inſtances, the narrative endeavours to ſhew, that Lord Aſhley was the principal Agent, and not Sir Orlando Bridgeman;

to Francis Stonehouſe of Hungerford Park, in the county of Berks, Eſq; Lady Elizabeth, wife of James Harris, of Saliſbury, Eſq; Lady Dorothy, who was eſpouſed to Edward Hooper, of Hern-court in the county of Southampton, Eſq; and Lady Gertrude, who died unmarried,

Bridgeman; who, though he was made Lord Keeper on the diſmiſſion of the Earl of Clarendon, did not ſucceed that Nobleman in his political power and intereſt. Without preſuming to determine this point, one thing is certain, and will deciſively be proved by the work in queſtion, that, at the period we are ſpeaking of, Lord Aſhley addreſſed a memorial to the King, which contained excellent advice with relation to the management of public affairs.

One of the moſt important parts of the Earl of Shafteſbury's life was whilſt he was a Member of the CABAL; and, at this time, his conduct, with no ſmall appearance of juſtice, has almoſt univerſally been conſidered as very liable to cenſure. The four things principally brought as charges againſt him, are the ſhutting up of the Exchequer; the Declaration of Indulgence; the iſſuing of Writs for vacant Boroughs, during the Receſs of Parliament; and the Speech againſt the Dutch, in which was introduced, "Delenda eſt Carthago." That his Lordſhip was the perſon who gave or ſuggeſted the advice for ſhutting up the Exchequer, has been aſſerted by ſeveral writers, in conſequence of a paſſage in Biſhop Burnet, and an idle ſtory related by Echard. We ſay an idle ſtory related by Echard; for nothing can be more certain than that it is totally without foundation. So far was Lord Aſhley from adviſing the meaſure in queſtion, or even concurring in it, that it was directly oppoſed by him; and he contended ſo powerfully againſt it, that the deſign was at firſt laid aſide. When it was renewed, he drew up his reaſons in writing againſt it, and left them with the King. The paper containing theſe reaſons, together with a letter of his Lordſhip to a friend, in which he juſtifies himſelf againſt the charge of having ſupported the ſcheme, will be found in the family narrative.

With reſpect to the Declaration of Indulgence, the advice was given by Sir Thomas Clifford, whoſe principal view in it was to favour the Papiſts; and, for the ſame cauſe, the meaſure was readily adopted by his Majeſty. Lord Aſhley, however, cloſed in with it, from his ardent zeal for Toleration, and his regard for the Proteſtant Diſſenters. His reaſons for this part of his conduct are ſpecified in the work. He ſeems to have entertained a notion, which we have no intention of vindicating, that, for the ſake of exerciſing mercy, and in matters of mere penalty, the King might exerciſe a diſpenſing power. Biſhop Burnet, with an inaccuracy not uncommon in him, ſpeaking of the Declaration, ſays, the Lord Keeper Bridgeman refuſed to put the Seal to it, as judging it to be contrary to law; and that on this account he was diſmiſſed, and the Earl of Shafteſbury made Lord Chancellor (92). Now the fact is, that Sir Orlando Bridgeman did put the Seal to the Declaration, and that Shafteſbury was not appointed Lord Chancellor till eight months after that event.

(92) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, vol. i. p. 429, 430. third edit.

Our great Stateman's conduct in iſſuing writs, before the meeting of Parliament, for the election of Members, in the room of thoſe who were deceaſed, has often, and we do not ſay unjuſtly, been condemned. Burnet ſays, "that Lord Shafteſbury reſolved "to recommend himſelf to the confidence of the "court by a new ſtrain, never before thought of "(93):" but this is an aſſertion which is grounded on a total ignorance of the ſubject. That in the three preceding reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James the Firſt, and King Charles the Firſt, ſeveral writs had been iſſued out, for electing Members, during the prorogation of Parliament, is clearly evinced in the work we are ſpeaking of; and the reaſons are aſſigned, why the Earl choſe to obey the King's commands. Though we are far from believing that any thing can fully juſtify his compliance in this reſpect, it may, nevertheleſs, be remarked, that his memory ought not to be loaded with aggravations which are not founded in truth.

(93) *Ibid.* p. 430.

The laſt of the four accuſations urged againſt him, as one of the Cabal, is his famous Speech, delivered in Parliament, on the fourth of February, 1672-3, on the Dutch war. Even the candid Rapin obſerves, that the Earl of Shafteſbury muſt have had a forehead of braſs to pronounce ſuch a ſpeech before ſo auguſt an aſſembly (94). In the family narrative, great pains are taken to ſhew, that the Earl ſpoke only officially; that this was the conſtant mode in that reign; that the ſpeech he himſelf had prepared was entirely changed by the council; that the offenſive words in particular, "Delenda eſt Carthago," were there inſerted; and that he was obliged to deliver the ſpeech as it had been framed at the board. Theſe things are maintained with a conſiderable degree of apparent ſtrength; and it is ſufficiently ſhewn, that his Lordſhip was far from being ſatisfied with the taſk which was impoſed upon him. Whether he ought not rather to have given up his office, than thus to have ſubmitted to compliances which were contrary to his inclination and his principles, is another queſtion, which firm integrity will eaſily decide.

(94) Hiſt. of Eng. vol. xi. p. 381. fourth edit.

There are various other inſtances in which the manuſcript ſo often referred to, endeavours to throw light on the Earl of Shafteſbury's character and conduct, and to clear him from the aſperſions with which his name has been blackened. Many circumſtances are, likewiſe, recorded concerning him, which have not yet appeared before the public eye. But not to touch on all the particulars that our memory might furniſh, we ſhall only advert to his reception in Holland, and to the manner of his death, which laſt, as we have already ſeen, has greatly been miſrepreſented. Mrs. Macaulay Graham aſſerts, that in order to ſecure the protection of the States of Holland, he ſolicited the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam to be made one of the Upper Burghers of that city; but had the mortification to ſuſtain a refuſal, through the intrigues of the Engliſh Conſul, who took care to put the Dutch in mind of the part the Earl had formerly taken againſt their Commonwealth. "Thus," adds our female hiſtorian, "did this unfortunate refugee, "once the idol of a numerous party, once the terror "of a government which he hated, and reſpected for "his abilities even by thoſe who were acquainted "with his vices and imperfections, languiſh through "a period of ſix weeks, ſurrounded only by a few "inconſiderable refugees, and without receiving "from the inhabitants of that place where he had "ſought an aſylum, any of the common compli-"ments uſually paid to men in his ſtation (95)." A very different repreſentation of things is given in the narrative that is in the poſſeſſion of the family. From that narrative it will appear, that, when the Earl of Shafteſbury arrived in Holland, he was viſited by ſeveral of the States, and by perſons of the greateſt quality; that the principal men of Amſterdam aſſured him of their protection, and, for this purpoſe, made him a Burgeſs of their city; and that they ſhewed him all the reſpect and honours which were in their power. Indeed, theſe circumſtances are confirmed by the teſtimony of Monſ. Le Clerc, in his Bibliotheque Choiſie, than whom no one could be better informed upon the ſubject. With regard to the manner of the Earl's death, he did not expire, as hath often been repreſented, in the arms of Ferguſon, but in the arms of Mr. Wheelock, one of his Gentlemen; and it is aſſerted, that he maintained, to the laſt, an uncommon patience, reſignation, and fortitude of mind.

(95) Hiſt. of Eng. vol. vii. p. 422.

After the different, and, in various reſpects, contradictory accounts which have been given of Lord Shafteſbury by a number of writers, it may be thought difficult to form a juſt eſtimate of his character. However, as our advantages for coming to a judgment upon this head have been ſuperior to thoſe which were enjoyed by the general run of hiſtorians, we ſhall ſtate our ſentiments concerning him with integrity and impartiality. On his abilities, his eloquence, and the eminent talents he poſſeſſed for

unmarried, in 1704. His Lordſhip departing this life on the 10th of November, 1699, was ſucceeded by Anthony his ſon and heir (*r*), of whom an account will be given in the next article.

(*r*) Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 385.

gaining an aſcendency over mankind, we need not enlarge; as theſe have already been ſufficiently aſcertained, and are acknowledged by moſt of his enemies. In private life he appears to have had many eſtimable qualities; nor have any proofs been afforded of the profligacy which has ſometimes been aſcribed to him. According to the records of the family, he was very conſtant in his attendance on divine worſhip, and kept a Chaplain in his houſe, whoſe name was Highmore. Dr. Benjamin Whichcot is likewiſe ſaid to have lived much with his Lordſhip, and to have preached before him the greater part of the ſermons that were afterwards printed. The friends of the Earl of Shafteſbury were ardently attached to him; and he numbered among his friends perſons of the moſt reſpectable character. To have enjoyed the good opinion, the regard, and the affection, of ſuch men as Mr. Stringer, Dr. Whichcot, and Mr. Locke, is no mean teſtimony in his favour. As to the Earl's public life, we are of opinion that it was often highly culpable; and that no hiſtory will ever be able to clear him of having occaſionally been guilty of manifeſt inconſiſtencies, and ſubmitted to ſhameful compliances. His bold and daring mind was not ſufficiently reſtrained by ſcruples, when his ambition could be gratified; and perhaps there are inſtances in which the violence of his meaſures may be ſuſpected of having been tarniſhed with the colours of revenge. But however juſtly he may be cenſured for particular parts of his conduct, and whatever ſacrifices he might make to the urgency of ſtrong paſſions, his views appear to have been generally directed to the promotion of the intereſt and freedom of his country. Whilſt we condemn his vehemence in the affair of the Popiſh Plot, we are convinced that, in other reſpects, the actions of the latter period of his life may be juſtified, and that the tyrannical deſigns of King Charles the Second merited the utmoſt warmth of his oppoſition. Upon the whole, there were three points in which, through the uſual tenor of his life, the Earl of Shafteſbury was entitled to applauſe. Theſe were his attention to the protection and advancement of Trade and Commerce; his endeavours to counteract the growing power of France; and his attachment to the cauſe of religious liberty. He wrote an Eſſay on Toleration, ſtill preſerved in the family, which was evidently the ground-work of Mr. Locke's admirable letters on that ſubject. Several of the meaſures propoſed and ſupported by him were preparatory to thoſe that were adopted at the Revolution; and he contributed, by his ardour, to raiſe and animate the ſpirit, which, in the end, produced that illuſtrious event; ſo that, amidſt all his obliquities and faults, he deſerves to be celebrated, as having been no ſmall benefactor to the free Conſtitution of England.] K.

*** [COOPER (ANTHONY-ASHLEY), third Earl of Shafteſbury, was born on the 26th of February, 1670-71, at Exeter Houſe in London, which was at that time the town reſidence of his grandfather, concerning whom ſo much has been ſaid in the preceding article. His father was Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, afterwards ſecond Earl of Shafteſbury, and his mother the Lady Dorothy Manners, daughter of John Earl of Rutland (*a*). Of his father there is ſuch a total ſilence in the hiſtories of the times, and the memorials of the family, that he was probably of a very inſignificant character, or at leaſt, not at all diſtinguiſhed by his mental abilities. Dryden ſpeaks of him with great contempt, in his Abſalom and Achitophel, as an unfeathered two-legged thing, and born a ſhapeleſs lump, like Anarchy (*b*). If this language had a reference to his external form, it was altogether unjuſt; for it appears from the pictures which remain of him, that in perſon he was remarkably handſome; and it has been imagined that his deceaſe was haſtened by his ſolicitude to remove ſome excreſcence which began rather to diſfigure his countenance. An improper application of remedies was productive of diſeaſes that were fatal to his conſtitution, and ultimately the occaſion of his death (*c*).

(*a*) General Dictionary, Hiſtorical and Critical, vol. ix. p. 179.

(*b*) Johnſon's Engliſh Poets, vol. xiii. p. 131.

(*c*) From the information of the Reverend and learned Mr. Huntingford.

The third Earl of Shafteſbury was deſtined to make a very different figure. Immediately upon his birth, his grandfather conceived ſo tender an affection for him, that he undertook the care of his education; and being ſenſible of the great advantages which would accrue from a good ſhare of literature, he thought that no time could be too early for endeavouring to attain ſuch a neceſſary and deſirable object. That his grandſon, therefore, might be as ſpeedy as poſſible in his literary progreſs, he choſe a method of inſtilling into him, as it were inſenſibly, the ancient languages, by placing a perſon about him, who was ſo thoroughly verſed in the Latin and Greek tongues, as to be able to ſpeak either of them with the greateſt fluency. This perſon was a female, a Mrs. Birch, the daughter of a Schoolmaſter in Oxfordſhire or Berkſhire: and a woman who could execute ſo extraordinary a taſk, deſerves to have her name recorded with honour, among the learned ladies of England. Such was the effect of her inſtructions, that her pupil could read with eaſe both the Latin and Greek languages, when he was only eleven years old. At that age he was ſent by his grandfather to a private ſchool, where he continued till after the Earl's deceaſe. In the end of the ſucceeding ſummer, 1683, he was carried by his father to Wincheſter School, then under the care of Dr. Harris. Here our young Nobleman was very indifferently treated by all excepting the Maſter, being frequently inſulted on his grandfather's account, whoſe memory was extremely odious to the Zealots for deſpotic power. The ill uſuage which he met with at Wincheſter was ſo irkſome to Lord Aſhley, that he prevailed upon his father to remove him from that ſeminary, and to conſent to his deſire of going abroad. Accordingly, he began his travels in 1686 [*A*], under the care of Mr.

(1) Gen. ubi ſupra, v. P. 179, note

[*A*] *Accordingly, he began his travels in* 1686.] Lord Aſhley was accompanied in his tour, by Sir John Cropley, (with whom he continued in friendſhip to the end of his life) and by Mr. Thomas Sclater Bacon. His Lordſhip ſpent a conſiderable time in Italy, where, as is evident from all his writings, he acquired

Mr. Daniel Denoune, a Scotch Gentleman of great ingenuity and integrity, and every way qualified for the employment of a tutor (*d*). The Biographers of the third Earl of Shafteſbury have generally repreſented him as having been principally under the tuition of Mr. Locke. There can be no doubt but that this great Philoſopher was anxiouſly concerned for the improvement of the grandſon of his intimate friend; and it is highly probable that his ſentiments were conſulted, and his advice followed, with regard to the mode of the young Gentleman's education. But that he ever acted in the capacity of a direct Tutor to him, appears to have been an opinion which hath been taken up without a ſufficient foundation.

(*d*) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra.*

After a reſidence of three years abroad, Lord Aſhley returned, in 1689, to England, and was offered a Seat in Parliament for ſome one of the Boroughs in which his family had an intereſt. There were, however, ſeveral reaſons which induced him not to accept of ſuch an offer at this particular time; and what prevailed upon him more ſtrongly than any thing to decline the propoſal, was a reſolution he had formed of applying himſelf entirely to ſtudy, and encreaſing his knowledge with regard to ſubjects of the greateſt importance. In theſe views he happily ſucceeded, and laid a foundation in learning which was accurately extenſive, and truly liberal. After ardently proſecuting his literary purſuits for nearly five years, he was elected, in conſequence of Sir John Trenchard's death, a Burgeſs for Poole in Dorſetſhire. He had not been long in Parliament before an opportunity was afforded him of expreſſing that ſpirit of liberty, which he maintained to the end of his life, and by which his conduct, on all occaſions, was uniformly directed. The fact we refer to, was owing to the bringing in of the Bill for regulating Trials in caſes of High Treaſon. One Part of the Bill in particular, which allows counſel to the priſoner, was regarded by moſt of the friends of liberty as a matter of the laſt importance. For this reaſon Lord Aſhley had prepared a Speech in its behalf, which thoſe to whom he ſhewed it judged to be a very proper one upon the occaſion. But when his Lordſhip ſtood up to ſpeak it in the Houſe of Commons, he was ſo intimidated by the greatneſs of the auditory, that he loſt his memory, and was totally unable to proceed. The Houſe, after giving him a little time for recollection, called loudly for him to go on, which he did in the following terms: "If I, Sir, (addreſſing himſelf to the Speaker) who riſe only to give my opinion on the Bill now depending, am ſo confounded, that I am unable to expreſs the leaſt of what I propoſed to ſay; what muſt the condition of that man be, who, without any aſſiſtance is pleading for his life, and under apprehenſions of being deprived of it?" This ſudden turn of thought pleaſed the Houſe extremely, and is believed to have had a greater effect than any of the other arguments that were urged in favour of the Bill. During the remainder of that Parliament, Lord Aſhley perſevered in the ſame mode of conduct, always zealouſly concurring in every motion that tended to the farther ſecurity of Liberty [*B*]; and though motions of this kind frequently came from perſons with whom he had no connection in politics, and who belonged to a party of a different denomination, he, nevertheleſs, thought it his duty to ſupport them, whenever he apprehended that the propoſals they made were likely to be of ſervice to the kingdom. With theſe principles and diſpoſitions, it was juſtly to be lamented that the fatigues of attending regularly the buſineſs of the Houſe of Commons, had in a few years ſuch an effect upon his health, the frame of his body not

acquired no ſmall degree of knowledge in the polite Arts. What his ſkill was in the art of painting in particular, may be determined by the treatiſe which he compoſed on the judgment of Hercules. It was his endeavour, while abroad, to improve himſelf, as much as poſſible, in every accompliſhment. He did not, therefore, greatly ſeek the company of other Engliſh young Genlemen; and whenever it happened that this could not be avoided, it was obſerved, that his diſcourſe was principally addreſſed to their Tutors, from whom he might either learn ſomething, or at leaſt converſe on ſuch topics as were moſt agreeable to his genius. French was ſpoken by him ſo readily, and with ſo good an accent, that in France he was often taken for a native; and the eaſe and agility he diſplayed in performing the exerciſes in which that nation excelled, contributed to lead them into ſuch an opinion (1).

(1) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, vol. ix. p. 179, note [*A*].

[*B*] *Zealouſly concurring in every motion that tended to the farther ſecurity of liberty.*] His zeal in defence of the freedom of the Conſtitution, notwithſtanding the clamours to which he was expoſed, will appear from the following paſſage of a letter of his to Thomas Stringer, Eſq; his grandfather's friend, of whom mention has been made in the life of the firſt Earl of Shafteſbury.

London, February 15, 1695.

"I WILL not trouble you any farther now, nor "indeed have I time. We have got the Bill to be "engroſſed, which lays an incapacity on the elector "(as the late paſſed act does on the elected) in caſe "of corruption, meat, drink, &c. and which obliges "the Knight of the Shire to have 500*l.* a year, or "the inheritance of it, as freehold within the county, "and a Burgeſs 200*l.* a year ſomewhere at leaſt in "England on the ſame terms. You could, I believe, ſcarcely imagine with yourſelf, who theſe "are in the world, or who they are in the Houſe, "who oppoſe this, and all other ſuch Bills as this, "might and main; and who they are that are condemned for flying in the face of government, as "they call it, by being for ſuch things as theſe are, "and preſſing ſuch hard things on the Prerogative "or Court. In ſhort, you would hardly believe that "your poor friend, who now writes to you, has ſentence (and bitter ſentence too) every day paſſed "upon him for going, as you may be ſure he goes, "and ever will go on ſuch occaſions as theſe, whatever party it be, that is in or out at Court, that is, "in poſſeſſion of the places, and afraid of loſing "their daily bread, by not being ſervile enough, or "that are out of places, and think by croſſing the "Court, and ſiding with good and popular things "againſt it, to get into thoſe places of profit and "management. No more. My kind ſervice to "Mrs. Stringer, and my ſervice too to your ſon. "Your ſincere friend, &c.

"A. ASHLEY (2)." (2) *Ibid.* p. 179, 180, note [*C*].

being naturally robuſt, that he was obliged to decline coming again into Parliament, after the diſſolution in 1698.

Lord Aſhley being now at liberty to purſue the courſe of life that was moſt agreeable to his inclination, he went directly to Holland, where he ſpent his time in converſation with Monſ. Bayle, Monſ. Le Clerc, and ſeveral other ingenious and learned men who then reſided in that country. The pleaſure and improvement ariſing from an acquaintance with theſe Gentlemen, his Lordſhip found to be ſo great, that he was induced to continue there more than a twelvemonth. Being determined not to be interrupted in what was one of his principal objects in going to Holland, the diligent and effectual proſecution of his literary purſuits, he concealed his name and title, pretending to be only a Student in Phyſic. It was ſolely in that character that he contracted an intimacy with Monſ. Bayle. However, a little before his return to England, being willing to be known to him by his proper appellation, he contrived to have Monſ. Bayle invited to dinner by a friend (*e*), for the purpoſe of meeting Lord Aſhley. That morning Monſ. Bayle accidentally called upon his Lordſhip, and being preſſed by him to ſtay, anſwered, that he could not by any means do it, becauſe he had an appointment to meet Lord Aſhley, and muſt be punctual to his engagement. The interview at dinner, occaſioned, as may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, no ſmall degree of mirth; and the diſcovery contributed to ſtrengthen the friendſhip that had already been formed, and which was preſerved by an uninterrupted correſpondence to Monſ. Bayle's death. During this time, there was printed at London, in 8*vo*. an imperfect edition of Lord Aſhley's "Inquiry concerning Virtue." It had been ſurreptitiouſly taken from a rough draught, ſketched when he was no more than twenty years of age. His Lordſhip, who was greatly chagrined at this event, immediately bought up the impreſſion before many books were ſold, and ſet about compleating the treatiſe, as it afterwards appeared in the ſecond volume of the Characteriſtics. The perſon by whom he was thus unhandſomely treated was ſpeedily diſcovered to be Mr. John Toland, who, in this tranſaction, repaid with ingratitude a very generous benefactor (*f*).

(*e*) Mr. Furly, an Engliſh Merchant at Rotterdam, a Quaker, and a man of excellent ſenſe and learning.

(*f*) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 179, 180.

Soon after Lord Aſhley's return to England, he became, by the deceaſe of his father, Earl of Shafteſbury. As he was endued with the prudence of paying a proper regard to his own affairs, he was involved in ſuch a multiplicity of buſineſs on coming to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, that he was prevented from attending the Houſe of Lords, during the firſt Seſſion after he had ſucceeded to the Peerage. Nor did he appear in that Houſe, in the ſecond Seſſion, till his friend the Lord Somers ſent a meſſenger to acquaint him that his preſence was neceſſary, on account of the Partition Treaty, which at that time was under the conſideration of Parliament. This was in February 1700-1. The Earl of Shafteſbury immediately went poſt to London; and though, when Lord Somers's letter was brought to him, he was beyond Bridgwater in Somerſetſhire, and his conſtitution was ill calculated for ſuſtaining any extraordinary fatigue, he travelled with ſuch ſpeed, that he was in the Houſe of Peers on the following day; exhibiting an inſtance of diſpatch, which at that time was more uncommon, and leſs eaſy to be performed, than it is at preſent. During the remainder of the Seſſion, he attended his Parliamentary duty as much as his health would permit, being earneſt to ſupport the meaſures of King William, who was then engaged in forming the grand Alliance. Nothing, in the Earl of Shafteſbury's judgment, could more effectually aſſiſt that glorious undertaking, than the choice of a good Parliament. He uſed, therefore, his utmoſt efforts to facilitate the deſign; and ſuch was his ſucceſs, upon the election of a new Houſe of Commons, (parties at that criſis being nearly on an equality) that his Majeſty told him he had turned the ſcale. So high was the opinion which the King had formed of the Earl's abilities and character, that an offer was made him of being appointed Secretary of State. This, however, was an offer which his declining conſtitution would not permit him to accept. But although he was diſabled from engaging in the courſe of official buſineſs, he was capable of giving advice to his Majeſty, who frequently conſulted him on affairs of the higheſt importance. Nay, it is underſtood, that he had a great ſhare in compoſing that celebrated laſt Speech of King William, which was delivered on the 31ſt of December, 1701.

Upon the acceſſion of Queen Anne to the throne, Lord Shafteſbury returned to his retired manner of life, being no longer adviſed with in relation to public concerns. At the ſame time, he was removed from the Vice-Admiralty of the county of Dorſet, which had been in the family for three ſucceſſive generations. This ſlight, though it was a matter of little conſequence, was the only one that could have been ſhewn him, as it was the ſingle thing which he had ever held under the Crown. The meaſure of taking it from him was ſuppoſed to have originated in certain Stateſmen who reſented his ſervices to another party in the late reign. In the beginning of 1703, the Earl made a ſecond journey to Holland, where he reſided till nearly the cloſe of the following year. Soon after this, the French Prophets occaſioned a great diſturbance throughout the nation by their enthuſiaſtic extravagancies; and ſome were of opinion that, in order to ſuppreſs them, it was neceſſary to have recourſe to methods of ſeverity. Lord Shafteſbury, who had well conſidered the affair, and who abhorred any ſtep which looked like perſecution, apprehended that

that ſuch meaſures tended rather to enflame than to cure the diſeaſe. This was the origin of his "Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm," which he ſent to Lord Somers, then Preſident of the Council, and which, being approved of by that Nobleman and other Gentlemen to whom it was ſhewn, was publiſhed in 1708, though without the name of the author, or that of the perſon to whom it was addreſſed. His "Moraliſt, a philoſophical Rhapſody, being a Recital of certain Converſations on natural and moral Subjects," appeared in Jan. 1709; and in the May following his "Senſus Communis: An Eſſay upon the Freedom of Wit and Humour; in a Letter to a Friend." The three works now mentioned were printed at London in 8*vo*. It was in the ſame year that he entered into the marriage ſtate, with Mrs. Jane Ewer, the youngeſt daughter of Thomas Ewer, Eſq; of Lee in Hertfordſhire. By this Lady, to whom his Lordſhip was related, he had an only ſon, Anthony the late Earl of Shafteſbury (*g*). It is certain that Miſs Ewer was not the firſt object of our noble author's affections, and that he did not think of paying his addreſſes to her till after he had met with a diſappointment with regard to another Lady of greater fortune and family. In forming this union, he ſeems to have been chiefly influenced by the ſolicitations of his friends; and evidently did not engage in it with any very romantic ideas of love and happineſs [*C*]. In 1710, his "Soliloquy; or, Advice to an Author," was publiſhed, at London, in 8*vo*. While he was thus employing himſelf in literary compoſition, his health declined ſo faſt, that it was recommended to him to ſeek aſſiſtance from a warmer climate. Having taken this reſolution, he took leave, by letter, of ſeveral of his acquaintance, among the number of whom was Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and who had then been lately advanced to that title. As this letter is not in the uſual ſtrain of thoſe addreſſed to Miniſters of State, it ſhall be inſerted below, together with another to the Lord Godolphin [*D*]. In July, 1711, the Earl of Shafteſbury ſet out for Naples,

(*g*) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 180—182.

[*C*] *He ſeems to have been chiefly influenced by the ſolicitations of his friends, and evidently did not engage in it with any romantic ideas of love and happineſs.*] In a letter written to his friend, Robert Moleſworth, Eſq; afterwards Lord Viſcount Moleſworth, previouſly to his marriage, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "What other people will ſay of ſuch a match I "know not, nor what motives they will aſſign for it, "when intereſt is ſet aſide. Love, I fear, will "ſcarcely be a tolerable pretence in ſuch a one as I "am: and for family, I have a brother ſtill alive, "whom I may have ſtill ſome hopes of. What a "weakneſs, then, would it be thought in me, to "marry with little or no fortune, and not in the "higheſt degree of quality neither? Will it be "enough that I take a breeder out of a good family, "with a right education, fit for a mere wife; and "with no advantages, but ſimple innocence, modeſty, "and the plain qualities of a good mother and a "good nurſe? This is as little the modern reliſh, as "that old faſhioned wife of Horace's;

"Sabina qualis, aut peruſta ſolibus
"Pernicis uxor Appuli.

"Can you or my friends who preſs me to this, bear "me out in it? The experiment, however, ſhall be "made, if I live out this ſummer: and you ſhall hear "me ſay as the old batchelor in the Latin Menander, "with a little alteration;

"*Etſi* hoc moleſtum, atque alienum a vita mea "Videtur, *ſi vos* tantopere iſtuc voltis, fiat."

After his Lordſhip's marriage, having received, from the ſame friend, the compliments that are uſual on ſuch an occaſion, he returned the following anſwer: "Were I to talk of marriage, and forced to "ſpeak my mind plainly, and without the help of "humour or raillery, I ſhould doubtleſs offend the "moſt part of ſober married people, and the ladies "chiefly. For I ſhould in reality think I did wonders, in extolling the happineſs of my new ſtate, "and the merits of my wife in particular, by ſaying, "*that I verily thought myſelf as happy a man now as "ever.* And is not that ſubject enough for joy? "What would a man of ſenſe wiſh more? For my "own part, if I find any ſincere joy, it is becauſe I "promiſed myſelf no other than the ſatisfaction of "my friends, who thought my family worth preſerving, and myſelf worth nurſing in an indifferent "crazy ſtate, to which a wife (if a good one) is a "great help. Such a one I have found, and if by "her help or care I can regain a tolerable ſhare of "health, you may be ſure it will be employed as you "deſire, ſince my marriage itſelf was but a means to "that end (3)."

(3) Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, p. 37.

If we did not make allowances for the effect which a continued indiſpoſition of the body is apt to have upon the mind, we ſhould be ready to ſay, that theſe letters do not place Lord Shafteſbury in the moſt amiable point of view.

[*D*] *It ſhall be inſerted below, together with another to the Lord Godolphin.*] They are as follows.

"Reygate, March 29, 1711.

"My Lord,

"The honour you have done me in many kind "inquiries after my health, and the favour you have "ſhewn me lately, in forwarding the only means I "have left for my recovery, by trying the air of a "warmer climate, obliges me ere I leave England to "return your Lordſhip my moſt humble thanks and "acknowledgments in this manner, ſince I am unable "to do it in a better. I might, perhaps, my Lord, "do injuſtice to myſelf, having had no opportunity "of late years to pay my particular reſpects to you, "if I ſhould attempt any otherwiſe to compliment "your Lordſhip on the late honours you have received, "than by appealing to the early acquaintance and "ſtrict correſpondence I had once the honour to "maintain with you and your family, for which I had "been bred almoſt from my infancy to have the higheſt "regard. Your Lordſhip well knows my principles "and behaviour from the firſt hour I engaged in any "public concern, and with what zeal I ſpent ſome "years of my life in ſupporting your intereſt, which "I thought of greater moment to the public, than "my own or family's could ever be. What the na-"tural effects are of private friendſhip ſo founded, "and what the conſequence of different opinions inte-"vening, your Lordſhip, who is ſo good a judge of "men and things, can better reſolve with yourſelf, "than I can poſſibly ſuggeſt. And being ſo knowing "in friends, (of whom your Lordſhip has acquired ſo "many) you can recollect how thoſe ties or obligations "have been hitherto preſerved towards you, and whoſe "friendſhips, affections, and principles you may for "the future beſt depend upon in all circumſtances and "variations public and private. For my own part, "I ſhall ſay only, that I very ſincerely wiſh you all "happineſs, and can with no man living congratulate "more heartily on what I account real honour and "proſperity. Your conduct of the public will be the "juſt earneſt and inſurance of your greatneſs and "power; and I ſhall then chiefly congratulate with "your Lordſhip on your merited honours and ad-"vancement, when by the happy effects it appears "evidently

Naples, and purſuing his journey by way of France, was obliged to paſs through the Duke of Berwick's army, which at that time lay encamped near the borders of Piedmont. Here he was entertained by that famous General in the moſt friendly manner, and every aſſiſtance was given him to conduct him in ſafety to the Duke of Savoy's dominions. Our noble author's removal to Italy was of no ſervice to the re-eſtabliſhment of his health; for after having reſided at Naples about a year and a half, he departed this life on the 4th of February, Old-ſtile, 1712-13, in the forty-ſecond year of his age. The only pieces which he finiſhed after he came to this city, were the "Judgment of Hercules," and the "Letter concerning Deſign," which laſt was added to that impreſſion of the Characteriſtics that appeared in 1732. It was in 1711 that the firſt edition was publiſhed of all the Characteriſtics together, and in the order in which they now ſtand. But this publication not being entirely to his Lordſhip's ſatisfaction, he chiefly employed the latter part of his life in preparing his writings for a more elegant edition, which was given to the world in 1713, ſoon after his deceaſe. The ſeveral prints that were then firſt interſperſed through the volumes were all invented by himſelf, and deſigned under his immediate inſpection; and for this purpoſe he was at the pains of drawing up a moſt accurate ſet of inſtructions, the manuſcript of which is ſtill preſerved in the family. That no miſtakes might be committed, the Earl did not leave to any other hands ſo much as the drudgery of correcting the preſs. In the three volumes of the "Characteriſtics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times," he compleated the whole of his works which he intended for the public eye. Not long before his death he had formed a ſcheme of writing a diſcourſe on Painting, Sculpture, and the other Arts of Deſign, which, if he had lived to have finiſhed it, might have proved a very pleaſing and uſeful work, as he had a fine taſte in ſubjects of that kind: but his premature deceaſe prevented his making any great progreſs in the undertaking. In 1716 ſome of his letters were publiſhed at London, in 8*vo*. under the title of "Several Letters written by a noble Lord to a young Man at the Univerſity [*E*]. Five years after-

"evidently in the ſervice of what cauſe, and for the "advantage of what intereſt they were acquired and "employed. Had I been to wiſh by what hands the "public ſhould have been ſerved, the honour of the "firſt part (your Lordſhip well knows) had fallen to "you long ſince. If others, from whom I leaſt "hoped, have done greatly and as became them, I "hope, if poſſible, you will ſtill exceed all they have "performed, and accompliſh the great work ſo glo-"rioufly begun and carried on for the reſcue of li-"berty, and the deliverance of Europe and mankind. "And in this preſumption I cannot but remain with "the ſame zeal and ſincerity as ever,

"MY LORD, &c.

"Reygate, May the 27th, 1711.

"MY LORD,

"BEING about to attempt a journey to Italy to "try what a warmer climate (if I am able to reach it) "may do towards the reſtoring me a little breath and "life, it is impoſſible for me to ſtir hence, till I "have acquitted myſelf of my reſpects the beſt I "can to your Lordſhip, to whom alone, had I but "ſtrength enough to make my compliments, and pay "a day's attendance in town, I ſhould think myſelf "ſufficiently happy in my weak ſtate of health. I "am indeed, my Lord, little able to render ſervices "of any kind; nor do I pretend to offer myſelf in "ſuch a capacity to any one, except your Lordſhip "only. But could I flatter myſelf that ere I parted "hence, or while I paſſed through France, or ſtayed "in Italy, I could any where, in the leaſt trifle, or in "the higheſt concern, render any manner of ſervice "to your Lordſhip, I ſhould be proud of ſuch a com-"miſſion. Sure I am, in what relates to your honour "and name (if that can receive ever any advan-"tage from ſuch an hand as mine) your public as well "as private merit will not paſs unremembered into "whatever region or climate I am transferred. No "one has a more thorough knowledge in that kind "than myſelf, nor no one there is, who on this ac-"count has a juſter right to profeſs himſelf, as I ſhall "ever do, with higheſt obligation and moſt conſtant "zeal,

"MY LORD,

"Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful and moſt

"Obedient humble Servant,

"SHAFTESBURY (4)."

(4) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 183.

[*E*] *Several letters written by a noble Lord to a young Man of the Univerſity.*] Theſe letters were written to Michael Ainſworth, of the pariſh of St. Giles's, where Lord Shafteſbury lived, at whoſe expence he was educated and maintained at Oxford. The collection contains ten letters upon philoſophical and theological ſubjects, but were never deſigned by the author to be made public. They contain many valuable reflections upon the moſt important ſubjects; of which we ſhall give the reader a ſpecimen. In the ſecond letter, which is dated May 10, 1707, he obſerves, that *the higheſt principle, which is the love of God, is beſt attained, not by dark ſpeculations and Monkiſh philoſophy, but by moral practice and love of mankind, and a ſtudy of their intereſts, the chief of which, and that which only raiſes them above the degree of brutes, is freedom of reaſon in the learned world, and good government and liberty in the civil world. Tyranny in one is ever accompanied or ſoon followed by tyranny in the other. And when ſlavery is brought upon a people, they are ſoon reduced to that baſe and brutal ſtate, both in their underſtandings and morals. True zeal therefore for God and religion muſt be ſupported by real love for mankind; and love of mankind cannot conſiſt but with a right knowledge of man's great intereſts, and of the only way and means (that of liberty and freedom) which God and nature has made neceſſary and eſſential to his manly dignity and character. They therefore, who betray theſe principles and the rights of mankind, betray religion even ſo as to make it an inſtrument againſt itſelf.* In his third letter he remarks that *it is the buſineſs of all, as many as are raiſed in knowledge, above the poor illiterate and laborious vulgar, to explain, as far as poſſible, the reaſons of the divine laws, delivered to us in poſitive commands by our ſacred legiſlator, their conſent with the law of nature, their ſuitableneſs to ſociety, and to the peace, happineſs and enjoyment of ourſelves.* "It is there alone, "that we have need of recourſe to *fire and brimſtone*, "and what other puniſhments the Divine Goodneſs "(for our good) has condeſcended to threaten us with, "where the force of theſe arguments cannot prevail. "Our buſineſs within ourſelves is to ſet ourſelves *free*, "according to that *perfect law of liberty*, which we "are bid to *look into*. . . . . And I am delighted to "read theſe words from you, viz. that *we are made "to contemplate and love God intirely, and with a free "and voluntary love.* But this, you will ſee, is a myſ-"tery too deep for thoſe ſouls, whom you converſe "with, and ſee around you. They have ſcarce heard "of what it is to combat with their appetites and "ſenſes.

afterwards, in 1721, another collection of the ſame kind appeared, entitled, "Letters from the Right Honourable the late Earl of Shafteſbury, to Robert Moleſworth, Eſq; now Lord Viſcount of that Name, with two Letters written by the late Sir John Cropley: to which

" ſenſes. They think themſelves ſufficiently juſtified, " as *men*, and ſufficiently qualified as *holy men*, and " *teachers of religion*, if they can compaſs matters, by " the help of circumſtances and outward fortune, ſo " as happily to reſtrain thoſe luſts and appetites of " theirs within the bounds of ordinary human laws. " Hence *thoſe allurements of external objects* (as you " well remark) they are ſo far from declining, that " they raiſe and advance them by all poſſible means, " without fear of adding fuel to their inflamed deſires, " in a heart, which can never burn towards God, till " thoſe other fires are extinct. God grant, that ſince " you know this better way, this chaſte and holy diſ- " cipline, you may ſtill purſue it, with that juſt and " pious jealouſy over your own heart, that neither " your eyes, nor any of your ſenſes, may be led away " to ſerve themſelves, or any thing, but that *Creator*, " who made them for his ſervice, and in whom alone " is happineſs and reſt." In the fourth letter, dated April the 2d 1708, he tells us, that *of virtue there can be no reward but of the ſame kind with itſelf: nothing can be ſuperadded to it. And even heaven itſelf can be no other, than the addition of grace to grace; virtue to virtue, and knowledge to knowledge; by which we may ſtill more and more comprehend the chief virtue, and higheſt excellence, the giver and diſpenſer of all.* In the fifth letter, dated January the 28th 1708-9, he remarks, that " all that we call improvement of " our minds in dry and empty ſpeculation; all learn- " ing or whatever elſe, either in theology or other " ſciences, which has not a direct tendency to render " us *honeſter*, *milder*, *juſter* and *better*, is far from be- " ing juſtly ſo called. And even all that philoſophy, " which is built on the compariſon and compounding " of *ideas*, complex, implex, reflex, and all that din " and noiſe of metaphyſics; all that pretended ſtudy " and ſcience of nature called natural philoſophy, " *Ariſtotelian*, *Carteſian*, or whatever elſe it be, all " thoſe high contemplations of ſtars and ſpheres and " planets; and all the other inquiſitive curious parts " of learning, are ſo far from being neceſſary improve- " ments of the mind, that without the utmoſt care " they ſerve only to blow it up in conceit and folly, " and render men more ſtiff in their ignorance and " vices." He obſerves afterwards, that *we never more need a juſt cheerfulneſs, good humour, or alacrity of mind, that when we are contemplating* God *and* Virtue. *So that it may be aſſigned as one cauſe of the auſterity and harſhneſs of ſome men's* Divinity, *that in their habit of mind, and by that very moroſe and ſour temper, which they contract with their hard ſtudies, they make the idea of God ſo much after the pattern of their own bitter ſpirit. . . . . But here is the great and eſſential matter of the laſt conſequence to our ſouls and minds, to keep them from the contagion of pleaſure. And to ſhew you, that I am not by this an imitator of the ſevere aſcetic Monaſtic race of Divines, or an admirer of any thing that looks like reſtraint in knowledge, or learning or ſpeculation, conſider of this that I am going to ſay to you, and carry your reflection as far back, as to that firſt little glimmering of ingenuity, which ſhewed itſelf in you in your childhood, I mean the art of painting. Had you been to have made one of thoſe artiſts of the nobler kind, who paint hiſtory, and actions, and nature, and had you been ſent by me into Italy or elſewhere, to learn the ſtyle and manner of the great maſters; what advice, think you, ſhould I have given you? I ſay, what advice, not as Chriſtian, or Philoſopher, or man of virtue, but merely as a lover of the art, ſuppoſing I had even been of a very vicious life, and had no other end in ſending you abroad than to have procured pictures, and have got you a maſterly hand in that kind, and to have employed afterwards for my own uſe, and for the ornament of my houſe. Moſt certainly my advice muſt have been this;* (*and thus any other maſter or patron of common ſenſe would have accoſted you;*) " You are now going to learn what is ex- " cellent and beautiful in the way of painting. You " will go where there are many pictures of many diffe- " rent hands, and quite contrary in their *manner* and " *ſtyle*. You will find many judges of different opi- " nions; and the worſt maſters, the worſt pieces, the " worſt ſtyles and manners will have their admirers. " How is it you ſhould form your *Reliſh?* By what " means ſhall you come to have a right admiration " yourſelf, and praiſe and imitate only what is truly " exquiſite and good in the kind? If you follow " your ſudden fancy and bent, if you fix your eye on " that, which moſt ſtrikes and pleaſes you at the firſt " ſight, you will moſt certainly never come to have " *a good eye* at all. You will be led aſide, and have a " florid, and gay, and fooliſh fancy; and any lewd " tawdry piece of dawbing will make a ſtronger im- " preſſion on you than the moſt majeſtic chaſte piece " of the ſobereſt maſter; and a FLEMISH or a FRENCH " *Manner* will more prevail with you than a true " ITALIAN. How ſhall we do then in this caſe? " Why even thus, (for what way is there elſe?) Make " it a ſolemn rule to yourſelf, to check your own " eye and fancy, which naturally leads to *gaiety*; and " turn it ſtrongly on that, which it cares not at " firſt to dwell upon. Be ſure that you paſs by on " every occaſion, whatever little idle piece of a neg- " ligent looſe kind may be apt to detain your eye; " and fix yourſelf upon the nobler, more maſterly, " and ſtudied pieces of ſuch, as were known Virtuoſo's, " and admired by all ſuch. If you find no grace or " charm at the firſt looking, look on, continue to ob- " ſerve all that you poſſibly can; and when you " have got one glimpſe, improve it, copy it, cultivate " the idea, and labour till you have worked yourſelf " into a *right taſte*, and formed a reliſh and under- " ſtanding of what is truly beautiful in the kind." *This is what any ordinary maſter or pattern of common good ſenſe would have ſaid to you upon your enterprize on painting; and this is what I now ſay to you on your great enterprize on knowledge and learning. This is the reaſon I cry out to you againſt pleaſure; to beware of thoſe paths, which lead to a wrong knowledge, a wrong judgment of what is ſupremely* BEAUTIFUL *and* GOOD. In the ſixth letter dated February the 8th, 1709, his Lordſhip writes thus. " Time will be, when your greateſt diſturbance " will ariſe from that antient difficulty, πόθεν τὸ κακὸν. " But when you have well inured yourſelf to the pre- " cepts and ſpeculation, which give the view of its no- " ble contrary (τὸ καλὸν,) you will reſt ſatisfied. But " be perſuaded in the mean time, that wiſdom is " more from the *heart* than from the *head*. *Feel* " goodneſs, and you will ſee all things fair and good. " Let it be your chief endeavour to make acquaint- " ance with what is *good*, that by ſeeing perfectly, by " the help of reaſon, what *good* is and what *ill*, you " may prove whether that, which is from revelation, " be not perfectly good and conformable to this " ſtandard. For if ſo, the very end of the goſpel " proves its truth; and that, which to the vulgar is " only knowable by miracles, and teachable by poſi- " tive precepts and commands, to the wiſe and vir- " tuous is demonſtrable by the nature of the thing. " So that how can we forbear to give our aſſent to " thoſe doctrines, and that revelation, which is de- " livered to us, and inforced by miracles and won- " ders? But to us the very teſt and proof of the " divineneſs and truth of that revelation is from the " excellence of the things revealed. Otherwiſe the " wonders themſelves would have little effect or " power; nor could they be thoroughly depended on, " were we even as near to them as thoſe, who lived " more than a thouſand years ſince, when they were " freſhly wrought, and ſtrong in the memory of men. " This is what alone can juſtify our eaſineſs of faith; " and in this reſpect we can never be too reſigned, " too willing, or too complaiſant. Mean while let " your eye be *ſimple*, and turn it from the ἄδηλον to the " δῆλον. View God in goodneſs and in his works, " which have that character: dwell with honeſty, and " beauty, and order; ſtudy and love what is of this " kind; and in time you will know and love the " author (5)."

(5) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 184, 185.

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is prefixed a large Introduction, by the Editor (*b*)." This editor was Mr. Toland, who, in the preſent, as well as in the former caſe, aſſumed a liberty not very agreeable to the family. In their opinion, as the correſpondence was almoſt entirely of a private nature, it was on that account unfit for public view. However, it ſet his Lordſhip's integrity in the moſt amiable point of light. As to Mr. Toland's introduction, it is chiefly founded on conjecture, and many things in it are abſolutely falſe. An extract or two from the letters will be inſerted below [*F*]. The Earl of Shafteſbury had an eſteem for the works of the beſt Engliſh Divines; one remarkable inſtance of which was diſplayed in his writing a Preface to a volume of Dr. Whichcot's Sermons, publiſhed in 1698. Copies of theſe Sermons had been taken in ſhort-hand, as they were delivered from the pulpit; and the Earl had ſo high an opinion of them, that he not only introduced them to the world by his Preface, but had them printed under his own particular inſpection (*i*). In his letters to a young man at the Univerſity, he ſpeaks of Biſhop Burnet and Dr. Hoadly in terms of great applauſe, and has done juſtice to the merits of Tillotſon, Barrow, Chillingworth and Hammond, as the chief pillars of the Church againſt Fanaticiſm (*k*). But whatever regard his Lordſhip might have for ſome of our Divines, it was to the writings of Antiquity that his admiration was principally directed. Theſe were the conſtant objects of his ſtudy, and from them he formed his ſyſtem of Philoſophy, which was of the civil, ſocial, and theiſtic kind. His favourite books were the moral works of Xenophon, Horace, the Commentaries and Enchiridion of Epictetus as publiſhed by Arrian, and Marcus Antoninus. Theſe authors he always carried with him in his various excurſions, and they are now extant in his library, filled throughout with marginal notes, references, and explanations, all written in his own hand (*l*). To this catalogue Plato ſhould undoubtedly have been added, of whom it is evident that the Earl of Shafteſbury was a diligent reader, an ardent admirer, and a zealous imitator. Simplicius is, likewiſe, ſpoken of by him in high terms of approbation, as may be ſeen in his letter to a Student (*m*). In the Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, Lucian is mentioned as one of the ancient writers whom his Lordſhip admired. But this is certainly a miſtake, for it appears, on the contrary, that he had a particular averſion to that author (*n*).

(*b*) Theſe Letters were publiſhed at London, in 8vo.

(*i*) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 185—186.

(*k*) Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, p. 36, 37. note [*I*].

(*l*) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 186.

(*m*) British Biog. vol. vii. p. 439, 440.

(*n*) This Remark, communicated by Dr. Towers, is grounded on the authority of the Letters to a Student.

Concerning his Lordſhip's brother, Maurice Aſhley Cooper, it may not be improper to take notice, that he was the author of a tranſlation of Xenophon's Cyropœdia, or the inſtitution of Cyrus. "This tranſlation," ſays the late Mr. James Harris, "is made in "all the purity and ſimplicity of the original, and to it the tranſlator has prefixed a truly "philoſophical Dedication to my mother, who was one of his ſiſters. I eſteem it an "honour to call this author my uncle, and that not only from his rank, but much more "from his learning and unblemiſhed virtue; qualities which the love of retirement (where "he thought they could be beſt cultivated) induced him to conceal, rather than to produce "in public (*o*)."

(*o*) Philological Inquiries, p. 28, 29.

The only child left by the third Earl of Shafteſbury was Anthony Aſhley Cooper the fourth Earl; a Nobleman concerning whom Mr. Huntingford remarks, that there never exiſted a man of more benevolence, moral worth, and true piety; and this is a character which we can confirm by our own teſtimony, having had the honour of enjoying his acquaintance and correſpondence. We were particularly informed by him, that, whilſt he had the greateſt reverence for the memory and character of his father, and a high eſteem

[*F*] *An extract or two from the letters will be inſerted below.*] In the ſeventh letter to Mr. Moleſworth, dated from Beachworth, in Surry, January the 6th, 1708-9, his Lordſhip writes thus: "I never "thought I ſhould ſee any of the great men at Court "ſo inclinable to public good, as to regard or "hearken to a man, who has chiefly that at heart. "And, to ſay truth of myſelf, I always thought I had "a ſtubbornneſs of nature, which would hinder me "from making a right advantage of good Miniſters, "whenever we ſhould come to have any ſuch. But "being taken down very early in my life from thoſe "high imaginations I had, and thoſe hopes of doing "ſervice in the plain way of buſineſs and Parliaments, "the mortification wrought ſo far in my advantage, "that I became milder and more tractable; and in "this condition you found me, when you laid hold "of an opportunity, and with a particular mark of "friendſhip recommended me to a great man, and "brought me under obligation to him. The little "time I have had ſince with him, I employed the beſt "I could, in ſuch advices and ſuch offer of ſervice as "became me. Nor do I think I have been any way "unfortunate in giving the leaſt offence, at raiſing "that frightful idea, which courtiers are apt to have "of patriots and men of rigid virtue. I flatter my-"ſelf egregiouſly, or I am well in his opinion, and "have loſt no ground. But if it be ſo, and as I "faithfully believe, I will be ſworn, there never was "a more diſintereſted man in his ſtation; for if I may "judge by myſelf, he leaves it to his friends, and "thoſe he has obliged to be grateful, and to act for "him as they fancy, and as their heart prompts "them; but for his part, he lays no burdens, nor "requires any ſervice in return." In the fourth letter dated from Beachworth, November the 4th, 1708, he writes thus: "You may think me melan-"choly, if you will. I own, there was a time in "public affairs, when I really was; for ſaving your-"ſelf, and perhaps one or two more (I ſpeak the moſt) "I had none that acted with me againſt the injuſtice "and corruption of both parties; each of them in-"flamed againſt me, particularly one, becauſe of my "birth and principles; the other, becauſe of my "pretended apoſtaſy, which was only adhering to "thoſe principles, on which their party was founded. "There have been apoſtates indeed ſince that time. "But the days are long ſince paſt, that you and I "were treated as Jacobites. What to ſay for ſome "companions of our's, as they are now changed, I "know not; but as to my own particular, I aſſure "you, that ſince thoſe ſad days of the public, which "might have helped on perhaps with that melancholy "or ſpleen which you fear in me, and for certain "have helped me to this ill ſtate of health, I am now "however as free as poſſible; and even in reſpect to "my health too, excepting only the air of London, "I am, humanly ſpeaking, very paſſable (6)."

(6) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 186.

for his writings, he did not concur with him in thoſe parts of his works which appear to be ſceptical with regard to the Chriſtian Religion.

Such are the circumſtances of the third Earl of Shafteſbury's life, the materials of which we have principally taken, not from the Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, but from the great General Dictionary; and that for a very ſufficient reaſon. The article in that work was written by the late Earl, as he himſelf informed the preſent Biographer. On the authenticity, therefore, of its facts we may ſafely rely; and in other reſpects it is ſuperior to the account which has been drawn up by one of our predeceſſors.

It now remains that we conſider Lord Shafteſbury as a writer: and in this character ſuch different repreſentations have been given of him; he has been ſo much applauded, and ſo much condemned, that it will be neceſſary to be ſomewhat copious on the ſubject. And that we may the more effectually attain our purpoſe of forming a juſt eſtimation of him in his literary capacity, we ſhall purſue his works in the order aſſigned to them by himſelf; after which we ſhall take a general ſurvey of him as an author, and attend particularly to his ſtile and compoſition.

The firſt piece which occurs in the Characteriſtics, is his "Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm," with regard to which we have but few remarks to make. We have before ſeen that his view in publiſhing it, was laudable, as his deſign was to prevent the French Prophets and their adherents from being perſecuted: and it will ſcarcely now be denied that it was better to treat them with contempt than ſeverity. As to the tract itſelf, we do not think that it is entitled to any high degree of applauſe. It is written with vivacity, and ſometimes with humour; but, on the whole, it is a deſultory performance, and there are in it ſeveral exceptionable paſſages. There is but little preciſion in it; nor does it convey much philoſophical information on the ſubject of Enthuſiaſm. However, on its firſt appearance, it greatly excited the public attention, both at home and abroad [G].

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[G] *It greatly excited the public attention, both at home and abroad.*] Very ſoon after its appearance, it was attacked in a pamphlet in 8*vo.* entitled, "Remarks upon a Letter by a Lord concerning Enthuſiaſm, not written in Raillery but good Humour." (7) Another Anſwer was publiſhed in May, 1709 (7), under the title of "Bart'lemy Fair: or, an Enquiry after Wit, in which due Reſpect is had to a Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm, by my Lord ***." The author of this publication was Mr. Wotton. A third attack came out in the ſame year, entitled, "Reflections upon a Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm, by Lord *****: In another Letter to a Lord (8)." In 1708, a French tranſlation of the "Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm," was printed at the Hague (9). Even the great Leibnitz condeſcended to make this tract the object of his attention: for he wrote ſome remarks upon it in French, which are publiſhed by Monſieur des Maireauz, in the ſecond Volume of "Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur la Philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Hiſtoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par Meſſ. Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, et autres Autheurs celebres." Printed at Amſterdam, in 1720 (10). The following extract, from the General Dictionary, will farther explain our noble Author's ſentiments and views upon the point in queſtion. "Lord Shafteſbury had perhaps a greater antipathy to Enthuſiaſm than moſt other perſons, having ſeen many of the fatal conſequences attending this deception in ſome people, with whom he was particularly acquainted. He wrote a little treatiſe upon the ſubject ſome years before the *Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm*, which he addreſſed to his brother, and which has never been made public. We ſhall quote the following paſſage from it, where he ſpeaks of himſelf and his brother. *Being riſen both of us pretty late in the morning, which was Sunday, we went, you know, to Church for the firſt time this new year. Thither I never went with truer zeal, in a better diſpoſition, or with wholeſomer reflections. And, what ſatisfied me ſtill the more, it was by appointment, that we were that day to receive the Sacrament together, having had no opportunity of a long time. Here we both of us joined in bleſſing that good Providence, which had by reaſon and education ſeparated us from the impure and horrid ſuperſtitions, monſtrous enthuſiaſms, and wild fanaticiſms of thoſe blaſphemous Viſionaries we ſaw abounding in the world, and which had given us on the contrary ſide ſuch eſtabliſhed rules of worſhip, as were ſo decent, chaſte, innocent, pure; and had placed us in a Religion and Church, where in reſpect of the moderate party and far greater part, the principle of Charity was really more extenſive than in any Chriſtian or Proteſtant Church beſides in the world; where zeal was not phrenſy and enthuſiaſm; Prayer and Devotion not rage and fits of looſe extravagance; Religious diſcourſes not cant and unintelligible nonſenſe, nor the character of a Saint reſembling that of their inſpired and godly men or women leaders; but where a good and virtuous life, with a hearty endeavour of ſervice to one's country and to mankind, joined with a religious performance of all ſacred duties, and a conformity with the eſtabliſhed rites, was enough to anſwer the higheſt character of Religion, and where all other pretences to gifts and ſupernatural endowments beyond theſe moral and Chriſtian perfections were juſtly ſuſpected and treated as villainy, cheat, impoſture, and madneſs.* In a letter of his dated May the 5th 1709, he writes thus of the *Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm:* "I think your genius has dictated "right to you about a little pamphlet, which, it "ſeems, is commonly ſold with the *Reflections* lately "wrote upon it; which, if ſhort, I would not for "once debar you from, but have you hear what is "ſaid in anſwer, leſt you ſhould ſeem to yourſelf "miſtaken or diffident, as to the truth. For my own "part, I cannot but think from my heart, that the "author of the pamphlet (whatever air of humour "he may give himſelf, the better to take with the "polite world) is moſt ſincere to virtue and religion, "and even to the intereſt of our Church. For many "of our modern aſſertors of toleration have ſeemed "to leave us deſtitute of what he calls a *public leading* or *miniſtry*; which notion he treats as mere enthuſiaſm or horrid irreligion. For in truth Religion cannot be left thus to ſhift for itſelf, without "the care and countenance of the Magiſtrate. But "in the *Remarks* or *Reflections* I find the anſwers are ſo "far from underſtanding this plain ſenſe of *leading*, "that they think it means only *leading by the noſe*. "So excellent are theſe Gentlemen at improving ridicule againſt themſelves. They care not who "defends religion, or how it is defended, if it be "not defended in their way. They cry out upon a "deluge of Scepticiſm breaking out and overwhelming us, in this witty knowing age; and yet they "will allow no remedy proper in the caſe, no application to the world in a more genteel, polite, open, "and free way. They for their parts (witneſs Dr. "A——y againſt the good Mr. H——y) have aſſerted virtue upon baſer principles and more falſe "and deſtructive by far, than Epicurus, Democritus, Ariſtippus, or any of the ancient Atheiſts. "They

(7) In octavo.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 181, 182. note [F].

The next treatiſe is the " Senſus Communis: an Eſſay on the Freedom of Wit and " Humour." This work is more conſiderable in point of extent than the former one, but is nearly entitled to the ſame character. The noble author, in our opinion, is far from being ſpecific in his ideas. Some of the ſentiments here advanced had been occaſionally thrown out in the Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm; but in the preſent tract he enters into a larger defence of the application of raillery to ſubjects of ſpeculative enquiry, and among the reſt to matters of religious opinion. His advocates have aſſerted, that unjuſt repreſentations have often been given of the poſitions maintained by him upon this head [*H*]. This aſſertion we acknowledge to be true; but, at the ſame time, we are convinced, that Lord Shafteſbury, by the inaccurate and unguarded manner in which he hath written, hath laid himſelf fairly open to animadverſion and cenſure. Many perſons have expreſſed great diſapprobation of his ideas concerning the uſe of wit and humour. To expoſe his Lordſhip's notions in this reſpect, is the buſineſs of the firſt of Dr. Brown's Eſſays on the Characteriſtics. The Doctor contends, with great ingenuity, that Ridicule is a ſpecies of Eloquence; that reaſon alone is the detector of falſhood, and the teſt of truth; that ridicule can never pretend to this character; that it is one of the moſt powerful engines, by which error can be maintained and eſtabliſhed; and that its proper object is folly of conduct and chiefly affectation. What Dr. Brown maintained was not admitted without controverſy. Several writers appeared in defence of the Earl of Shafteſbury, and amongſt others, the Reverend Mr. Charles Bulkley, an ingenious and learned Diſſenting Miniſter

" They have ſubverted all morality, all grounds of " honeſty, and ſupplanted the whole doctrine of our " Saviour, under pretence of magnifying his revela- " tion. In Philoſophy they give up all foundations, " all principles of Society, and the very beſt arguments " to prove the Being of a Deity. And by the way, " this pamphlet, which they are ſo offended at, is ſo " ſtrong on this head, that the author aſſerts the Deity " even on the foundations of his *innate idea*, and the " power of this notion even over Atheiſts themſelves, " and by the very conceſſion of Epicurus and that " ſect (11)."

(11) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 181, 182. note [*F*].

[*H*] *That unjuſt repreſentations have often been given of the poſitions maintained by him upon this head.*] We ſhall here inſert what has been urged in his Lordſhip's defence, in the General Dictionary. " This author has been much miſrepreſented with reſpect to his notions of wit and ridicule. From his having recommended them in ſome caſes as uſeful, he has been treated as an advocate of that low, mean and vicious buffoonery, which without decency or diſtinction ſeeks a laugh from every thing. The falſhood of this charge may be ſufficiently ſeen from an impartial view of what he has ſaid on this ſubject, and that more particularly in this ſecond treatiſe. His opinion if fairly examined, ſeems indeed to be no more than this, that ridicule may be made of excellent uſe, either againſt *ridicule itſelf, when falſe and miſapplied*, or againſt *grave, ſpecious, and deluſive impoſture*. It is with a view to the rendering it ſubſervient to theſe two purpoſes, that he juſtly condemns other uſes of it more licentious, and with great care diſtinguiſhes the decent from its contrary. Thus (vol. i. p. 63.) " To go about induſtriouſly (ſays he) to confound " men in a myſterious manner, and to make advan- " tage or draw pleaſure from that perplexity they " are thrown into, by ſuch uncertain talk; is as un- " handſome in a way of raillery, as when done with " the greateſt ſerioufneſs, or in the moſt ſolemn way " of deceit——*Again*——It is certainly a mean, im- " potent and dull ſort of wit, which amuſes all alike, " and which leaves the moſt ſenſible men, and even " a friend, equally in doubt and at a loſs to under- " ſtand what one's real mind is upon any ſubject. " This is that groſs ſort of Raillery, which is ſo of- " fenſive in good company. And indeed there is as " much difference between one ſort and another, as " between fair-dealing and hypocriſy, or between the " genteeleſt wit and the moſt ſcurrilous buffoonery. " —*Again, vol.* i. *p.* 128.—By this time (my friend!) " you may poſſibly, I hope, be ſatisfied, that as I am " in earneſt in defending raillery, ſo I can be ſober " too in the uſe of it. It is in reality a ſerious ſtudy to " learn to temper and regulate that humour, which " nature has given us as a more lenitive remedy " againſt vice, and a kind of ſpecific againſt ſuperſti- " tion, and melancholy deluſion. There is a great " difference between ſeeking how to raiſe a laugh " from every thing, and ſeeking in every thing what " juſtly may be laughed at." See alſo pages 82, 3, 4, 5. of the ſame vol.—But a more remarkable inſtance than all theſe may be given from a manuſcript epiſtle of this author to Monſieur Coſte, when cenſuring a criticiſm of Monſieur Dacier (who would ſuppoſe the 34th Ode B. 1. of Horace to be ironical banter) he ſays, " There is a due proportion in irony " well known to all polite writers, eſpecially Horace, " who ſo well copied that noted Socratic kind. Go " but a little further with it, and ſtrain it beyond a " certain juſt meaſure, and there is nothing ſo offen- " ſive, injurious, hypocritical, bitter, and contrary to " all true ſimplicity, honeſty, or good manners."

" As to thoſe uſes of ridicule which he allows, with regard to impoſture he tells us (vol. i. p. 11.) that we " can never too much honour or revere any thing for " grave, if we are aſſured the thing is grave, as we " apprehend it. The main point is to know always " true gravity from the falſe; and this can only be by " carrying the rule conſtantly with us, and freely " applying it not only to the things about us, but to " ourſelves. For if unhappily we loſe the meaſure " in ourſelves, we ſhall ſoon loſe it in every thing " beſides. Now what rule or meaſure is there in the " world, except in conſidering the real temper of " things, to find which are truly ſerious and which " ridiculous? And how can this be done, unleſs by " applying the ridicule, to ſee whether it will bear? " But if we fear to apply this rule in any thing, what " ſecurity can we have againſt impoſture in all things?" Again, as to the uſe of ridicule againſt ridiculers themſelves, and univerſal ſcoffers, he very pertinently ſays (vol. i. p. 134.) that " if it be the complaint of our " ſtanding Reformers, that they are not heard ſo well " by the Gentlemen of faſhion; if they exclaim againſt " thoſe airy wits, who fly to ridicule as a protection, " and make ſucceſsful ſallies from that quarter; why " ſhould it be denied one, who is only a volunteer in " this cauſe, to engage the adverſary on his own terms, " and expoſe himſelf willingly to ſuch attacks, on " the ſingle condition of being allowed fair play in " the ſame kind?"

" So little, as appears from hence, was this author an advocate for a vague, indecent, and boundleſs ridicule, or inclined to employ his wit and humour, otherwiſe than under the abovementioned reſtrictions, and when the above occaſions called for it. What indeed he contended for, was not the droll and the buffooniſh, but the humourous, the eaſy, and the facetious, the ſame genius and ſpirit, in which one of the moſt important facts of our Chriſtian faith has been lately defended, and in which Free-thinking itſelf was once vigorouſly attacked; both of them with univerſal approbation as well of the manner, as of the argument (12)."

(12) *Ibid.* p. 182. note [*H*].

of the city of London [*I*]. In a work which was aſcribed to the late Mr. Ramſay, the painter, the author attempted to ſhew that Ridicule is of two kinds, and that it may be applied to opinions as well as to manners: and we cannot avoid expreſſing our concurrence with the writer in this view of the ſubject. The uſual objects of Ridicule are, indeed, certain improprieties and peculiarities of character and conduct, and to aſſert, in general, that it is the teſt of truth, is advancing a falſe poſition. Reaſon is undoubtedly the genuine and proper teſt of truth. Nevertheleſs, Ridicule may in ſome caſes be juſtly applied to opinions. There are tenets ſo flagrantly abſurd, that it is not eaſy to refrain from viewing them in the light of Humour and Raillery; and perhaps the beſt way of expoſing them, may be to diſplay them in that light. That ſome of the doctrines of Popery (not to mention other doctrines) cannot ſtand this mode of trial, has more than once been evinced, and particularly appears in Tillotſon's Rule of Faith. We confeſs, however, that Ridicule, when applied to grave and important ſubjects, is a very dangerous weapon; that it ought to be adopted with the utmoſt diſcretion, and that it hath often been made uſe of in an improper manner.

In the third work, the "Soliloquy; or, Advice to an Author," the Earl of Shafteſbury riſes in his literary character; for there are not many things in the performance which are liable to much cenſure. Dr. Brown ſpeaks of this treatiſe in terms of high applauſe. "Here," ſays the Doctor, "bating only a few accidental paſſages, which will be occaſio-"nally pointed out hereafter, we ſhall have little more to do, than to approve and ad-"mire; the whole diſſertation being, in its general turn, one continued inſtance of its "author's knowledge and refined taſte in books, life, and manners. I could dwell with "pleaſure on the beauties of this work, if indeed they needed an explanation. But that "noble union of truth and eloquence which ſhines through the whole, as it ſupercedes, ſo "it would diſgrace any attempt of this kind. To the work itſelf therefore, I recommend "the Reader (*p*)." Perhaps this encomium is carried higher than ſtrict truth and juſtice will warrant. The writer of the preſent article, upon a late re-peruſal of the "Advice to an Author," did not find himſelf ſtruck with that admiration of it which he experienced in his younger days. There appeared to be too many things in it of a deſultory, not to ſay of a trifling nature. It contains, however, a variety of excellent matter; and what the noble Lord has advanced in recommendation of ſelf-examination, and in defence of critics and criticiſm, is particularly valuable. In this treatiſe thoſe paſſages occur, which are ſuppoſed to caſt a cenſure on the Philoſophy of Mr. Locke, and for which the Earl of Shafteſbury hath often been condemned. One of them is as follows: "In reality, how ſpecious a ſtudy, how ſolemn an amuſement is raiſed from what we call philoſophical ſpeculations!—the formalities of ideas—their compoſitions, compariſons, agreement, and diſagreement! What can have a better appearance, or bid fairer for genuine and true philoſophy? Come on then. Let me philoſophize in this manner; if this be indeed the way I am to grow wiſe. Let me examine my ideas of ſpace and ſubſtance; let me look well into matter and its modes; if this be to look into MYSELF; if this be to improve my underſtanding, and enlarge my mind. Let me obſerve, therefore, with diligence, what paſſes *here*; what connection and conſiſtency, what agreement or diſagreement I find

(*p*) Eſſays on the Characteriſtics, p. 109, 110. fifth edit.

[*I*] *And, amongſt others, by the Reverend Mr. Charles Bulkley.*] This Gentleman, in a piece entitled "A "Vindication of my Lord Shafteſbury on the Subject "of Ridicule," obſerves, "that as his Lordſhip was "fully perſuaded, that the higheſt Ridicule may poſſibly "take place in matters of ſpeculation, controverſy, "and argument, and that it hath actually been in-"troduced into them; ſo, he, as well as others, "knows that the natural and proper rule by which "to diſcover what was ridiculous in Reaſon's Pro-"vince was the uſe of reaſon: in like manner, as "our ſenſe of order, beauty and proportion judges "and determines as to what is ridiculous in Archi-"tecture, Painting, and Dreſs, or whatever elſe muſt "be ſuppoſed naturally to fall under our cognizance "and inſpection. But then he juſtly ſuppoſed, that "there muſt be ſome certain way and method of "uſing this reaſon, which might be more ſucceſsful "than any other, not only towards detecting the ri-"diculous, but alſo towards diſcovering the ſolid and "the true. This method it was his deſign in the "two treatiſes to recommend;" and it was "no "other than reaſoning upon every ſubject in an eaſy, "chearful, good humoured way, which the noble "author recommends in oppoſition to that ſour and "melancholy, that magiſterial and impoſing manner "of treating religion, which, in his opinion, has "done ſuch infinite miſchief in the world. Nothing "can be plainer than that his Lordſhip uſes the "word Ridicule as ſynonymous to freedom, famili-"arity, good-humour, and the like." Mr. Bulkley, throughout his pamphlet, endeavours to prove, that Lord Shafteſbury's Teſt of Ridicule is "no other than the Teſt of free and chearful Enquiry, or that unreſtrained, ſociable, and pleaſant manner of inveſtigating truth, and examining opinions, which the noble author had obſerved, with ſuch high approbation, in the writings of the ancients." His Lordſhip was vindicated, likewiſe, in this reſpect, in an anonymous piece, entitled, "Animadverſions on Mr. "Brown's three Eſſays on the Characteriſtics." In "this publication it is contended, that it was the "Earl of Shafteſbury's deſign "to recommend the "Way of Ridicule, the chearful and facetious Ex-"erciſe of Reaſon, as a Preſervative from the Gloom "of Superſtition, and the Extravagances of Enthu-"ſiaſm." The ſame author farther remarks, that his Lordſhip, in his Eſſay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour, "has favoured us with a ſpecimen of "that humorous kind of writing which he means to "recommend. And whoever reads it in an accurate "and ſtudious manner, will not find his humour to "be (as Mr. Brown repreſents it) a light, trifling "and ſuperficial wit; which diverts itſelf with un-"meaning jokes, and ambiguous innuendoes; but "will be pleaſed to ſee how chaſte it is, how happily "tempered with gravity in treating the moſt impor-"tant ſubjects, and how ſucceſsfully it is employed "in defence of Liberty, Honeſty, and Religion (13)."

(13) Britiſh Biog. vol. vii. p. 444, 445.

within:

within: whether, according to my preſent ideas, that which I approve this hour, I am likely to approve as well the next: and in caſe it be otherwiſe with me, how or in what manner I ſhall relieve myſelf; how aſcertain my ideas, and keep my opinion, liking and eſteem of things the ſame. If this remains unſolved; if I am ſtill the ſame myſtery to myſelf as ever, to what purpoſe is all this reaſoning and acuteneſs? Wherefore do I admire my Philoſopher, or ſtudy to become ſuch a one myſelf (*q*)?' Theſe ſentiments are purſued by our noble author, in a manner that is very unjuſt and illiberal. It was, likewiſe, an act of ingratitude in him, thus to treat the man to whom he was under ſo many perſonal obligations, and who had been ſo cloſely connected with, and attached to his family. We ſhould, however, remember how much the Earl of Shafteſbury was devoted to the ſentimental philoſophy, which was directly oppoſite to that of Mr. Locke. It ought alſo to be added, that his Lordſhip, in one of his works, has ſpoken highly in favour of the "Eſſay on human Underſtanding." That book he recommended to a Student, as no leſs fit to qualify for buſineſs and an intercourſe with mankind, than for the Sciences and Univerſity. "No one," ſays he, (meaning Mr. Locke) "has done more towards "recalling of true philoſophy from barbarity into the uſe and practice of the world, and "into the company of the better and politer ſort, who might well be aſhamed of it in "its other dreſs. No one has opened a better and clearer way to reaſon. And above all I "wonder to hear him cenſured by any Church of Men, for advancing reaſon and bringing "the uſe of it ſo much into Religion (*r*)."

(*q*) Characteriſtics, vol. i. p. 299, 300.

(*r*) Supplement to Biog. Brit. p. 34. note [*B*].

The ſecond volume of the Characteriſtics opens with the "Inquiry concerning Virtue," for the introduction of which preparations had been made by many ſentiments occaſionally delivered in the former treatiſes. On the whole, it is a very valuable performance, being finely written, and containing an excellent diſplay of the nature, tendency, and effects of virtuous and benevolent diſpoſitions and actions. Here, if any where, Lord Shafteſbury muſt be allowed to appear to great advantage. We do not mean, however, to aſſert that the work is perfect, or that it is not in ſome reſpects liable to cenſure, or, at leaſt, to juſt criticiſm. Though, from its firſt appearance it was much admired, and continued long to be held in admiration, it was, nevertheleſs, early the ſubject of animadverſions. It was attacked by Dr. Bernard de Mandeville, in his "Fable of the Bees," as founded on chimerical principles. But the attack of ſuch a writer was an honour, not a diſcredit to the work. Dr. Fiddes, in the Preface to his "General Treatiſe of Morality, founded upon "Principles of Reaſon only," has vindicated the "Inquiry" againſt Mandeville's cenſures: and has pointed out the truth and beauty of the ſentiments advanced by Lord Shafteſbury. Another writer, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in defence of his Lordſhip, was the ingenious Profeſſor Hutcheſon, of Glaſgow. Indeed, this Gentleman may be conſidered as having founded in ſome degree, his ſyſtem of morals on that of our noble author; or, at leaſt, there was ſuch a coincidence in their ideas, that they muſt ever be ranked as ſupporting the ſame principles, and engaged in the ſame cauſe. Several writers, however, of characters far ſuperior to that of Mandeville, and totally abhorrent of his ſentiments, have expreſſed their diſſatisfaction with ſome parts of the "Inquiry concerning Virtue." Mrs. Cockburn, while ſhe allows that the Earl of Shafteſbury's notions of moral Virtue were very noble and very juſt, and perfectly agreeable to Dr. Clarke's doctrine, ſays, that he ſeems to be defective in the foundation (*s*). Biſhop Butler, with that ſagacity which he ſo eminently poſſeſſed, has made ſome ſtrictures on the "Inquiry," that are too rational and too important to be omitted; and, therefore, they ſhall be inſerted below [*K*]. The Philoſophers,

(*s*) Mrs. Cockburn's Works, vol. ii. p. 268, 294.

(*x*) Britiſh vol. vii. p.

[*K*] *And, therefore, ſhall be inſerted below.*] "The not taking into conſideration this authority, (the authority of reflection or conſcience) ſays the Biſhop, which is implied in the idea of reflex approbation or diſapprobation, ſeems a material deficiency or omiſſion in *Lord Shafteſbury's inquiry concerning virtue.* He has ſhewn beyond all contradiction, that virtue is naturally the intereſt or happineſs, and vice the miſery of ſuch a creature as man, placed in the circumſtances which we are in this world. But ſuppoſe there are particular exceptions; a caſe which this author was unwilling to put, and yet ſurely it is to be put: or ſuppoſe a caſe which he has put and determined, that of a ſceptic not convinced of this happy tendency of virtue, or being of a contrary opinion. His determination is, that it would be *without remedy.* One may ſay more explicitly, that leaving out the authority of reflex approbation, or diſapprobation, ſuch an one would be under an obligation to act viciouſly; ſince intereſt, one's own happineſs, is a manifeſt obligation, and there is not ſuppoſed to be any other obligation in the caſe. "But does it much mend the "matter, to take in that natural authority of reflec"tion? There indeed would be an obligation to "virtue; but would not the obligation from ſup"poſed intereſt on the ſide of vice remain?" If it ſhould, yet to be under two contrary obligations, that is, under none at all, would not be exactly the ſame, as to be under a formal obligation to be vicious, or to be in circumſtances in which the conſtitution of man's nature plainly required, that vice ſhould be preferred. But the obligation on the ſide of intereſt really does not remain. For the natural authority of the principle of reflection is an obligation the moſt near and intimate, the moſt certain and known: whereas the contrary obligation can at the utmoſt appear no more than probable; ſince no man can be *certain* in any circumſtances, that vice is his intereſt in the preſent world, much leſs can he be certain againſt another: and thus the certain obligation would entirely ſuperſede and deſtroy the uncertain one; which yet would have been of real force without the former.

"In truth, the taking in this conſideration, totally changes the whole ſtate of the caſe; and ſhews, what this author does not ſeem to have been aware of, that the greateſt degree of ſcepticiſm which he thought poſſible, will ſtill leave men under the ſtricteſt moral obligations, whatever their opinion be concerning the happineſs of virtue. For that mankind upon reflection felt an approbation of what was good, and diſapprobation

Philoſophers, in general, who deduce the principles of virtue from ſelf-love only, and refer the obligation of it ſolely to the Will of God, are, of courſe, direct enemies to the moral ſyſtem of Lord Shafteſbury, and are not ſparing of their cenſures of it, whenever it comes in their way. Of this claſs was Dr. Brown, who hath made the "Inquiry" the particular object of his animadverſions, in the ſecond of his Eſſays on the Characteriſtics. Whilſt we acknowledge the ingenuity and importance of ſome of the Doctor's obſervations, we are far from thinking that he appears to as great advantage in this as in other parts of his work. In oppoſition to Dr. Brown, our noble author found an able defender in Mr. Bulkley, who publiſhed a pamphlet, the title of which was "A Vindication of my Lord "Shafteſbury, on the Subjects of Morality and Religion, being farther Remarks on a "Book entitled Eſſays on the Characteriſtics." Dr. Reid, in his late Treatiſe on the active Powers of Man, hath ſpoken of his Lordſhip, in different places, in language of approbation, and hath reckoned him with the judicious Moraliſts (*t*). Lord Monboddo is tranſcendant in his praiſes of the "Inquiry." "I have elſewhere ſaid," obſerves his Lordſhip, "that the Inquiry is the beſt book in Engliſh upon the ſubject of Morals: and I am "not at all diſpoſed to retract that opinion, but, on the contrary, after having read it over "again—I am fully convinced, that it is the beſt demonſtration to be found, in any book "that I know, ancient or modern, of the moſt important truth, the foundation, I think, "of theiſm, that virtue is the greateſt happineſs, and vice the greateſt miſery of men: for "we cannot otherwiſe be convinced ourſelves, nor convince others, that the world is "under the government of Supreme Intelligence, Power and Goodneſs (*u*)."

(*t*) Eſſays on the active Powers of Man, p. 145.

(*u*) Origin and Progreſs of Language, vol. iv. p. 351. note.

In the "Inquiry concerning Virtue," the Earl of Shafteſbury appeared in the cloſe, the logical, and the didactic form. But in the "Moraliſts, a philoſophical Rhapſody," he aſſumes a higher tone, and figures in a new character. Here he preſents himſelf in the mode of dialogue, and is the emulator of the Ancients, and particularly of Plato, in the boldeſt poetic manner of that eminent Philoſopher. Whatever may be thought of ſome things in the "Moraliſts," and eſpecially of the rapturous kind of language into which his Lordſhip is frequently carried, it is, we think, on the whole, a work of great and extraordinary merit. Dr. Brown had aſſerted, that the noble author hath ſtrangely attempted to ridicule and diſhonour religion in every ſhape (*w*). But, Mr. Bulkley has juſtly obſerved, that this aſſertion is ſo far from being true, that the whole treatiſe we are ſpeaking of is written in defence of a Deity and a Providence; and that the cauſe of pure, genuine and perfect theiſm is maintained in it with ſuch ſtrength of judgment, ſuch ſuperiority of reaſon, ſuch invincible force of argument, ſuch a commanding eloquence, and ſuch a ſublime ſtrain of piety, as cannot but naturally and juſtly recommend it to the ſtricteſt attention of all who intereſt themſelves in that higheſt and moſt momentous ſubject (*x*). With regard to the mode of compoſition adopted in the "Moraliſts," Biſhop Hurd ranks it among the beſt of the kind which we have in our language. "There are,"

(*w*) Eſſays on the Characteriſtics, p. 230.

(*x*) Britiſh. Biog. vol. vii. p. 445.

bation of the contrary, he thought a plain matter of fact, as it undoubtedly is, which none could deny, but from mere affectation. Take in then that authority and obligation, which is a conſtituent part of this reflex approbation, and it will undeniably follow, though a man ſhould doubt of every thing elſe, yet, that he would ſtill remain under the neareſt and moſt certain obligation to the practice of virtue; an obligation implied in the very idea of virtue, in the very idea of reflex approbation.

"And how little influence ſoever this obligation alone can be expected to have in fact upon mankind, yet one may appeal even to intereſt and ſelf-love, and aſk, ſince from man's nature, condition, and the ſhortneſs of life, ſo little, ſo very little indeed, can poſſibly in any caſe be gained by vice; whether it be ſo prodigious a thing to ſacrifice that little to the moſt intimate of all obligations; and which a man cannot tranſgreſs without being ſelf-condemned, and unleſs he has corrupted his nature, without real ſelf-diſlike? This queſtion I ſay may be aſked, even upon ſuppoſition that the proſpect of a future life were ever ſo uncertain.

"The obſervation that man is thus by his very nature a law to himſelf, purſued to its juſt conſequences, is of the utmoſt importance; becauſe, from it, it will follow, that though men ſhould, through ſtupidity or ſpeculative ſcepticiſm, be ignorant of or diſbelieve any authority in the univerſe to puniſh the violation of this law; yet, if there ſhould be ſuch authority, they would be as really liable to puniſhment, as though they had been beforehand convinced, that ſuch puniſhment would follow. For in whatever ſenſe we underſtand juſtice, even ſuppoſing what I think would be very preſumptuous to aſſert, that the end of divine puniſhment is no other than that of civil puniſhment, namely, to prevent future miſchief; upon this bold ſuppoſition, ignorance or diſbelief of the ſanction would by no means exempt even from this juſtice: becauſe it is not foreknowledge of the puniſhment, which renders obnoxious to it; but merely violating a known obligation.

"And here it comes in one's way to take notice of a manifeſt error or miſtake, in the author now cited, unleſs perhaps he has incautiouſly expreſſed himſelf ſo as to be miſunderſtood; namely, that *it is malice only, and not goodneſs, which can make us afraid.* Whereas in reality, goodneſs is the natural and juſt object of the greateſt fear to an ill man. Malice may be appeaſed or ſatiated; humour may change: but goodneſs is a fixt, ſteady, immoveable principle of action. If either of the former holds the ſword of juſtice, there is plainly ground for the greateſt of crimes to hope for impunity: but if it be goodneſs, there can be no poſſible hope, whilſt the reaſons of things, or the ends of government, call for puniſhment. Thus every one ſees how much greater chance of impunity, an ill man has in a partial adminiſtration, than in a juſt and upright one. It is ſaid, that *the intereſt or good of the whole, muſt be the intereſt of the univerſal Being, and that He can have no other.* Be it ſo. This author has proved, that vice is naturally the miſery of mankind in this world. Conſequently it was for the good of the whole, that it ſhould be ſo. What ſhadow of reaſon then is there to aſſert, that this may not be the caſe hereafter? Danger of future puniſhment (and if there be danger, there is ground of fear) no more ſuppoſes malice, than the preſent feeling of puniſhment does (14)."

(14) Preface to Butler's Sermons, vol. i. p. xxii—xxviii. Glaſgow edit.

ſays the Biſhop, "in Engliſh three Dialogues, and but three, that are fit to be mentioned—all of them excellently compoſed in their way, and it muſt be owned, by the very beſt and politeſt of our writers. The Dialogues I mean are, the "Moraliſts" of Lord Shafteſbury; Mr. Addiſon's "Treatiſe on Medals;" and the "Minute Philoſopher" of Biſhop Berkley." According to Dr. Hurd, the ſole fault of theſe applauded perſons is, that they ſuffered themſelves to be miſled by modern practice, and with every ability to excel in this nice and difficult compoſition, have written beneath themſelves, only becauſe they did not keep up to the ancient ſtandard. An eſſential defect in his opinion, runs through them all. "They have taken," he adds, "for their Speakers, not real, but "*fictitious* Characters; contrary to the practice of the old writers; and to the infinite "diſadvantage of this mode of writing, in every reſpect (*y*)." Perhaps the Biſhop has here carried the matter ſomewhat too far. However, without diſputing the propriety of his general ſentiments upon the ſubject, one thing is plain, that the Earl of Shafteſbury is regarded by him as amongſt the firſt of our authors in the dialogiſtical form of compoſition. But the moſt complete eulogium on the "Rhapſody," is that which is given by Lord Monboddo: nor hath this learned writer ſatisfied himſelf with beſtowing upon it ſome general praiſes, but hath favoured the public with a large and elaborate analyſis of it, from which its excellence will more fully be diſplayed. This analyſis our readers will be glad to ſee below [*L*]; and when they have peruſed it, they will be ſenſible that it is not neceſſary to add any farther teſtimonies in commendation of the "Moraliſts."

(*y*) Hurd's moral and political Dialogues, vol. i. Pref. p. xiv—xvi.

Concerning

[*L*] *This analyſis our readers will be glad to ſee below.*]

"The fineſt dialogue of modern times, ſo fine, that I think it may be compared with any thing of the kind we have got from antiquity, is my Lord Shafteſbury's rhapſody, entitled *The Moraliſts*. It has every thing which a dialogue requires; for it has a fable, characters, manners, incidents, and ſcenery too, and in ſhort, every thing belonging to a dramatic piece. The ſubject of it is the converſion of a ſceptic to theiſm. This converſion is made by a Philoſopher, who is poſſeſſed of the nobleſt of all paſſions, an enthuſiaſtical admiration of God and Nature. So here are two very different characters diſtinctly marked: and in the courſe of the action, which laſts three days, there are other characters introduced; for my Lord has not fallen into the error, which, I think, Plato has committed, of making but one converſation of his ten books of Polity, and likewiſe only one of his thirteen books of Laws, and ſo drawing out each of theſe dialogues to an immeaſurable length, an error, which, as I have obſerved, Cicero has alſo avoided. In the firſt day's converſation, Philocles (ſo the ſceptic is called, who is the narrator of the dialogue), recites a converſation which paſſed betwixt him and his friend Palemon, in the Park at London, upon the ſubject of the miſeries of human life, in which Philocles having thrown out ſome things of the ſceptical kind that gave offence to Palemon, as tending to ſhow, that there is no diſtinction of right and wrong in actions, any more than of truth and falſehood in arguments,—Philocles, uſing the privilege, as he ſays, of a ſceptic, entertained him with a diſcourſe of ſome length upon the order and beauty which appears in nature, the government of the univerſal mind, which we ought from thence to infer, and to conclude, that all thoſe ills natural and moral, of which they had been ſpeaking, were no more than ills in appearance, being only the neceſſary conſequences of the univerſe being a ſyſtem. This ſudden change having ſurpriſed Palemon, he aſked Philocles what had produced ſentiments ſo different from thoſe he had before expreſſed. In anſwer to this, Philocles informs him, that ſome days ago he had had a converſation with a friend in the country, whom he calls Theocles, who had made a perfect convert of him to the firm belief of theiſm, and the government of an univerſal mind of infinite goodneſs and wiſdom. This converſation Palemon earneſtly deſired to hear; but, as it was then growing late, Philocles could not ſatisfy him at that time, but promiſed that he would become author for his ſake, and ſet it down in writing.

"This is the firſt day's converſation, and I think a very natural and proper introduction to what is principal in the piece, viz. the converſations with Theocles, which make the ſubject of the two other days. The ſcene of theſe is Theocles's country ſeat, where Philocles had gone upon a viſit to him. There he finds him in the forenoon, walking in the fields with a Virgil in his hand. This rural ſcene is very well deſcribed. Here, after ſome diſcourſe, which the company, that Theocles had with him, naturally gave occaſion to, the converſation took a philoſophical turn; and they began to talk of pleaſure and happineſs, and of what was good or ill in human life. Upon this ſubject they at laſt agreed, that, what made perfect happineſs, was the love and admiration of what was perfectly beautiful and good. Such an object, Theocles ſaid, was to be found in the univerſe, and which he promiſed to diſcover to him the next morning; for, by this time, a ſervant had come from the houſe to let Theocles know, that company was come to dine with him.

"And here we have an epiſode very naturally introduced, in which we have two new characters that give an agreeable variety to the piece, and furniſh matter for converſation on different ſubjects, but all having a relation to the principal ſubject of the piece. One of theſe characters is an old Gentleman, a religious bigot, and a man not at all of pleaſant manners: the other is a modeſt young Gentleman, and more agreeable in converſation.

"The dinner was ſuch, as to give occaſion to Theocles to ſpeak in praiſe of the virtue of temperance; from which it appears to have been a dinner very different from what is now given by men of faſhion. From temperance in eating and drinking, they came to ſpeak of temperance with reſpect to wealth and honours, and of virtue in general. Upon this ſubject it was obſerved, that to exalt virtue and its happineſs, was underſtood by ſome religious men to be depreſſing and undervaluing religion: for virtue, they ſaid, was miſery; and that there was no happineſs in this life, nor any except what religion promiſed in our future ſtate. By arguing in this way, Theocles obſerved it was impoſſible to convince an atheiſt, who, if he believed that there was ſo much diſorder in the preſent ſtate of things, would not be diſpoſed to think better of the future, and never could be perſuaded, that the world was under the government of a Wiſe and Good Being. This naturally led the converſation to ſpeak of atheiſm, and of the common way of arguing againſt Atheiſts; when it was obſerved, that if an author argued calmly againſt Atheiſts, and ſtated the arguments fully and fairly, he was underſtood to be a friend to them. This, it was ſaid, was the caſe of the learned and pious Dr. Cudworth: and the ſame objection was made to a late author, viz. the author of the '*Inquiry concerning Virtue*.' And here Lord Shafteſbury introduces, I think not improperly, a defence of his own work from the mouth of Theocles, who ſpeaks of that author as his friend, and therefore very willingly undertakes his defence in a pretty long diſcourſe, where he ſhows, that the only way to convince an Atheiſt, is to treat him with good manners, and with calmneſs and moderation: that ſolidly to refute the arguments

Concerning the third volume of the Characteriſtics, we have little to ſay. It is entitled, "Miſcellaneous Reflections on the preceding Treatiſes, and other critical Subjects:" and is

ments of the Atheiſts, and to eſtabliſh upon ſound principles the exiſtence of a Deity, muſt neceſſarily be previous to our belief in any revelation from that Deity: that genuine theiſm and juſt notions of the Divinity muſt neceſſarily produce that divine love, which is acknowledged to be the perfection of religion, ariſing from the high idea we have of the Being which is the object of it. This, he ſays, was what his friend recommended, maintaining that we were not truly religious, unleſs our devotion proceeded from ſuch a principle, and not from the hopes of reward, or the fears of puniſhment; though ſuch motives might be very properly uſed, with thoſe who were by nature incapable of ſo liberal a devotion. This, ſays Theocles, I think is ſufficient to defend the morality of my friend's inquiry, and ſhew, that it is nowiſe inconſiſtent with religion, but quite the contrary. At the ſame time, as his work is entirely confined to morality, he has not proved that a Being exiſts worthy of that diſintereſted love and admiration, in which he makes the perfection of religion to conſiſt: to ſupply this defect, ſays he, I muſt become preacher, and give you a ſyſtem of theology agreeable to his principles.

"Here this converſation ended, by the coming in of ſome viſitants, who took up the remaining part of the afternoon in other diſcourſe. In the evening, the ſcene is changed from the houſe to the fields, and all the reſt of the company being gone, Philocles, with the old Gentleman and his young friend who remained, inſiſted with Theocles, that he ſhould give them the ſermon he had mentioned, which accordingly he did, taking occaſion to begin it from obſervations made by Philocles upon the ſtructure and organization of the plants they ſaw in the fields.

"And here begins what may be called the cataſtrophe or *denouement* of the piece, to which every thing preceding has a tendency more or leſs; I mean the demonſtration of the exiſtence of a Sovereign Mind and Supreme Intelligence, given by Theocles in language as beautiful and as much ornamented as ſcience can be delivered in. Nor does Philocles forget his character of ſceptic, and the part aſſigned to him of objecting to the arguments of Theocles, which part he acts exceedingly well; and thus the argument is fully laid before us, and according to the fair method in which even atheiſm, as Theocles thinks, ſhould be treated, every thing is ſaid in its behalf that can be ſaid, but to which Theocles gives a ſufficient anſwer. In this debate the old Gentleman takes a part ſuitable to his character, anſwering or endeavouring to anſwer the objections of Philocles, but in an angry paſſionate way: whereas the anſwers of Theocles are perfectly mild and good humoured; for he is a moſt amiable enthuſiaſt, without any mixture of that paſſion, violence, and furious zeal, which we often ſee in religious enthuſiaſts.

"What follows after this is to be conſidered as corollaries or conſequences of Theocles's demonſtration; tending at the ſame time to ſtrengthen it, by ſhewing that his theory is agreeable to fact and obſervation. The laſt converſation of this ſecond day is after ſupper, and the ſubject of it is prodigies, miracles, apparitions, and other things altogether out of the ordinary courſe of nature. By theſe the old Gentleman would prove the exiſtence of a Deity; but Philocles, taking up the argument of Theocles, ſhews that it is only from order, regularity, and uniformity in the operations of Nature, that we can infer the exiſtence of a Supreme Intelligence; but from ſuch violation of the laws of Nature, as thoſe mentioned by the old Gentleman, and the confuſion in the ſyſtem thence reſulting, nothing could be inferred except either the chaos and atoms of the Atheiſts, or the magic and demons of the Polytheiſts. This converſation is agreeably varied and diſtinguiſhed from the preceding converſations of the ſame day, not only by the ſubject, but by Theocles, who was the chief Speaker in thoſe, ſaying nothing in this, and likewiſe by the modeſt young Gentleman, who had been only a hearer before, now taking a very proper part in the converſation, and joining Philocles to the great offence of the old Gentleman, who gave him a rebuke in ſuch rough terms, that Philocles interpoſed, and finiſhed the argument, which the young Gentleman had ſo well begun, but his modeſty would not allow him to finiſh.—And thus ends the ſecond day.

"The third and laſt day begins with Theocles diſmiſſing his two gueſts early in the morning, (ſuch was the cuſtom in thoſe days) and going out to his morning walk in the fields, where Philocles finds him. It is the ſame beautiful rural ſcene, where theſe two met the preceding morning. Here Theocles, at the deſire of Philocles, addreſſed that Univerſal Mind in a ſtrain very different from that in which he had proved the exiſtence of ſuch a Mind. Before he reaſoned as a Philoſopher, now he ſpeaks as one inſpired, not by the demon which inſpired the Delphic prieſteſs or the Sybil of Virgil, but by Divine Love, which is mild, gentle, and humane. There is nothing therefore in Theocles of the *os rabidum*, or the *fera corda*, though his language be ſo much elevated, that it may be ſaid to be *nil mortale ſonans*. It is of that kind which the antients called dithyrambic, but much leſs obſcure than the dithyrambics of Pindar, nor indeed is it at all obſcure. It has thoſe *looſe numbers*, of which, as we have ſeen, the antients ſpeak ſo much, as much as our language will admit; and the only fault I find with it is, that the numbers are ſometimes too much aſtricted and altogether verſe, though that happens but very rarely. But, upon the whole, I think it the moſt ſplendid language we have in proſe, and the fineſt ſtile of the kind in Engliſh, but abſolutely unfit for any other purpoſe, except for that for which the author has employed it.

"There are, I know, who, now that inſpiration has ceaſed, will think ſuch extatic effuſions altogether unnatural. But thoſe men know not the powers of human nature, and judge of other men by themſelves. Even now the *Improviſatoris* and *Improviſatrices* of Italy will pour forth extempore, upon any ſubject aſſigned to them, a great many of their *octavo rimo* verſes, of more difficult compoſition than any verſe we now uſe in Engliſh, and much more difficult than the meaſured proſe of Theocles. And I have no doubt, but one of theſe, if he was as great a Philoſopher as Theocles, could make verſes extempore upon the ſame ſubjects.

"The firſt Rhapſody of Theocles, is an invocation in very ſublime language, but without any thing like what we call Fuſtian or Bombaſt, of that Sovereign Mind, the exiſtence of which he had proved, praying for aſſiſtance to enable him to trace, in the works of creation, the marks of Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Power.

"In the ſecond Rhapſody (or rant, as thoſe who are not initiated into this Sublime Philoſophy, would call it), he, in a ſtill higher ſtrain, goes through the works of nature, obſerving how the vital principle, diffuſed through the whole, operates in ſo many different ways, producing ſtill new forms out of the ruins of the old, ſo that, amidſt the greateſt ſeeming profuſion, nothing is loſt. Here a great deal is ſaid of matter and of mind, and of thoſe two entities ſo difficult to be apprehended, Time and Motion. Then he proceeds in the ſame rapturous ſtrain to ſurvey the heavens, deſcribing the ſun, the planets, and the fixed ſtars, in language equal, if poſſible, to the ſubject.

"The ſubject of the third Rhapſody, is this our earth; where, in deſcribing the minerals and the four elements, and particularly fire diffuſed, as he ſays, through the whole globe, and animating every thing in it, he ſhows more of natural knowledge than I thought he had been poſſeſſed of.

"In his fourth and laſt *tranſport*, he ſurveys the ſurface of this our globe, going through every climate and every country of it, where there is any thing very remarkable, and deſcribing with great accuracy, as well as great pomp of language, all the wonderful ſcenes which it preſents to us.

"Betwixt

is a kind of defence and explanation of what had gone before. This volume abounds with pleaſantry, and contains a number of ingenious remarks; but we cannot regard it as deſerving

" Betwixt theſe ſallies there is interjected a great deal of cloſe reaſoning by way of queſtion and anſwer in the Socratic manner, which was very proper in a converſation betwixt them two, but would, I think, not have been ſo proper in the mixt company they were in before. The tendency of this reaſoning, is to ſtrengthen ſtill farther, the proof of the exiſtence of a Mind in nature, which unites the whole, and makes *one* of the univerſe. For proof of this, he appeals to every plant and every animal, in every one of which it is evident, that there is ſome one thing, which makes *a whole* of each of them. And, as every thing in nature is connected, as well as the parts of a plant or animal, for the ſame reaſon, there muſt be ſomething in nature which makes a whole of it. In this interlude, as it may be called, there is a moſt ſatisfactory anſwer given to an objection made before by Philocles, but which had not been anſwered, namely, that though there may be union, order, and regularity, in ſo much of the ſyſtem of the univerſe as we ſee, yet all might be diſorder and confuſion in the reſt of the univerſe, which is infinite with reſpect to the ſmall part of it that we can diſcover; for, if it were ſo, ſays Theocles, the infinite muſt prevail over the finite, and all be diſorder and confuſion.

" Betwixt the ſecond and third Rhapſodies there is nothing interpoſed, but an interruption which Theocles makes to himſelf, ſuppoſing that Philocles had ſomething to object to what he had ſaid; but Philocles ſaying that he had nothing to object, he proceeded to deſcant, as I have ſaid, upon the elements and minerals.

" Betwixt the third and fourth there is alſo nothing interpoſed except an admonition of Philocles, that he would not inſiſt ſo much upon the power of the element of fire, which, though ſo friendly to life, Theocles had ſaid, might, when let looſe, deſtroy every thing, and bring on an univerſal conflagration. But, ſays he, deſcribe to me the maſs of nature as it appears upon this our earth; and accordingly Theocles proceeds to give that beautiful map of the earth above mentioned.

" The concluſion of the work is very proper and ſuitable to the main deſign. The ſubject of this concluſion is, 1*mo*, Beauty, and the different kinds of it: 2*do*, The neceſſity of philoſophizing in order to be happy. As to Beauty, he ſhows, that it is eſſential both to virtue and religion; for beauty is the object of love, and we love no perſon, no action, no thing, in which we do not perceive beauty. Now, there can be no virtue without the love of virtue, nor any religion without the love of God. We muſt therefore perceive beauty both in God and in Virtue. Then he proceeds to ſhew, that body has in itſelf no beauty, but that the beauty we admire in it is all from mind: ſo that what we admire in the works of art is the genius of the artiſt; and the beauty in the works of nature, where elſe can it be, but in the Mind of the Sovereign Artiſt, who therefore is the fountain of all Beauty, whether of body or of mind, as well as of all Intelligence. As there can be no love without admiration, and as admiration to a great degree is enthuſiaſm, he from thence derives the enthuſiaſms of Poets, Painters, Muſicians, and the nobler enthuſiaſm ſtill of the truly virtuous man, and the nobleſt of all enthuſiaſms, that ariſing from the love and admiration of the Supreme Beauty.

" He next proceeds to ſhow, that the ſenſe of the *fair* and the *beautiful*, the *pulchrum* and *honeſtum*, the *graceful* and the *becoming*, not only in outward forms, but in ſentiments and actions, is in man from nature, not from art or teaching, inſtitution or habit. This is ſo clear a propoſition, that I wonder it ſhould be denied, or even doubted of by any: and yet I am told, that in a book lately publiſhed upon the ſubject of morality, it is at leaſt doubted of, if not denied. I think the author might have as well doubted whether ſuch a thing as virtue or religion exiſted; or indeed whether ſuch an animal as man exiſted: for I hold that there is nothing, which more eminently diſtinguiſhes the man from the brute, than the ſenſe of the fair and the beautiful.

" The other thing he mentions in the concluſion of the dialogue, namely, the utility of philoſophy, does alſo belong to the ſubject; for it was very proper, after having philoſophized ſo much, to ſhow that it was not to no purpoſe, but on the contrary, of the higheſt uſe. This he proves, not by a continued diſcourſe, as he proves other things, but by cloſe pungent interrogations and anſwers, which, at the ſame time that they are moſt convincing, make a beautiful variety in the ſtile; and he concludes the whole by ſhowing, that, in fact, all men do philoſophize right or wrong; for they deliberate about what is uſeful or hurtful, what contributes to their happineſs or not; and, even if they ſhould determine not to deliberate at all, but to follow every fancy or conceit that is uppermoſt, ſtill that will be in ſome ſort to philoſophize.

" Thus I have analyzed this moſt beautiful piece; ſo beautiful in its ſtile and compoſition, that it ſhews the author well qualified to write upon the Beautiful, which indeed is the chief ſubject of the piece. I will conclude with ſome general obſervations upon it.

" And, in the firſt place, as the principal thing, according to Ariſtotle, in every dramatical piece, ſuch as I hold this to be, is the fable, that principal part in the Moraliſts is, I think, admirable: for, at the ſame time that there is a perfect unity in it, there is a greater variety of characters and incidents, than in any dialogue of Plato, and more than even in Cicero's dialogue *De Oratore*, where the two days are not near ſo well filled up as the three days of the Moraliſts; and there are ſeveral changes of the ſcene, beſides the introduction of new perſonages, which I think are very agreeable. It is therefore a fable of the kind which Ariſtotle calls complex; and which, if the unity of the action is preſerved, he prefers to the ſimple.

" The ſtile is ſuch as might be expected from a thorough well bred Gentleman, well acquainted with life and manners, at the ſame time an accompliſhed ſcholar, and who in his travels had acquired a very high taſte for the fine arts, as appears from many paſſages of his writings. The ſtile of ſuch a writer muſt needs be copious and rich in all the ornaments which the knowledge of mythology, antient hiſtory, and the fine arts can furniſh. His ſtile is too luxuriant, as I have obſerved elſewhere, in ſome other of his writings; but I think it is chaſte and ſober enough in this piece. The ſtile of the Rhapſodies of Theocles, is, as I have obſerved, very uncommon, excellent however of the kind, but very different, as it ought to be, from that of the dialogue, which is eaſy and natural, and a very good imitation of the converſation of Gentlemen upon learned ſubjects: and it has that politeneſs, which I have commended ſo much in Cicero's dialogue, particularly in what is ſaid by the two principal perſonages Theocles and Philocles, and which has a contraſt in Shafteſbury, that is not to be found in Cicero; I mean the roughneſs and ill-breeding of the old Gentleman.

" As to the philoſophy of this work, though it do not belong to the ſubject of this volume, I cannot help making ſome obſervations upon it. It is plainly a ſupplement, as the author has told us, to the *Inquiry concerning Virtue*; and he has in it carried the philoſophy of morals to theology, and, I think, the moſt ſublime theology that is to be found in Engliſh: and he has very properly connected the doctrine of morals, that is, the knowledge of ourſelves, with theology; for, as I have obſerved elſewhere, we can know nothing of Divinity, without firſt knowing ourſelves. He has therefore founded morality and theology upon the ſame principle, namely, that the beautiful and good are one and the ſame thing; and that what is beautiful and good in the characters of men, is beautiful and good, but in an infinitely higher degree, in the Divinity. This propoſition therefore, that the beautiful and the good are the ſame, and which is a fundamental propoſition in this treatiſe, I hold to be the baſis

ſerving of any great applauſe. It is written, on the whole, in a deſultory manner; and there are in it many exceptionable paſſages, eſpecially with reſpect to revelation. The ingenious author of "Pompey the Little," in one of his introductory chapters, has humorouſly reckoned the "Miſcellaneous Reflections" among the nothings.

Lord Shafteſbury's advocates have taken great pains to ſhew the connection that ſubſiſts between his different works: and that we may do full juſtice to his Lordſhip upon this head, we ſhall tranſcribe what has been advanced by the writer of his life in the General Dictionary [*M*]. That there is a connection between our noble author's treatiſes, and

baſis both of morality and theology, though it be not ſo laid down in any treatiſe of morality in modern times, nor explicitly in any antient work, as far as I know, upon that ſubject.

"And, as beauty is the object of love, without which, as I have obſerved, love cannot be conceived, I find a wonderful agreement betwixt the philoſophy of my Lord Shafteſbury upon this ſubject and the doctrine of our holy religion. The firſt and fundamental precept of the law, as our Saviour tells us, was 'to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, 'and with all thy ſoul, and with all thy ſtrength, 'and with all thy mind, and thy neighbour as thy-'ſelf.'—Again, our Saviour ſays to his Diſciples, 'a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love 'one another.'—'By this ſhall all men know, that ye 'are my Diſciples, if ye have love one to another.' And St. Paul, in that remarkable paſſage in I. Corinthians chap. 13, where he commends love, makes it the eſſential duty of every Chriſtian, without which nothing that he can do, neither propheſying, underſtanding myſteries, nor working miracles, nor even martyrdom, will ſignify any thing.

"From this principle of beauty, which he has made the foundation, as we have ſeen, both of virtue and religion, Shafteſbury has deduced a demonſtration of the Being, as well as the Attributes of God, better, I think, than what is to be found in any modern book: for he has proved, from the order, regularity, and beauty we ſee in all the works of Nature above, below, and round about us, that Supreme Intelligence governs in the univerſe; and, as there can be no beauty without an unity of deſign, and as ſuch unity appears to be in every particular work of Nature, and in the whole, as far as falls under our obſervation, he from thence very juſtly, I think, infers that there is but one Supreme Intelligence (13)."

(13) Origin and Progreſs of Language, vol. iv. p. 344—371.

[*M*] *What has been advanced by the writer of his life in the General Dictionary.*]

"With regard to the Characteriſtics, as they ſtand here methodiſed, it is to be obſerved that the ſeveral pieces, which compoſe them, are not only perfectly finiſhed in themſelves, according to the nature and genius of that ſpecies of writings to which each belongs, but that all together they form a complete whole, whoſe parts have a certain order and relation to each other, and which cannot be inverted without the whole's being injured.

"Such a dependency and connexion of the ſeveral joint tracts, is what the author himſelf in many places hints at. See vol. iii. p. 135. 189, 190. 284, 285, &c. Particularly vol. iii. p. 190, he ſays, that *in this joint edition it will appear, that the three former treatiſes are preparatory to the fourth, and the fifth a kind of apology for this revived treatiſe concerning virtue and religion.*

"Indeed, as he had a peculiar ſyſtem, as well of *Divinity* as of *Ethics*, and had many things to advance, to which the ears of mankind had been little accuſtomed, it was neceſſary before he aſſumed *the formal ſyſtematic and didactic* character, that he ſhould firſt appear in the *preparatory, the corrective, or refutative.*

Sincerum eſt niſi vas, &c.

To this preparatory therefore or refutative method may be referred the treatiſes of his firſt volume. And though in general they may be all three ſaid to attack the follies, vices, and falſe taſte of mankind, and ſo prepare the mind for the better doctrine it was to receive from the two following; yet each piece in particular ſeems to have a peculiar end of its own.

"The letter concerning Enthuſiaſm for inſtance, is more immediately levelled againſt the primary and moſt capital enemy of all true philoſophy, and liberal ſentiment, ſuperſtition. The cauſes of this evil are here accurately inquired into, and its ſources traced to a natural paſſion, which if properly managed and turned upon its proper objects, is ſhewn to be productive of whatever is moſt amiable. This paſſion we are told is no other than enthuſiaſm, concerning the nature and riſe of which he informs us (vol. iii. p. 20) that *there is a power in numbers, harmony, proportion, and beauty of every kind, which naturally captivates the heart, and raiſes the imagination to the opinion or conceit of ſomething majeſtic and divine.* He adds in another place, (vol. iii. p. 37.) that *in itſelf this is a very natural and honeſt paſſion, and has properly nothing for its object, but what is good and honeſt. It is apt however, he confeſſes, to run aſtray. And by modern examples,* ſays he, *we know perhaps yet better than by any antient, that in religion the enthuſiaſm, which works by love, is ſubject to many ſtrange irregularities; and that which works by fear, to many monſtrous and horrible ſuperſtitions.* Theſe then are thoſe exceſſes of it, which he here profeſſes to encounter, and againſt which he makes no ſmall uſe of the weapons of *wit and ridicule.*

"It was this manner of attack, as well as a conſtant purſuit of it through his following pieces, which made it neceſſary that *in his ſecond treatiſe he ſhould accommodate his reader to that free, eaſy, and humorous method, to that ſpirit of mirth and wit, and raillery,* which he uſes ſo freely upon occaſions and ſubjects, where the uſual ſtyle had been only the moſt grave and magiſterial. As the method indeed was new, ſo it well wanted an apology. But of this ſee above remark [*H*] upon the eſſay, &c.

"The third treatiſe called *Soliloquy, or Advice to an Author*, beſides a great ſhare of ſubjects in common with the treatiſes abovementioned, has ſtill ſomething farther which is peculiar to its ſelf. As the philoſophy he had to exhibit, was calculated not only to furniſh the head, but to mend the heart; as it was to correct thoſe fancies and opinions, which are the ſprings of all our actions, for this reaſon it was abſolutely neceſſary that the reader ſhould be taught to *turn his eye inward*, and ſhewn how to recognize *within himſelf* the order as well as diſorder, the œconomy as well as confuſion of his own paſſions, appetites, imaginations and ſentiments. This, in the judgment of this author, was the only means, by which a man might come to be ſenſible (vol. iii. p. 147) *who or what he is; whence he aroſe or had his being; to what end he was deſigned; and to what courſe of action he is by his own natural frame and conſtitution deſtined.* And (to uſe the words of vol. ii. p. 285) *as we have more or leſs of this intelligence or comprehenſion of ourſelves, ſo this author held that we were accordingly more or leſs truly men, and either more or leſs to be depended on in friendſhip, ſociety, and the commerce of life.* To aſſiſt therefore in this important buſineſs of ſelf-converſe and examination, appears to have been the principal purpoſe and deſign of the ſoliloquy.

"And now if we may ſuppoſe by the force of theſe previous treatiſes the *dark and ſuſpicious apprehenſions of ſuperſtition to have been diſſipated; the freedom of wit and humour to have been juſtified and eſtabliſhed; and the method of ſelf-converſe and inſpection to be made intelligible*; we may well conſider the preparatory part of his philoſophy to have been diſcharged, and no obſtacle left unremoved, which might prevent paſſing to the didactic part or preceptive.

and that it was intended by himſelf, cannot be denied; but whether that connection be ſo accurate and cloſe as is repreſented below, may juſtly be called in queſtion. Perhaps the "Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm" and the "Eſſay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour" might have been ſpared without any loſs to the moſt valuable part of his Lordſhip's deſign; and the ſame may be ſaid of the "Miſcellaneous Reflections." The "Advice to an "Author" may be conſidered as in ſome degree preparatory to the "Inquiry concerning "Virtue;" and between the "Inquiry concerning Virtue" and the "Moraliſts" there is a real and apparent union. This union has been fully inſiſted upon, and well diſplayed, in the laſt of the works now mentioned (z). The "Hiſtorical Draught or Tablature of the "Judgment of Hercules" and the "Letter concerning the Art, or Science of Deſign," are two adventitious pieces, which have been annexed to the "Characteriſtics" ever ſince the edition of 1713. With reſpect to theſe pieces it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that they afford ſpecimens of the noble Writer's love for the fine Arts, and of that degree of taſte in them to which he had arrived.

(z) Characteriſtics, vol. ii. p. 263—290.

On the whole of the Earl of Shafteſbury's character as an author, much has been ſaid to his praiſe, and much to his diſadvantage. Mr. Bulkley and others have beſtowed upon him the higheſt commendations. With theſe perſons muſt be joined Lord Monboddo, who, ſpeaking of the Rhapſodiſt in particular, is not afraid to pronounce it not only the beſt dialogue in Engliſh, out of all degree of compariſon, but the ſublimeſt Philoſophy, and if we will join with it the Inquiry—the completeſt ſyſtem both of Morality and Theology, that we have in our language, and, at the ſame time, of the greateſt beauty and elegance for the ſtile and compoſition. "Whatever may be ſaid," continues our learned Grammarian, "againſt the other writings of Lord Shafteſbury, I never heard any ſerious objection "made againſt this piece of his, though I know Mr. Pope has endeavoured to ridicule "the rapturous Viſions of Theocles. And I know very well that in my younger days, "that is, about fifty years ago, all his writings, and particularly his Rhapſody, were much "eſteemed. But I do not know how it has happened, none of his writings at preſent "appear to be in any eſtimation. I ſhould wonder the more at this, if I did not know "ſome other fine writings that appear to be forgot in much leſs time; ſuch as the Art of "Health by Dr. Armſtrong, as fine a didactic Poem as in any language, and for diction "and verſification not exceeded by any thing in Engliſh: and the Caſtle of Indolence, "written by his friend Mr. Thomſon, is the beſt allegorical and deſcriptive poem that "I know in any language, and the richeſt and beſt rhyming verſification, for ſo long a "work, that is to be found in Engliſh. As to my Lord Shafteſbury's works, they are "now ſo much out of faſhion, that I have no doubt that I ſhall give offence to ſeveral "readers, by endeavouring to bring them again into vogue. But I do not write to "flatter the prejudices of any man, or ſet of men, but to do juſtice to all authors, both "ancient and modern, dead or living, as far as I am able. The faults of Lord Shafteſ-"bury I have cenſured pretty freely elſewhere, and particularly the too great freedom "which he has uſed with religion upon ſome occaſions, to which he appears to have been "provoked by the arrogance and high ſtile of authority which was aſſumed by ſome "Churchmen of thoſe days. But in this work, at the ſame time that he has eſtabliſhed "the truth of natural Religion, better than any other writer in Engliſh, there is not a "word in the whole work that carries the leaſt inſinuation againſt the Chriſtian Religion; "but on the contrary, he makes Palæmon, in the end of the ſecond Section of the firſt "Part, ſpeak of Chriſtianity in the moſt reſpectful terms. And what have we got to put "down ſuch a writer as Lord Shafteſbury? Writings, which for the honour of the nation "ought not to be mentioned.——I would have thoſe writers of the day, who affect to de-"ſpiſe ſuch a writer as Lord Shafteſbury, try to produce a dialogue like the Moraliſts; or "if they ſay that they have not time or leiſure to compoſe a work of ſuch length, (for I am "ſure they will not think that they want genius or learning) let them try to write but a "Letter of ſuch elegance and ſtile, and politeneſs of compliment, as the Letter on "Enthuſiaſm (a)."

(a) Origin and Progreſs of Language, vol. iv. p. 383—388.

Several of the authors who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their direct oppoſition to many of the ſentiments which occur in the Characteriſtics, have, nevertheleſs, mixed no ſmall degree of applauſe with their cenſures. "I have again peruſed, with freſh pleaſure, "and freſh concern," ſays Mr. Balguy, in his Letter to a Deiſt, "the volumes of Cha-

"To this therefore we arrive in his ſecond volume, where, as he confeſſes himſelf (vol. iii. p. 187) *the reader is about to ſee him in a new aſpect, a formal and profeſſed Philoſopher, a ſyſtem-writer, a dogmatiſt, and expounder.* Here then we have his real ſentiments, his philoſophy and ſyſtem. Here is the completion of that, to which his former treatiſes were but preparatives, and to which they are conſidered as being wholly made ſubſervient, like thoſe drugs and medicines, which Phyſicians often adminiſter, only to prepare the body for that ſubſequent regimen, from which alone it is to expect a ſound and healthful eſtabliſhment.

"As to the third volume (excepting the two laſt ſmall treatiſes, which are independent and foreign) it is, what its name declares, a number of miſcellaneous reflections upon the whole; a ſort of defence and explanation of what had gone before; a comment, in which not only the ſcope and genius of his philoſophy, but the nature, ſpecies, conduct, and deſign of each particular treatiſe are examined and criticiſed with the greateſt wit and accuracy (14)."

(14) Gen. Dict. ubi ſupra, p. 183, 184. note [A].

"racteriſtics

" racteriſtics—I heartily wiſh the noble author had been as unprejudiced in writing, as I " was in reading. If he had, I am perſuaded his readers would have found double plea- " ſure and double inſtruction. It ſeems to me, that his Lordſhip had little or no temp- " tation to purſue any ſingularities of opinion by way of diſtinction. His fine genius " would ſufficiently have diſtinguiſhed him from vulgar authors, in the high road of truth " and good ſenſe; on which account his deviations ſeem the more to be lamented. The " purity and politeneſs of his ſtile, and the delicacy of his ſentiments, are, and muſt be " acknowledged by all readers of taſte and ſincerity. But nevertheleſs, as his beauties " are not eaſy to be overlooked, ſo neither are his blemiſhes. His works appear to be " ſtained with ſo many groſs errors, and his fine thoughts are ſo often mingled with " abſurdities, that however we may be charmed with the one, we are forced to condemn " the other." Mr. Balguy hath farther obſerved, with regard to the " Inquiry concern- " ing Virtue," which is the immediate object of his animadverſion, that though he cannot agree in every particular contained in it, he finds little more to do than to tell how much he admires it; and that he thinks it indeed, in the main, a performance ſo juſt and exact, as to deſerve higher praiſes than he is able to give it (*b*).

(*b*) Balguy's Tracts, p. 1—4.

Dr. Brown's encomium on the " Advice to an Author," we have already mentioned. But with regard to the Characteriſtics in general, his commendations are more reſtricted; for he obſerves, that the Earl of Shafteſbury hath mingled beauties and blots, faults and excellencies, with a liberal and unſparing hand. At the ſame time, the Doctor applauds that generous ſpirit of freedom which ſhines throughout the whole. " The noble author," ſays he, " every where aſſerts that natural privilege of man, which hath been ſo often " denied him, of ſeeing with his own eyes, and judging by his own reaſon. It may poſ- " ſibly appear ſtrange to ſome, why he ſhould ſo extremely labour a point ſo plain. But " in juſtice to his Lordſhip, theſe Gentlemen muſt remember, or be informed, that in for- " mer times, ſome well-deſigning men among ourſelves, from a groundleſs dread of the " unlimited freedom of the preſs, attempted to make the moſt unnatural and cruel ſepa- " ration between truth and liberty. Having ſhaken off the corruptions of Popery, and " eſtabliſhed what they thought a pure and perfect ſyſtem, they unhappily ſtopped ſhort " in their full career of glory; prepoſterouſly attempting to deprive others of that com- " mon privilege which they had nobly exerciſed themſelves. This miſtaken ſpirit ſeemed " entirely ſubdued by the excellent LOCKE and others, about the time of the Revolution. " But at the period when our noble author wrote, it not only revived, but was heightened " by a terrible acceſſion of bitterneſs and rancour. Hence thoſe frequent ſallies of invec- " tive which he throws out againſt thoſe intolerant principles, which he juſtly ſtigmatizeth as " equally impolitic, irrational, and unchriſtian.—It will ever be our trueſt praiſe therefore, " to join the noble apologiſt in his encomiums on freedom; the only permanent baſis " on which religion and virtue can be eſtabliſhed. Nor can we leſs approve his frequent " recommendations of politeneſs, chearfulneſs, and good humour, in the proſecution of " our moſt important inquiries. The moroſe, contemptuous, and ſurly ſpecies of compo- " ſition is generally an appendage to bigotry, as appears in inſtances innumerable, both " among the miſtaken friends and enemies of religion. On the contrary, the amiable " qualities of chearfulneſs and good-humour caſt a kind of ſun-ſhine over a compoſition, " and naturally engage us in favour of the writer. They reſemble that gentle ſmile that " often lights up the human countenance, the never-failing indication of a humane temper. " How naturally then muſt we be diſpoſed to liſten; how open our minds to receive convic- " tion, when we perceive our opponent's intention is benevolent? When we perceive " that his aim is not victory but information: that he means not to inſult but to inſtruct " us (*c*)!"

(*c*) Eſſays on the Characteriſtics, p. 2, 3. 5, 6.

Another direct antagoniſt of the Earl of Shafteſbury, Dr. Leland, has obſerved, that no impartial man will deny him the praiſe of a fine genius. " The quality of the writer," continues the Doctor, " his lively and beautiful imagination, the delicacy of taſte he hath " ſhewn in many inſtances, and the graces and embelliſhments of his ſtile, though perhaps " ſometimes too affected, have procured him many admirers. To which may be added " his refined ſentiments on the beauty and excellency of virtue, and that he hath often " ſpoken honourably of a juſt and good Providence, which miniſters and governs the " whole in the beſt manner; and hath ſtrongly aſſerted, in oppoſition to Mr. Hobbes, the " natural difference between good and evil; and that man was originally formed for " ſociety, and the exerciſe of mutual kindneſs and benevolence; and not only ſo, but for " religion and piety too. Theſe things have very much prejudiced many perſons in his " favour, and prepared them for receiving, almoſt implicitly, whatever he hath " advanced (*d*)."

(*d*) View of the Principal Deiſtical Writers, vol. i. p. 49. fourth edit.

There are writers, and thoſe too of no mean name, who have ſpoken concerning Lord Shafteſbury as an author, in the language of general contempt and indignation. In this number we are ſorry to reckon the admirable Jortin; who in the caſe before us, has, we think, departed from that candour of expreſſion, which might have been expected from a man of ſo liberal a mind. He calls his Lordſhip a conceited, fantaſtical, and half-learned writer (*e*). The eminent Poet Gray is not leſs ſevere. " You ſay," addreſſing himſelf

(*e*) Britiſh Biog. vol. vii. p. 445.

to Mr. Stonehewer) " you cannot conceive how Lord Shafteſbury came to be a Philoſo-
" pher in vogue; I will tell you. Firſt, he was a Lord; ſecondly, he was as vain as any
" of his readers; thirdly, men are very prone to believe what they do not underſtand;
" fourthly, they will believe any thing at all, provided they are under no obligation to be-
" lieve it; fifthly, they love to take a new road, when that road leads no where; ſixthly,
" he was reckoned a fine writer, and ſeemed always to mean more than he ſaid. Would
" you have any more reaſons? An interval of above forty years has pretty well deſtroyed
" the charm. A dead Lord ranks but with Commoners: vanity is no longer in the matter,
" for the new road is become an old one. The mode of freethinking is like that of
" ruffs and farthingales, and has given place to the mode of not thinking at all. Once
" it was reckoned graceful, half to diſcover and half conceal the mind; but now we have
" been long accuſtomed to ſee it quite naked. Primneſs and affectation of ſtile, like the
" good breeding of Queen Anne's court, has turned to hoydening and rude famili-
" arity (*f*)."

(*f*) Maſon's Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Gray, p. 263, 264.

Dr. Johnſon, as we are informed by Sir John Hawkins, bore no good-will to Lord Shafteſbury; " neither did he ſeem at all to reliſh the cant of the Shafteſburian School,
" nor inclined to admit the pretenſions of thoſe who profeſſed it, to taſtes and perceptions
" which are not common to all men; a taſte in morals, in poetry, and proſe writing, in
" painting, in ſculpture, in muſic, in architecture, and in government! A taſte that cen-
" ſured every production, and induced them to reprobate every effort of genius that fell
" ſhort of their own capricious ſtandard (*g*)."

(*g*) Life of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, p. 255.

The grand point in which our noble Author has rendered himſelf juſtly obnoxious to the friends of religion, is his having interſperſed through the Characteriſtics a number of inſinuations that appear to be unfavourable to the cauſe of Revelation. There have not, however, been wanting many among his admirers, who have thought that he ought not to be reckoned among the Deiſtical writers. The author of " Animadverſions upon Dr.
" Brown's three Eſſays on the Characteriſtics," obſerves, that it is " imprudent, to ſay no
" worſe, in ſome ſincere advocates for Chriſtianity, to reject the friendly advice and aſſiſt-
" ance of ſo maſterly a writer as the Lord Shafteſbury, and to give him up to the Deiſts,
" as a Patron of Infidelity (*b*)." But it is matter of fact, and not conſiderations of pru-
dence or imprudence, that muſt determine the queſtion. In ſupport of his Lordſhip's having been a believer in our holy religion, may be alledged, his Preface to Whichcot's Sermons, and his Letters to a Student at the Univerſity; in both which works he conſtantly expreſſes himſelf in ſuch language as ſeems to indicate that he was really a Chriſtian. And with regard to the " Letters" it may be remarked, that they were written in 1707, 1708, and 1709, not many years before his Lordſhip's death. Nevertheleſs, there are in the Characteriſtics ſo many ſceptical paſſages, that he muſt be conſidered as having been a doubter at leaſt, if not an abſolute diſbeliever, with reſpect to Revelation. But if he muſt be ranked amongſt the Deiſts, we agree with the obſervation of one of his Biographers, that he is a very different Deiſt from numbers who have appeared in that Character; his general principles being much leſs exceptionable (*i*).

(*b*) Britiſh Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 445.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 446.

The inſinuations that have been thrown out by the Earl of Shafteſbury, to the prejudice of the ſcriptures, have been frequently animadverted upon, and fully confuted. Occaſional ſtrictures on his writings occur in Berkley's " Minute Philoſopher," in Warburton's " Divine Legation of Moſes" and in a multitude of other works. Biſhop Warburton has entered pretty copiouſly into the queſtion, whether Ridicule be a Teſt of Truth (*k*). In the productions of Mr. Balguy, Dr. Brown, and Dr. Leland, Lord Shafteſbury's direct and principal antagoniſts, will be found a compleat anſwer to whatever is juſtly exceptionable in the Characteriſtics; and a particular conſideration of that part of his Lordſhip's ſcheme which repreſents a regard to future rewards, as derogating from the dignity and excellency of virtue, as well as of his objections to the New Teſtament, becauſe it does not inculcate, as poſitive duties, the love of our country and private friendſhip. On the laſt of theſe heads, Mr. Melmoth, in the concluding note to his elegant tranſlation of Cicero's " Lælius," has made ſome remarks ſo admirably judicious, that we cannot fail of gratifying our readers, by giving them a place below [*N*].

(*k*) Divine Legation of Moſes, vol. i. fourth edit. Dedication, p. 12—3.

That

[*N*] *We cannot fail of gratifying our readers, by giving it a place below.*] " The antient moraliſts were not agreed in what claſs of ſocial merit to rank friendſhip; ſome placing it high in the ſcale of moral virtues, and others conſidering it as having no claim, in a ſtrict and proper ſenſe, to be admitted into their number. The notions of two celebrated moderns in eſtimating the value of this connection, are at a ſtill greater diſtance from each other. The noble author of the Characteriſtics, animated with a warm ſenſibility of the moral charms of this generous affection; and not being able, it ſeems, to diſcover that it is either injoined, or encouraged, by the Chriſtian inſtitution; imputes this pretended omiſſion as a capital defect in the code of evangelical ethics. On the contrary, a late ingenious advocate for that ſacred cauſe, which it was the unhappy direction of this accompliſhed Nobleman's learning and talents to depreciate; far from diſcerning any thing laudable or meritorious in private friendſhip, has attempted to prove, that " it is totally incompatible with the genius and ſpirit of the goſpel." Thus the very ſame ſuppoſed circumſtance, which appears to have been no inconſiderable obſtruction to the noble philoſopher's faith; is aſſigned by the elegant defender of Chriſtianity, as one of thoſe internal marks which authenticate its Divine origin!

—*Mihi*

That a man of Lord Shafteſbury's excellent character, and whoſe principles were, in various reſpects, ſo favourable to piety and virtue, ſhould, in any degree, have been hoſtile to

——Mihi convivæ prope diſſentire videntur
Poſcentes vario multum diverſa palato:
Quid dem, quid non dem? Renuis *tu, quod* Jubet alter.
HOR.

Widely, however, as theſe admired writers differ in their moral taſte; there is one point in which they may be perfectly united: for the ſame mode of reaſoning which overturns either of their reſpective poſitions, will equally confute both.

"That private friendſhip does not expreſsly enter into the precepts of Chriſtianity, is unqueſtionably true: for, the nature of the connection neceſſarily excludes it from being the ſubject of a religious, or moral, obligation. The diſtinctive character of this relation, conſiſts in a ſpontaneous ſentiment of the heart, unconſtrained and uninfluenced by compulſive, or external, motives of every kind and degree. To attempt therefore to produce a voluntary affection, by the authority of a poſitive command; would be to publiſh a law evidently deſtructive of its own end: for, its ſanctions could no ſooner operate as primary, or determining, inducements, than the ſentiment they were deſigned to create would utterly be prevented from exiſting.

"But a general ordinance for this purpoſe, would not merely be abſurd; it would be unjuſt: becauſe it would require univerſally, what is not in every man's power to perform. A great variety of circumſtances muſt concur, to form and cement this union: and theſe are of a nature ſo exceedingly contingent and fortuitous, that they are frequently never realized in the courſe of the longeſt life. Indeed, they ſo rarely meet together, that what a ſagacious obſerver of mankind remarks concerning love, holds equally true in reſpect to *friendſhip*; *il eſt du* veritable *comme de l'apparation des eſprits*; *tout le monde en* parle, *mais peu de gens ont* vû.

"If what the noble author requires from Revelation is, in the firſt inſtance, inconſiſtent with the eſſential nature of its object; it implies, in the next, an aſſertion no leſs contrary to fact: for although friendſhip could not, either in reaſon or juſtice, have been commanded by the precepts, it is evidently encouraged by the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. Univerſal benevolence or good will to mankind, is the vital principle that animates and pervades the whole ſyſtem of evangelical morality: and it is by a proper cultivation of this enlarged and comprehenſive virtue, that the heart is beſt prepared and qualified to enter into the engagements, and diſcharge the offices, of private friendſhip. This the noble moraliſt himſelf acknowledges in a ſubſequent treatiſe: for when the religion of his country was not in his immediate contemplation, and his inveterate prejudices had not their uſual object to call them forth; his Lordſhip aſks "can any friendſhip be ſo heroic, as that towards mankind? Do you think—that particular friendſhip can well ſubſiſt without ſuch an enlarged affection and ſenſe of obligation to ſociety?" This kind of reaſoning, however, when applied to revelation, will not ſatisfy his demands; he contends, that "friendſhip is no eſſential part of a Chriſtian's charity." But if there were any force in this objection, it would overſhoot its intended aim, and wound natural religion no leſs than revealed; as friendſhip, for the reaſons above aſſigned, can no more be the eſſential part of a theiſt's benevolence, than it is of a Chriſtian's.

"In confirmation of his Lordſhip's opinion, he cites the authority of Biſhop Taylor, who aſſerts that "the word friendſhip, in the ſenſe we commonly mean by it, is not ſo much as named in the New Teſtament; and our holy religion takes no notice of it." But it may be queſtioned, perhaps, whether this very reſpectable ornament of our Church, would have been able to juſtify his aſſertion in its full latitude. Does not Chriſt himſelf make the moſt honourable mention of friendſhip, in the preciſe and proper ſenſe of that word? For, diſcourſing with his diſciples upon the ſubject of his approaching crucifixion, he illuſtrates the magnitude of that benevolence which induced him to ſubmit to the painful and ignominious death he was going to ſuffer, by a compariſon drawn from the higheſt poſſible inſtance of human amity: "Greater love than this," he obſerves, "hath no man, than that he layeth down his life for his friends." To which he immediately adds, "ye are my friends if ye do whatſoever I command you:" that is, ye ſhall ſtand to me in the ſame relation as that term imports. For, the meaning of the word friends in the latter of theſe paſſages, muſt bear the ſame ſenſe it evidently does in the former; otherwiſe the idea would be ſuddenly changed, without the leaſt mark to diſtinguiſh its difference.

"But the texts juſt cited, are not more unfavourable to the learned Prelate's aſſertion, than that of the ingenious author of the "Internal Evidence." For it cannot, ſurely, be ſuppoſed with the leaſt degree of reaſon, that our Saviour, either by way of analogy, or compariſon, would have choſen to repreſent himſelf under a character, the genuine principles of which "are totally incompatible with the genius and ſpirit" of thoſe moral laws, which it was one great object of his divine commiſſion to confirm, or promulgate.

"Nor is it ſolely by neceſſary implication, or circumſtantial inferences, that the Chriſtian revelation recognizes friendſhip: it ſtrongly and expreſsly recommends and encourages this amiable alliance; if exhibiting it in the nobleſt and moſt animating exemplar, may be allowed to have an immediate and direct influence over the heart of man. Two very remarkable inſtances for this purpoſe occur, in the hiſtory of our Saviour's life: and they have repeatedly been pointed out. Nevertheleſs, as the principal writers who have animadverted upon the reſpective tenets under examination, have contented themſelves with ſlightly alluding to them; it may not, perhaps, be altogether unneceſſary to ſtate them in all their ſtriking circumſtances; eſpecially as they ſeem to have been overlooked, or not duly conſidered, by the truly Right Reverend Author, on the credit of whoſe opinion Lord Shafteſbury has endeavoured to ſupport his own.

"The Evangeliſt, in relating the miracle which Chriſt performed at Bethany by reſtoring a perſon to life who had lain ſome days in the grave; introduces his narrative by emphatically obſerving, that "Jeſus loved Lazarus;" intimating, it ſhould ſeem, that the ſentiments which Chriſt entertained of Lazarus, were a diſtinct and peculiar ſpecies of that general benevolence with which he was actuated towards all mankind. Agreeably to this explication of the ſacred hiſtorian's meaning, when the ſiſters of Lazarus ſent to acquaint Jeſus with the ſtate in which their brother lay; they did not even mention his name; but pointing him out by a more honourable and equally notorious deſignation, the terms of their meſſage were, "Behold! He whom thou loveſt is ſick!" Accordingly, when he informs his diſciples of the notice he had thus received, his expreſſion is, "our friend Lazarus ſleepeth." Now that Chriſt did not upon this occaſion uſe the word friend in its looſe undiſtinguiſhing acceptation, but in a reſtrained and ſtrictly appropriated ſenſe; is not only manifeſt from this plain account of the fact itſelf, but appears farther evident from the ſequel. For, as he was advancing to the grave, accompanied with the relations of the deceaſed, he diſcovered the ſame emotions of grief as ſwelled the boſoms of thoſe with whom Lazarus had been moſt intimately connected; and ſympathizing with their common ſorrow, he melted into tears. This circumſtance was too remarkable to eſcape particular obſervation: and it drew from the ſpectators, what one ſhould think it muſt neceſſarily draw from every reader, this natural and obvious reflection, "behold! how he loved him!"

"But in the concluding cataſtrophe of our Saviour's life, he gave a ſtill more deciſive proof that ſentiments of the ſtrongeſt perſonal attachment and friendſhip, were not unworthy of being admitted into his ſacred boſom: they were too deeply, indeed, impreſſed,

to Revelation, has been matter of regret to many of his admirers; and they have endeavoured to account for ſo diſagreeable a circumſtance. Mr. Huntingford has favoured us with ſome anecdotes and obſervations upon the ſubject, which we inſert with peculiar pleaſure. " From undoubted authority it is related, that the Preface prefixed to Dr. " Whichcot's volume of Sermons, was dictated by Lord Shafteſbury to his ſiſter the Lady " Elizabeth, who with her own hand wrote it as he proceeded in pronouncing it. From " the ſentiments contained in this Preface, there is every reaſon to believe what Biſhop " Butler uſed to aſſert, that had Lord Shafteſbury lived in the preſent century, when " Chriſtianity is more perfectly underſtood, he would have been a good Chriſtian. The " intolerant doctrines of the Church, which in the laſt century were unfortunately too " prevalent, and the intemperate zeal of thoſe Miniſters who ſignalized themſelves by " enforcing thoſe doctrines, gave great offence to the benevolent mind of this Philoſopher: " and the tranſition, from a diſlike of ſuch teachers, to diſapprobation of the ſyſtem, " which he erroneouſly conceived to inculcate and encourage perſecution and ſpiritual " pride, was eaſy and natural. And hence it ſeems to have ariſen, that the letters in " which Mr. Locke recommended Chriſtianity to his Lordſhip, were of no avail. It is to " be lamented that theſe letters are not now to be found; though many years have not " elapſed ſince they were read by two Gentlemen, who were ſo affected by the ſtrong and " preſſing terms in which Mr. Locke expreſſed his ſentiments, that they could not abſtain " from tears. Perhaps however theſe letters might have leſs effect on his Lordſhip's " mind, from a degree of diſlike with which he conſidered Mr. Locke's philoſophy re- " ſpecting the human mind, and its being void of natural tendencies to what is right and " fit. Mr. Locke does not ſeem to have been ſo thoroughly read in ancient philoſophy, " or indeed ancient learning of any kind, as Lord Shafteſbury was; and it is ſaid that " diſputes on the real excellence of ſuch learning were ſometimes carried on between " them with a degree of warmth; inſomuch that Mr. Locke, in a great meaſure, loſt the " affection of Lord Shafteſbury. No man ſeems to have ſtudied the Greek Philoſophers " to more effectual purpoſe than the author of the Characteriſtics; for he has not only " caught their manner of inveſtigating the ſubject, not only explained the magnanimous " principles on which the beſt ſchool founded its ſyſtem, but has left indiſputable marks " of a mind deeply impreſſed with a love of rectitude."

There is a tradition, that, amongſt other difficulties which occurred to the Earl of Shafteſbury with regard to the truth of the Chriſtian Revelation, he was ſtartled at the idea of its containing the doctrine of the Eternity of Hell Torments; that he conſulted ſome eminent Churchmen, whether the New Teſtament poſitively aſſerted that doctrine; and that, upon being aſſured that it did, he declared himſelf incapable of aſſenting to a ſyſtem of Religion which maintained a tenet ſo repugnant to all his views of the benignity of the great Governor of the Univerſe. If his Lordſhip had lived in the preſent day, he would have found a number of Divines who would have given him quite a different anſwer. They would have informed him, that, in their opinion, Chriſtianity holds out no doctrine of ſo dreadful a nature; and that, at the very utmoſt, it only denounces the final extinction of the impenitently wicked; ſo that ſuch, if there be any ſuch, who after all, ſhall remain incorrigibly corrupt and abandoned, will, at length, no longer exiſt in the Creation of God.

The ſtile of Lord Shafteſbury's compoſitions is a point upon which various and contradictory ſentiments have been entertained. For a conſiderable time he was deemed one of our moſt polite and elegant writers; and how highly he was thought of in this reſpect, has appeared from ſeveral of the paſſages already cited. A recent authority in his favour

preſſed, to be extinguiſhed even by the moſt excruciating torments. In thoſe dreadful moments, obſerving among the afflicted witneſſes of his painful and ignominious ſufferings, that faithful follower who is deſcribed by the hiſtorian as " the diſciple whom he loved;" he diſtinguiſhed him by the moſt convincing inſtance of ſuperior confidence, eſteem and affection that ever was exhibited to the admiration of mankind. For, under circumſtances of the moſt agonizing torments, when it might be thought impoſſible for human nature to retain any other ſenſibility but that of its own inexpreſſible ſufferings; he recommended to the care and protection of this his tried and approved friend, in terms of peculiar regard and endearment, the moſt tender and ſacred object of his private affections. But no language can repreſent this pathetic and affecting ſcene, with a force and energy equal to the ſublime ſimplicity of the Evangeliſt's own narrative: " Now there ſtood by the croſs of Jeſus, his " mother and his mother's ſiſter,—and Mary Mag- " dalene. When Jeſus ſaw his mother, and the " diſciple (ſtanding) by, whom he loved; he ſaith to " his mother,—behold thy ſon! then he ſaith to the " diſciple, behold thy mother! And from that hour " that diſciple took her to his own home."

" It may ſafely be aſſerted, that among all thoſe memorable examples of friendſhip, which have been celebrated with the higheſt encomiums by the antients; there cannot be produced a ſingle inſtance, in which the moſt diſtinguiſhing features of exalted amity are ſo ſtrongly diſplayed, as in the foregoing relation. The only one, perhaps, that bears even a faint ſimilitude to it, is that famous tranſaction, recorded by a Greek author, which paſſed between Eudamidas and Aretheus. But when the very different circumſtances attending the reſpective examples, are duly conſidered; it muſt be acknowledged, that the former riſes as much above the latter in the proof it exhibits of ſublime friendſhip, as it does in the dignity of the characters concerned.

" Upon the whole then it appears, that the divine Founder of the Chriſtian Religion, as well by his own example as by the ſpirit of his moral doctrine, has not only encouraged but conſecrated Friendſhip (15)."

(15) Lælius: or an Eſſay on Friendſhip; by Marcus Tullius Cicero. With Remarks by William Melmoth, Eſq. p. 328—343.

is

(r) Ibid. p

is Mr. Knox. "It is to be lamented," says this ingenious Essayist, "for the sake of "virtue, that Lord Shaftesbury was a sceptic. His stile was a fine imitation of Plato, and "displays such beauties, as might conceal the uglineſs of a deformed system (*l*)." On the other hand, Mr. Walpole observes concerning our noble author, that his writings are much more estimable on account of their breathing the virtues of the mind, than for their stile and manner; and that he delivers his doctrines in extatic diction, like one of the magi inculcating philosophic visions to an eastern auditory (*m*). It is obvious to remark, that this stricture can only be deemed just with regard to a small part of his Lordship's works, and especially the Rhapsodies that occur in the "Moralists." Dr. Campbell has pointed out a great fault which sometimes occurs in the Earl of Shaftesbury's Compositions; and that is, the becoming unintelligible from the affectation of excellence. "I proceed," says the Doctor, "to give examples of a still higher order, in sentences more complicated. "These I shall produce from an author, who, though far from being deficient in acute-"ness, invention, or vivacity, is perhaps, in this species of composition, the most eminent "of all that have written in the English language." In proof of this assertion, three sentences are alledged, which undoubtedly deserve the censure cast upon them (*n*); but it is observable, that they are taken from the "Miscellaneous Reflections," which we do not reckon amongst the most valuable parts of the Characteristics. Of all the criticisms that have been made upon Lord Shaftesbury's stile, that of Dr. Blair is the most full, and the most judicious. Upon the head of precision the Doctor expresses himself as follows.

(*l*) Essays moral and literary, vol. ii. p. 176. Edit. of 1782.

(*m*) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 195.

(*n*) The Philosophy of Rhetoric, vol. ii. p. 72—74.

"Lord Shaftesbury's faults, in point of precision, are much greater than Mr. Addison's; and the more unpardonable, because he is a professed philosophical writer; who, as such, ought, above all things, to have studied precision. His style has both great beauties, and great faults; and, on the whole, is by no means a safe model for imitation. Lord Shaftesbury was well acquainted with the power of words; those which he employs are generally proper and well sounding; he has great variety of them; and his arrangement, as shall be afterwards shown, is commonly beautiful. His defect, in precision, is not owing so much to indistinct or confused ideas, as to perpetual affectation. He is fond, to excess, of the pomp and parade of Language; he is never satisfied with expressing any thing clearly and simply; he must always give it the dress of state and majesty. Hence perpetual circumlocutions, and many words and phrases employed to describe somewhat, that would have been described much better by one of them. If he has occasion to mention any person or author, he very rarely mentions him by his proper name. In the treatise, entitled, "Advice to an Author," he descants for two or three pages together upon Aristotle, without once naming him in any other way, than the Master Critic, the Mighty Genius and Judge of Art, the Prince of Critics, the Grand Master of Art, and Consummate Philologist. In the same way, the Grand Poetic Sire, the Philosophical Patriarch, and his Disciple of Noble Birth, and lofty Genius, are the only names by which he condescends to distinguish Homer, Socrates, and Plato, in another passage of the same treatise. This method of distinguishing persons is extremely affected; but it is not so contrary to precision, as the frequent circumlocutions he employs for all moral ideas; attentive, on every occasion, more to the pomp of language, than to the clearness which he ought to have studied as a Philosopher. The moral sense, for instance, after he had once defined it, was a clear term; but, how vague becomes the idea, when, in the next page, he calls it, "That natural affection, and anticipating fancy, which makes the sense of right and "wrong?" Self-examination, or reflection on our own conduct, is an idea conceived with ease; but when it is wrought into all the forms of, "A man's dividing himself into "two parties, becoming a self-dialogist, entering into partnership with himself, forming "the dual number practically within himself;" we hardly know what to make of it. On some occasions, he so adorns, or rather loads with words, the plainest and simplest propositions, as, if not to obscure, at least, to enfeeble them (*o*)."

(*o*) Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, vol. i. p. 192, 193.

In the article of the construction and distribution of his sentences, Dr. Blair observes, that Lord Shaftesbury has shewn great art. He is, indeed, in the Doctor's opinion, unfit to be considered as a general model. "But, as his ear was fine, and as he was extremely "attentive to every thing that is elegant, he has studied the proper intermixture of long "and short sentences, with variety and harmony in their structure, more than any other "English author: and for this part of composition, he deserves attention (*p*)." Dr. Blair farther remarks, that some writers practise that degree of inversion which our language bears, much more than others: Lord Shaftesbury, for instance, does it much more than Mr. Addison; to which sort of arrangement is owing, in a great measure, that appearance of strength, dignity, and varied harmony which his Lordship's stile possesses. The words are often placed, not strictly in their natural order, but with that artificial construction, which may give the period most emphasis and grace (*q*). "Of later writers," adds the Doctor, in another lecture, "Shaftesbury is, upon the whole, the most correct in "his numbers. As his ear was delicate, he has attended to music in all his sentences; "and he is peculiarly happy in this respect, that he has avoided the monotony into which "writers, who study the grace of sound, are very apt to fall: having diversified his periods "with great variety (*r*)." In treating concerning simplicity and affectation of stile, Dr.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 207, 208.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 234.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 263.

Blair is far leſs favourable to the compoſitions of Lord Shafteſbury; and as the Doctor has here taken occaſion to give a general view of his Lordſhip's character in the point we are conſidering, the whole paſſage ſhall be produced.

" Of authors, who, notwithſtanding many excellencies, have rendered their ſtyle much leſs beautiful by want of ſimplicity, I cannot give a more remarkable example than Lord Shafteſbury. This is an author on whom I have made obſervations ſeveral times before, and ſhall now take leave of him, with giving his general character under this head. Conſiderable merit, doubtleſs, he has. His works might be read with profit for the moral philoſophy which they contain, had he not filled them with ſo many oblique and invidious inſinuations againſt the Chriſtian Religion; thrown out, too, with ſo much ſpleen and ſatire, as do no honour to his memory, either as an author or a man. His language has many beauties. It is firm, and ſupported in an uncommon degree: it is rich and muſical. No Engliſh author, as I formerly ſhewed, has attended ſo much to the regular conſtruction of his ſentences, both with reſpect to propriety, and with reſpect to cadence. All this gives ſo much elegance and pomp to his language, that there is no wonder it ſhould have been ſometimes highly admired. It is greatly hurt, however, by perpetual ſtiffneſs and affectation. This is its capital fault. His Lordſhip can expreſs nothing with ſimplicity. He ſeems to have conſidered it as vulgar, and beneath the dignity of a man of quality, to ſpeak like other men. Hence he is ever in buſkins; full of circumlocutions and artificial elegance. In every ſentence, we ſee the marks of labour and art; nothing of that eaſe, which expreſſes a ſentiment coming natural and warm from the heart. Of figures and ornament of every kind, he is exceedingly fond; ſometimes happy in them; but his fondneſs for them is too viſible; and having once laid hold of ſome metaphor or alluſion that pleaſed him, he knows not how to part with it. What is moſt wonderful, he was a profeſſed admirer of ſimplicity; is always extolling it in the ancients, and cenſuring the moderns for the want of it; though he departs from it himſelf as far as any one modern whatever. Lord Shafteſbury poſſeſſed delicacy and refinement of taſte, to a degree that we may call exceſſive and ſickly; but he had little warmth of paſſion; few ſtrong or vigorous feelings: and the coldneſs of his character led him to that artificial and ſtately manner which appears in his writings. He was fonder of nothing than of wit and raillery; but he is far from being happy in it. He attempts it often, but always awkwardly; he is ſtiff, even in his pleaſantry; and laughs in form, like an author, and not like a man (*s*)." (*s*) *Ibid.* p. 396, 397.

We have been the more large in our extracts from Dr. Blair, becauſe he has ſo particularly conſidered the Earl of Shafteſbury's ſtile, and becauſe his ſentiments upon the ſubject appear, on the whole, to be very accurate and judicious. On the re-peruſal of the Characteriſtics, we have been clearly convinced that the noble author was almoſt always excellent in the diſpoſition of his words, but that in the choice of them he is frequently liable to cenſure. A ſtriking inſtance of his nicety, not to ſay faſtidiouſneſs, with regard to compoſition, is diſplayed in the difference between the ſurreptitious edition of his Inquiry concerning virtue, and the corrected one, as it now ſtands in his works. It affords a curious and uſeful example of the *Limæ Labor*; the art of poliſhing language, breaking long ſentences, and working up an imperfect draught into a highly finiſhed performance (*t*). There is one diſagreeable circumſtance in reading Lord Shafteſbury's compoſitions, which is, that he adopted the faſhion which at that time prevailed, of writing many of our words in a contracted form. This was then ſuppoſed to contribute to the eaſe and politeneſs of ſtile; but it was far far from producing ſuch an effect; and accordingly, it is now wiſely rejected by our beſt authors. (*t*) *Ibid.* p. 397, 398. note.

It has been mentioned before, that it was cuſtomary with the Earl of Shafteſbury to write notes in the margin of the ancient authors that were his principal favourites. This cuſtom he exerciſed very copiouſly with regard to Horace. By the friendſhip of Mr. Huntingford, we are enabled to give a large ſpecimen of his Lordſhip's remarks on the Satires and Epiſtles of his admired Poet; and we are perſuaded that it will be an acceptable preſent to our claſſical and critical readers [*O*]. It is obſervable, that the Earl of Shafeſbury entertained exactly the ſame idea concerning the deſign of the Epiſtle to the Piſos,

[*O*] *And we are perſuaded that it will be an acceptable preſent to our claſſical and critical readers.*] Mr. Huntingford's communication is entitled, " A critical Epiſtle from George Iſaac Huntingford to Henry Addington, Eſq; containing notes on Horace, by the Author of the Characteriſtics," and is as follows.

DEAR SIR,

YOU may remember perhaps that part of our laſt converſation was on the various excellencies of Horace. You expreſſed your opinion, that the works of this author were particularly calculated for the reading of a Gentleman, abounding as they do with ſo many exquiſite ſtrokes of ſatire on the foibles of Human Nature, and containing ſuch an extenſive knowledge of men and the world. You were perfectly right in this, as in every other opinion. Horace is indeed a moſt thorough maſter of Moral Science; and no wonder, ſince he was educated in that beſt ſchool of ancient philoſophy, the Socratic.

The writings of all the Socratics, and particularly thoſe of Xenophon (who has moſt faithfully as well as moſt elegantly recorded the tenets of his Maſter) perpetually teach us, " to know ourſelves; to ſtudy mankind; to form liberal and magnanimous ſentiments of morality, which may be not only *beautiful* in ſpeculation, but alſo *practicable* in common life." The doctrines of this ſect Horace imbibed (as plainly appears from his works) at that early period of his age when he ſays of himſelf,

Adjecere

Piſos, which has ſince been ſo ably and judiciouſly ſupported by Mr. Colman. We need not add, that Mr. Colman could not have any knowledge of his Lordſhip's opinion upon the ſubject.

The

Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ:
Scilicet ut poſſem curvo dignoſcere rectum,
Atque inter ſilvas Academi quærere verum.
Lib. 2. Ep. 2. V. 43.

It were to be wiſhed that Horace had uniformly adhered to this high philoſophy: but dire neceſſity compelled him to court the favour of Auguſtus, and to accommodate himſelf to the diſſolute Mæcenas; from which unfortunate circumſtances he became tainted with Epicurean notions. Theſe notions he ſeems to have favoured for ſome time, but at length however he happily emerged from ſo degrading and degenerate a ſyſtem, and roſe again with all the dignity and ſuperior beauty of his firſt principles.

The different influence, which at different times theſe various changes of philoſophy could not fail to produce on the mind and writings of this Poet and Moraliſt, is ſo ſtrongly marked in very many of his Odes, Satires, and Epiſtles, that it can ſcarcely eſcape any obſervant reader. But no one ſeems to have noted it ſo accurately, as the truly noble, becauſe truly virtuous, author of the Characteriſtics. Indeed that elegant ſcholar and admirable philoſopher ſeems to have ſtudied the writings of Horace with uncommon attention; for he has left behind him ſome valuable notes, which are written with his own hand in a Cambridge edition of that author. Some of theſe notes may perhaps be thought worth your peruſal, and therefore they are tranſmitted to you for your inſpection.

LIB. 1. Ode 34. Inſanientis Sapientiæ.

Ab Epicureis diſcedens jam Senex ferè Horatius ſolùm Socraticam Sapientiam amplectitur. Vid. inf. Epiſt. 1. Neque adeo ſcurra aut impius Horatius ut ironicè hìc *riſus captans*, pietatem et Patriæ Ritus ita palam contemneret, et malignè laudans roderet. Hæc illa eſſet Ærugo Mera (Sat. 4. V. 100). *Quod Vitium procul abſore chartis promiſit.* At ille magis apertè quidem et ingenuè quando Epicureus fuit, opinionem ſuam de Providentiâ profitetur. Sat. 5. Circa Deos tamen et Deorum templa quanta Cura et Pietas Horatii, Vide Sat. 2. L. 2. V. 104. Teſtantur quoque tot Odæ in honorem Deorum. Vid. Od. 6. Lib. 3.

V. 5. *Relictos. Quia olim in Academiâ et Philoſophiâ Socraticâ nutritus.* Ut inf. Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 45.

Satyrarum LIB. 1.

Sat. 1. V. 1. Quis fit.

Inconſtantiæ cauſam quærit. Reſpondet Avaritiam ſpecioſis nominibus velatam. (Inf. V. 30, &c.) Cupiditatem inexplebilem extra naturam. (V. 50.) Hinc Invidia, Æmulatio, Dolor (V. 109, &c.) et exitus e vitâ querulus. V. 117.

V. 14. Fabium.

Vide Vet. Comment. et Inf. ad Verſ. 82. Sat. 3. de Labeone, et rurſùs ad Verſ. 3. Ep. 4. de Caſſio. ubi apparet Horatium idem feciſſe in gratiam Auguſti. Sic etiam Sat. 6, V. 24 et 107. Vide et Inf. Sat. 7. V. 1.—et Sat. 8. Lib. 2. V. 1.

V. 29. Caupo—Miles—Nautæ.

Hi omnes Avari, inſatiabiles, miſeri. Nemo avarus ergo ſe probat: omnes diverſa laudant, ſibi invident invicem, &c. V. 108.

V. 31. Ut in otia, &c.

Eadem Hominis Avari Excuſatio.—Infr. V. 80.

V. 80. At ſi condoluit.

Excuſatio Hominis Avari. Ut ſup. V. 31.

V. 88. At ſi.

Reſpondet ſuperiori, *At ſi* (V. 80.) ubi Avarus loquitur: hìc Horatius. Et eſt argumentum a fortiori: ut ſupr. V. 84. *Non filius*, &c.—Quomodo ergo habebis *Qui aſſideat, fomenta paret*, &c. (V. 82.) Noli ergo excuſationes iſtas adferre. (V. 80 et 31.) Avaritiamque defendere, ſed tandem aliquando *ſit finis quærendi*, &c.

V. 90. Operam perdas.

Etiam cooperante Naturâ, operam avaritiâ perdas. Surdi Cognati. Aſini ad Lyram.

V. 92. Denique ſit finis.

Cum ſuperioribus conjungo, ut ſit ſenſus, at ſi in ipſis Cognatis retinendis operam perdas, tandem aliquando *ſit finis quærendi*, &c. poſſunt tamen hæc in eodem ſenſu disjunctivè legi, ſine mutatione interpunctionis, et hoc rectiùs.

V. 108. Illùc.

1. 6. Sup. V. 95 et 101. Priora enim de avaris ſe non probantibus, et huc faciunt, jam inde a Verſu 30.

V. 108. Nemon' ut Avarus.

Itàne fieri? Ut nemo avarus, &c.—Sic Lambinus, latinitatis optimus judex, ſenſu quidem optimo. Cruquius ex M. S. legit, *nemo ut* ſine eliſione quod in Horatio non adeo rarum. Sic imitator Horatii Perſius. Sat. 4. V. 23.

Ut nemo in ſeſe tentat deſcendere, nemo.

Quòd autem *Avarus ſe probat* Horatius non dicit, ſed e contra, viz. Inconſtantiæ, Invidiæ, Æmulationis, cauſam eſſe Avaritiam (Vide Sup. Annot. V. 1.) Neque iſte quidem Athenienſis ſordidus, de quo ſup. V. 65, &c. ideo vitam ſuam et lucrandi genus laudavit, quia lucrum ipſum omnimodum et ex omni re probavit. Si Mercator enim fuit, adverſâ Tempeſtate aliquando militem laudavit; ſi agricola, civem, &c. —ut ſupra in initio Satyræ. Si ergo legimus *nemo ut*, poſſumus interrogationis notas amittere: ſi verò Lectionem receptam ſequimur, ſenſus temen erit affirmâtivus, *itane* ſcil. *comparatum eſſe vel a naturâ conſtitutum, ut nemo avarus*, &c.? et ſic, ni fallor, Lambinus accipit; aliter non tam benè, peſſimè autem qui Avarum a cæteris diſtinguunt, quaſi alius Horatio eſſet Avarus, alius Inconſtans, ut inf. in Annot. Cantab.

V. 117. Inde fit.

Inde. i. e. Ab eâdem hâc avaritiâ. Ergo ne hoc ſenſu quidem Avarus ſe probat, et ad extremum miſer eſt.

SAT. 2.

V. 77. Pœniteat te.

Scil. Te tuo non rerum vitio laborantem. Dum *tibi res, non te rebus ſubjungere* ſtudes. Vid. Epiſt. L. 1. V. 19. Sic Epiſt. 17. V. 24. *Tentantem majora*, &c. non æquo animo preſentia quæque accipientem, ſed ſplendidiora et difficiliora captantem—ſicut inf. V. 108, &c.—Sunt hæc tamen Epicurea vel Cyrenaica magis quàm Stoica. Hi enim neminem niſi ſuo vitio *laborare* dixerunt: illi *laborare* quidem, ſed multum referre, *ſuo vitio rerumne laboret* quis.

V. 117. Verna.

Sic Lucretius ſecundùm præcepta Epicuri (quem et noſter in prioribus his Satyris ſequitur) *et jacere humorem collectum in corpora quæque.*—In hâc enim Philoſophiâ, ne umbra quidem τε καλε.

SAT. 3. Ad Mæcenatem. V. Inf. V. 64.

V. 1. Omnibus, &c.

Correptus, credo, a Stoico quodam et coram Mæcenate Horatius apologiam hanc Mæcenati ſcribit, et contra Stoicos et Severiores invehitur. Anticipatione utitur in initio: ac veluti infra (Ep. 15.) propter inconſtantiam ſuam, ubi Mænio ſe confert, ſic in hâc Satyrâ cum Tigellio. Et hìc quidem cum Stoicis verum Bellum. Inf. Sat. 3 et 7. Lib. 2. fictum gerit.

V. 29. Iracundior eſt, &c.

Planè Ipſus Horatius eſt. Et in ſequentibus his 6 verſibus ſeipſum deſcribit, uti nominatim inf. V. 63. Hìc verò tacitè quia ſeipſum laudat magis quàm infra, Sat. 6. V. 70. Vide integrum locum et confer. De Iracundiâ autem et Aſperitate Suâ erga Monitores etiam Amicos, Vid. Ep. 8. V. 9. Vide et Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 210. Confer et V. 63, &c. infra.

V. 66. Communi Senſu.

Stoicus loquitur (Vide ſup. V. 1.) et eſt hìc *ſenſus communis*

The fate of Lord Shafteſbury as an Author, may furniſh uſeful inſtruction to thoſe who build their expectations on literary fame. For a conſiderable time he ſtood in high reputation

communis idem quod Juvenalis indicat. Sat. 8. V. 73. viz. κοινονοημοσύνη· Vid. Caſaub. et Gat. in Mar. Ant. Sat. 16. Lib. 1. Neque adeo Stultus aut fatuus accuſator Horatii, ut illum puræ putæ ſtultitiæ argueret.—Vide quod infr. Sat. 4. V. 77. — *Sine ſenſu*; quod planè ad ſocietatem refertur.

V. 76. Stultis.

Ironicè, credo, contra Stoicos. Sic inf. L. 2. Sat. 3. V. 81. *Dum doceo inſanire omnes.* Si omnes iraſcuntur, inſaniunt omnes et ſtulti ſunt. Sed omnes iraſcimur (inquit Horatius) ergo omnes Stulti ſumus.

V. 82. Labeone inſanior.

V. Vet Comment. et Sup. Sat. 1. V. 14. Vide etiam Lambinum, et Chabotii cenſuram. Alibi etiam Horatius hoc facit in gratiam Auguſti (Hactenus enim Aulicus fuit, nec *Liba recuſavit*. Inf. Ep. 10. V. 10.) et quia a partibus Reipublicæ olim ſteterat, unde illi in Aulâ Principis invidia conflata. Nunquam tamen ipſam Cauſam deſeruit, neque de viris majoribus (Catone Scil. vel Bruto) malè loquitur: de Minoribus verò ſæpe occaſione quovis modo arreptâ. Sic eſt Sat. 6. V. 24 et 107. Vid. Inf. Sat. 1. Lib. 2. V. 76.

V. 96. Paria.

Stoicum Dogma; ſed inter ſpinoſa et ſubtiliora diſciplinæ; ad Praxin minimè referentia; in Logicis reſervata; neque a Nobilioribus (Arriano Scil. et Marco Ant.) tractatum eſt. Non tam acriter tamen Horatius in hoc dogma, inf. Ep. 16. V. 52, &c. Ubi potiùs favet Stoicis etiam in hoc paradoxo.

V. 113. Nec Natura.

Hæc omnia cum Epicureis Horatius: poſtea non item. V. inf. Sat. 2. V. 75. Lib. 2.

V. 122. Magnis parva mineris.

Imperitiſſimus ſanè Stoicus (ſive Criſpinus ſive alius aliquis Romæ) qui hæc dixerit: nec reverà philoſophus, ſed imitator ipſius, quales tunc temporis Romæ multi. Sic infra Damaſippus (Sat. 3. Lib. 2.) et ipſe Davus (Sat. 7. ejuſdem libri) introducitur.

SAT. 4.

V. 1. Eupolis, &c.

Apologia hæc eſt pro Satyris ſuis: plures ergo ante hanc ſcripſit. Sequitur Apologia altera pro hâc ipsâ Satyrâ inf. Sat. 10. Prima quoque Sat. Lib. 2. Apologia eſt, uti et 6ta hujus Libri. quæ potiùs Epiſtola eſt, quàm Satyra.

V. 6. Pendet.

Significat, Satyram (cujus inventor Lucilius) veteris Comœdiæ locum occupâſſe.

V. 11. Lutulentus.

V. inf. Sat. 10. V. 50. et Od. 29. Lib. 3. V. 36.

V. 44. Comœdia.

Quia in initio Epiſtolæ Satyras Romanæ inventionis Lucilianas cum Comœdiâ Græcâ Veteri conjunxit, tanquam inde derivatas.

V. 47. In eſt.

Horatius quidem ineſſe dicit. Vide Artem Poet. V. 93 et 148.

V. 63. Aliàs.

Inf. Art. Poet. V. 93. Ubi Horatius affirmativè: regulas etiam de Comœdiâ tradens a verſu 153 ad 178.

V. 91. Nigris.

Quia priùs dixerat Horatio Cenſor ille, *Lædere gaudes, pravus*, niger es. Sup. V. 78. Quis verò, et omnium maximè *niger* eſt, Horatius dicit. V. 100.

V. 136. Hoc.

De ſeipſo et ſuo facto loquitur.

V. 137. Simile.

De irâ ſuâ intellige. Vide infr. Ep. 20. V. 25. et Ep. 8. V. 9.—Vid. et Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 210, 211.

V. 142. Plures.

Vide Epiſt. Ad Auguſtum. V. 108, &c.

SAT. 5.

V. 101. Deos, &c.

Juvenis adhuc Horatius et *parcus Deorum cultor*, ut in Od. 34. Non ſic poſtea. Vid. Sat. Sequent. V. 114. et quæ ſupra ad Od. 34. Lib. 1. Scripta eſt hæc Satyra Anno ab ter. Cond. 713, quando Pax inter Octavium et Antonium. Sup. V. 27.

SAT. 6.

Tota Apologetica eſt hæc Satyra, vel potiùs Epiſtola Horatii, commendantis ſe Mæcenati. Omnia enim ad ſeipſum referuntur, nec reverà apologiam relinquit, quanquam, V. 45. *Nunc ad me redeo* inquit. Sed tacitè et cum aliis collatione factâ, ſeipſum laudat. Non immerito ergo, inf. V. 70. *Ut me collaudem.*—Vide Annot. Inf. V. 19. 24. &c.

V. 8. Ingenuus.

Rectè Vet. Com: Ingenuus, hic ad morum probitatem pertinet.

V. 22. Vel merito quoniam.

V. Inf. V. 49.—Et Ep. 20. V. 21.

V. 19. Populus Lævino, &c.

Vide interim (inquit Horatius) quanta ambitionis vis, etiam in ignotis! Populo enim non favente, cenſore et ſenatu prohibente, nihilominus pergunt (et *fulgente trahit*, &c.) etiam excluſi (uti *Tullius*) redeunt rurſus, inſtant, clamant. Mox verò exclamante populo, *Tune Syria*, &c.—reclamat ambitioſus. *At Novius*, &c. reſpondent omnes, *Hoc tibi, &c. Tune ergo Paulus et Meſſala?* Ille vero, Homo impudens, pro ſe dicere, et eodem modo clamare non deſiſtit. Eandem excuſationem ſemper profert. Supra omnes vociferatur, et exultans *ſonat* (*cornua quod vincatque tubas*). *Saltem tenet hoc nos.* i. e. *Saltem hoc nobis conceditur.* Hæc noſtra eſt Solatio. V. Inf. V. 44.

V. 24. Ignotos.

Tacitè ſe Mæcenati commendat Horatius. Non enim, inquit, quia ignobilis ideo ambitioſus non ſum (Ignobiles enim æquè ac Nobiles ambitioſi ſunt) ſed quia Bonus, Modeſtus, et *Vitâ et pectore puro.* Inf. V. 51. 55. 57. et 64. Et eſt quidem tota hæc Satyra quaſi Epiſtola Apologetica et commendabilis.

V. 24. Tulli.

Tullius hic ſenatu motus a Cæſare quaſi Pompeianus: occiſo vero Cæſare recepit latum Clavum, et Tribunus Militum factus eſt.

V. 40. At Novius.

Apologia Hominis Ambitioſi novi, rurſus alia Apologia inf. V. 90.

V. 44. Saltem tenet hoc nos.

Verba Ambitioſi Hominis qui *Paulus* et *Meſſala ſibi videtur*, clamans perpetuò, *at Novius Collega*, &c. Quid illi facias? Silebit nunquam: eandem cantilenam cantabit *Saltem tenet hoc nos.* i. e. *Solatur* (nam ita Lambinus; quanquam verba hæc ad Populum refert, ut Commentatores omnes: quod moror.) Sic ſup. Sat. 2. V. 53. *Verum hoc ſe amplectitur uno, hoc amat, et laudat Matronam nullam ego tango.* Hæc Amatoris, illa Ambitioſi vox eſt: Horatii verò longè diſcrepans et *Vox et Ratio* inf. V. 90 et 93. Non enim ſolatur ſe vel defendit, ſed congratulatur ſibi. Vid. Sup. V. 19.

Tenet nos—verbum *tenet* hìc in bonam partem ſumitur, ut inf. Ep. 18. V. 23. *Quem tenet argenti ſitis.* Sic etiam, Sat. 3. Lib. 2. V. 45. *Hæc magnos formula reges tenet.* inf. autem Epiſt. 7. V. 18. *tam teneor dono.*

V. 46. Rodunt.

Veriſimile eſt Horatium hanc Satyram ante, Od. 3. Lib. 4. ſcripſiſſe. Vide iſtic, V. 16.

V. 47. Olim.

Temporibus Bruti et Reipublicæ. Hinc Horatio Invidiæ crevit qui *Majores pennas*, &c.—Inf. Ep. 20. V. 21.

V. 49. Diſſimile.

Quaſi ſeipſum damnans, ut ſup. V. 22. Etiam hoc modo purgans ſe Mæcenati et Auguſto, quòd olim pro Republicâ ſtetiſſet, a Bruto honoratus, olim enim ambitioſus (inquit) fuì. Nunc non ita. Non ergo *jure mihi invideat.*

V. 114. Aſſiſto divinis.

Non jam ergo amplius, uti olim *Parcus Deorum cultor*, &c. Od. 34. Lib. 1. Quanquam alitèr accipiunt

reputation as a polite writer, and was regarded by many as a ſtandard of elegant compoſition. His imitators, as well as admirers, were numerous, and he was eſteemed the Head of

cipiunt Vet. Com. et Torrentius, fortè non immeritò. Mæcenati enim ſcribit, et nondum ſenex Horatius.

V. 123. Tacitum juvet.

Sup. Sat. 4. in fine. *Hæc ego mecum compreſſis agito labris.* Hìc ergo philoſophica iſta intelligit, quæ ad ſui emendationem pertinent, non poetica et vulganda. Id enim eſt *chartis illudere*, et aliis ſcribere; hoc verò *philoſophari*, dum tacitus ſibi legit et ſcribit. Sic inf. Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 143. *Sed veræ numeroſque modoſque ediſcere vitæ.*—Seneca de Tranquil. Cap. 10. *In ſtudiis puto meherculè melius eſſe res ipſas*, &c.—*minus moleſtiarum habet Funus tacitum*, &c.—Sequitur, Quæro meherculè tacitus, &c.

SAT. 7.

Pugna hæc jocoſa inita eſt paulo ante cladem Philipenſem (ut conſtat ex verſu 18 et 19, infra). Scripta verò poſtea, ſi ipſi quidem Horatio fides adhibenda eſt Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 50. Ille enim, ſi Reſpublica ſtetiſſet, omnino Poeta nunquam exſtitiſſet, minùs adhuc ſcurriles hos ludos ſcripſiſſet. Nec credibile eſt Horatium ſerium, et res ſerias adeò atque arduas ſub Amico et Patrono Bruto agentem, pro Patriâ periclitantem, Tribunum etiam Militum, talia ſcripſiſſe. *Deciſis* vero *Pennis* Paupertati ſuccumbens, poſtquam *Poeta* factus eſt, atque *audax* victum quærebat, facetiis jociſque ad Cæſarianos Victores ſe commendans, non mirum eſt, ſi occaſionem hanc citò arripuit recentem adhuc injuriam ulciſcendi ſine magnâ Bruti Nominis reverentiâ. Quòd ſi Bruto et Caſſio et præcipuis iſtis viris pepercit Horatius, non tamen eodem modo et aliis militantibus, et eidem cauſæ faventibus.

Perſius hic Græcus, Dives; et Rupilius olim Prætor et in Triumviratu proſcriptus, ut in Vet. Com. An ergo tunc temporis et in Caſtris Bruti odioſum erat *Proſcripti* nomen? Id quaſi odioſum tamen Horatius profert, et in initio Statim in Rupilium jacit. Mortuo ergo Bruto et in humili ſtatu Horatii, ſub tyrannide ſcripta eſt hæc Satyra. Vid. Annot. ad Sat. 3. V. 82. et ad Sat. 1. V. 14.

SAT. 9.

V. 44. Paucorum.

Garruli, non Horatii, verba. Turn. et Torr.

V. 45. Nemo.

De Mæcenate intelligendum. Cruq. et Torr.

V. 47. Hunc.

Me. δειϰτιϰως· Lamb.

V. 54. Velis.

Velis me tradere. Ut ſup. V. 44. Garruli verba ſunt. Commentatores Horatium quoque garrulum faciunt, dum hæc et quæ ſup. V. 44, 45. illi tribuunt. Neque Horatio digna Ironia hæc, nec rei vel tempori conveniens. Laborat Horatius. Longè abeſt quòd colloquia jam ſerat. Longiſſimè verò quòd Hominem hunc ſponte accendat.

V. 55. Eoque Difficiles.

Optimè Turnebus. Sicut et in ſuperioribus. *Qui ſe facile* (inquit) *vinci expugnarique ſentiunt, ſe muniunt*, &c. Hæc omnia garrulus, difficultates preponderans, minuens. Vid. infra Horatius, V. 60. *Hæc dum agit.* Ille enim omnia: Horatius nihil, vel ſaltem negativè, et ad diſſuadendum; ut Verſ. 48. Vid. ſup. V. 14.

V. 64. Lentiſſima.

Languida, labentia, quaſi mortua, *Prenſationi* minimè reſpondentia. Hinc potius *prenſare*. Quia ſic Candidati et Supplices.

LIB. 2. SAT. 1.

V. 7. Verum nequeo dormire.

Non ſic infra, Sat. 3. V. 1. et Ep. 1. V. 10. et Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 20. 25, &c. ad 57. (Hæc ergo Satyra prius ſcripta) Neque idem ardor infra (Sat. 6. V. 17.)

V. 29. Melioris.

Genere, Cenſu, Ingenio, inf. V. 75. Vide et V. 70. Ubi Lucilium Optimum et Divinum planè virum fuiſſe conſtat. Ergo non ſolùm Ingenio ſed Virtute *melioris utroque*. Et hoc potius intelligo, renuente Torrentio, aliiſque.

V. 53. Imperet.

Apologeticè ad Trebatium Jur. Conſultum. ſcil. quòd coactus Satyram ſcribit.

V. 76. Magnis.

Brutum intelligit, non Auguſtum: quanquam priorem in poſterioris gratiam non nominat. Vid. infr. Ep. 20. V. 23, et ſupra ad Sat. 3. V. 82.

SAT. 2.

Vetus Commentator, Ofellum quendam narrat qui quædam Sectæ Stoicæ e Græco tranſtulit. Alii ergo Stoicum, alii Epicureum, alii Medium, ego ne Philoſophum quidem fuiſſe credo, neque ad examen Dogmatum deſcendiſſe: quippe qui *Ruſticus Colonus Abnormis.* Horatius vero ipſe loquens, ſententiamque Ofelli explicans jam ſtatim a verſu 53, Philoſophiam ſequitur Epicureæ plane contrariam. Vid. V. 79. Ubi de Divinitate Animæ. Sic de Pietate, Societate, et Amore Patriæ, V. 103, 104, 105, et reverſus iterùm ad ipſa Ofelli verba (ad Philoſophiam paululum detorta) de *Proprio* et rebus quæ ſunt ϰα εφ' ἡμιν, ut Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 158, &c. Talia enim hæc ſunt *Nam propriæ Telluris Herum*, &c. V. 129, et *Nulli Proprius*, V. 134. Sequitur Hortatio iſta *Vivite Fortes, Fortiaque adverſis*, &c. Fortiorem ergo ſeveriorem et ſanctiorem Philoſophiam (Socraticam nempe) Horatius hìc ſequitur *iterato curſu* ut Od. 34. L. 1. Hæc ergo Satyra non inter priores, ſed poſt Sat. 3^m et 5^m, aliaſque Libri primi. Nihil autem ad rem quicquid Ofellus ſupra de Voluptate, V. 19. Sic enim indocti, imò ipſi Stoici ad indoctos et extra Scholam. Quàm fortiter autem Socraticum agit Horatius etiam Ofelli perſonam planè induens, uti Verſ. 5, 6, 7, videre licet ex Max. Tyrio qui ex iiſdem fontibus iſta hauſit (his equidem ſimillima) Diſſ. 1. ζωα γαρ ϖϵ, ϰαι φυτα, ϰαι λιθοι, ϰαι φωναι, ϰαι θυμοι, ϰ᾽ ὁρμαι, ϰαι σχημαλα, ϰαι χϱοιαι, ὑπο τϒ εθϵς συνεγειϱομενα, ϰαι τῃ ϰαθ᾽ ἡμεϱαν διαῖῃ αναϰϱιναμενα ϖαϱεσϰϵυαϰε τηϒ ψυχηϒ, ϰαι αναϖεπειϰε μηδεν αλλο ἡγεισθαι ειναι ὁτι μῃ ταυλα—ὡσϖεϱ ϵν Συμποσιῳ μεσῳ ϰνισσης ϖολλης, ϰαι οινϒ χεομενϒ, ϰαι αυλων ηχϒ, &c.—Scio equidem Ofellum hæc non dicere. Horatius verò huc ſpectat: et ſuo (i e. Socratico) more, præcepta tradit. Interim notandum eſt ſimpliciùs multo et rudiùs Ofellum dicere, quando in fine iterum redit, V. 112. Atque hâc tertiâ vice Manifeſtior venit, Horatio Hiſtoricum agente et fidelitèr omnia narrante. In tres ergo partes præcipuas diviſa eſt hæc Satyra, ubi ter narrat Horatius; in initio, ſcil. et rurſus, V. 53, et apertiùs denique, V. 112. Ergo V. 53, legendum eſt *Diſtabat*, ex omnibus ferè M. S. ut fatentur Commentatores: et hinc Marcilii (quem ſecutus eſt Dacierus) eo magis inepta videtur applicatio *Lupi et Canis*, V. 64. quia hæc a prioribus disjunguntur, et Horatius quaſi de novo Ofelli Sententiam explicat.

Nemo eſt vel paululùm verſatus in Libris Socraticis (Xenophontis præcipuè) qui non ſtatim iſta agnoſcit, *unde putas*, &c. V. 18. et in ſecundâ parte, V. 80. *Alter ubi dicto citius*, &c. Tota enim hæc Satyra Civilis, agilis, fortis, pia; non Epicurea vel Ariſtippica. Vid. Ep. 1. V. 16.—Mirum equidem non eſt quòd Horatius in Satyrâ ſequenti (V. 11.) Platonem præcipuè comitem habuiſſe ait. Hos enim Nobiliſſimos Socraticos (Xenophontem ſcil. et Platonem) imitari nunquam deſtitit, non ut Philoſophus ſolùm, ſed ut Poeta. Sic in arte Poeticâ, V. 310. *Rem tibi Socraticæ*, &c.

V. 10. Indomito.

i. e. *Fero. Forti.* (Vet. Com.) Equitatum Romanum intelligit, unde *vel ſi Romana*, &c. *Græcari*, i. e. Græcanicis Exercitationibus (Pilâ, Diſco) uti. Turn. et Lamb.

Græcari. Non hoc in pejori ſenſu Horatius: abſurdum hoc et indignum. Verum Græcari quid ſit, non comico ſenſu ex Plauto, ſed ex Livio diſce: Ille enim de Scipione, L. 29. "Ipſius etiam Imperatoris non *Romanus* modo ſed ne *militaris* quidem cultus jactabatur. Cum Pallio Crepidiſque inambulare in Gymnaſio,

of the School of the ſentimental Philoſophy. Of late years, he has been as much depreciated as he was heretofore applauded; and in both caſes the matter has been carried to an

naſio, Libellis etiam Palæſtræque operam dare; æquè ſegnitèr *molliterque* Cohortem totam Syracuſarum amænitate frui!"

V. 11. Pila.

Molliſſimus Homo Mæcenas aſſuetus etiam hoc modo Græcari et pilâ ludere. Sup. Sat. 5. V. 48, 49.

V. 18. Unde putas.

Unde? a Naturali appetitu, Naturam ergo ſequens non Gulæ ſerviens ſuavitèr vives. Huic *Unde* contrarium eſt illud *Unde* infra, V. 31. nec rectè disjunxit Cantabrigienſis Noſter, qui alias quidem optimè Periochas diſtinguit.

V. 53. Diſtabit.

Diſtabat, omnes ferè M. S. ſic ſup. V. 2. *præcepit.* et inf. V. 112, &c. *Ofellum novi narrantem,* i. e. *Narrabat hæc.*

V. 55. Alio.

Hæc et ſequentia uſque ad V. 112. Horatius magis ex ſuâ quàm Ofelli perſonâ profert. Confer cum Sat. 2. Lib. 1. V. 24, &c.

V. 64. Hâc.

Inepta mihi videtur Dacieri a Marcilio deſumpta Applicatio *Lupi et Canis* ad *Lupum Tiberinum* (Sup. V. 31.) et *Avidienum Canem* (V. 56.)

V. 67. Albuti.

Non hic Avaritia Luxuriæ opponitur, ſed Elegantiæ Negligentia. Optimè ergo Torrent. et ſic ſupra Horatius (Sat. 2. Lib. 1.) poſt Tigellium et Fuſidium oppoſitos ad Rufillum et Gorgonium tranſit.

V. 73. Sederit.

Quam facilè digreſſeris. Vet. Com. Non *quæ placuerit.* Hoc enim ad Voluptatem ſpectat, contra Ofelli ſenſum.

SAT. 3.

V. 9. Multa.

Sic Ep. 8. V. 3. Hìc autem de Scriptis, illic de Moribus.

V. 10. Si vacuum.

Sic Epiſt. 7. Lib. 1. V. 10. *Quod ſi Bruma,* &c. Ubi tamen ſcripta non promittit, ſibi ſtudens et jam ſeneſcens: hâc quidem non Juvenis.

V. 11. Platona.

Signantèr nominavit Platonem, ex hujus enim Alcibiade poſteriore Materia et Seges Satyræ. Theod. M.

V. 92. Vitium.

i. e. Malum Stoicè. Cruq. ſed in utroque ſenſu. quia inf. *ſibi nequior.* V. 94. Stoicis quidem Dogmatibus omnino in contrarium et perverſè utitur Stertinius, Staberi cauſam agens εἰρωνικῶς. Sic inf. V. 97. *Clarus erit.*

V. 104. Si quis emat citharas.

Ex Xenophontis Oecon. ut monet Lambin. Vide et Ἀπομν. Lib. 1. in fine.

V. 132. Quid enim.

Nil mutandum cum Lambino. Hic enim το *Quid enim?* Idem valet quod πως ἂν; vel τι ἂν; uſitatiſſimum in Dialogis (Vid. Arrian.) ubi Philoſophus pro Diſcipulo ſive Adverſario reſpondet vel interrogat μιμικως: quo modo et hic Stertinius pro Parricidâ iſto.

V. 169. Antiquo Cenſu.

Dives antiquo cenſu, i. e. Mediocri non hodierno; quia *Privatus illis Cenſus erat brevis,* (Od. 15. L. 2.) Hodiè vero *Si quadringentis ſex ſeptem millia deſint, Plebs eris* (Ep. 1.) inde ſtatim infra, V. 178. *Quod ſatis eſt,* &c. et *Natura coercet.* Sic *Antiquis Moribus, Antiquâ Fide,* &c.

V. 192. Conſulere.

Socratico more. Viciſſim.

V. 223. Circumtonuit.

Vide Lamb. et quid Torr. de Bellonæ fanaticis, et ſic Stoico quidem ſenſu Ambitioſi, et Glorioſi, Fanatici: haud abſimile quod, ſup. Sat. 6. Lib. 1. V. 23. *ſed fulgente,* &c.

V. 287. Meneni.

In Gente Meneniâ (celebri quidem) Conſulem fuiſſe quendam non ſatis ſanæ mentis ait Lambinus, ex Dion. Halicar. L. 9. Cruquius tamen inveniſſe ſe ait in quibuſd. M. S. *Menæci.* Sed ridiculè prorſus explicat. Nunquam enim Stoicus vel Pius aut Bonus quiſquam inter Antiquos Menæci factum damnaret. Longè aliter Epictetus apud Arrian. L. 3. C. 20.

V. 308. Ædificas.

Confer hæc cum iis quæ infra in fine, Sat. 7, et Epiſt. 1. et cum Epiſt 8. et Ep. 15. in fine.

V. 310. Corpore.

Vide Ep. 20. V. 24. et Epiſt. Auguſti in Vitâ Horatii. Sed per brevitatem Staturæ, tenuitatem et anguſtias Rei familiaris præcipuè ſignificat (ut ait Lamb.) ad illam tamen alteram Brevitatem alludens.

V. 323. Cultum.

Non ſimpliciter de *Veſtitu* ſed de omni *Vitâ* intelligendum; quo ſenſu ſup. Sat. 2. V. 66. *Cultum enim appellant interdum Latini Vitæ colendæ Rationem.* Lamb. in iſtum locum, ubi exempla poſuit, et inter alia hunc Horatii Verſum. (Horatius autem quanquam lautiùs vixerit, Genioque in Juventute præcipuè indulſerit, in Veſtitu tamen non adeò curioſus. Vid. Epiſt. 1. V. 96. et Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 31.

SAT. 4.

V. 2. Signa.

Vide Heinſium et Arriani præfationem, et locum Platonis in Thæteto a Daciero citatum. Talia ſunt Philoſophorum Ὑπομνηματα (Xenophontis ἀπομνημονευματα) Ἀποσημειωσεις.

V. 94. Fontes.

Hæc cùm dicit Horatius ironicè contra Epicureos, ſeriò innuit fontes ſe adire velle Socraticos, quos ſuis Catius oppoſuit, V. 3. Hanc ergo Satyram inter poſteriores pono.

SAT. 5.

Hanc Satyram inter iſtas pono quarum causâ Horatius dictus erat *nimis acer.* Sat. 1. L. 2. Vide inf. V. 20. Scriptam ergo Satyram hanc credo ante, Sat. 1. L. 2. et Sat. 4. L. 1.——Satyra hæc Νεκυΐας Homericæ quaſi quoddam ἀποσπασμαΐιον eſt. Ubi enim deſinit Homericus Ulyſſes conſulere Tireſiam, ibi incipit Horatianus. Heinſius.

V. 20. Hoc.

Ingeniosè ſed minùs rectè Dacierus in hunc locum, illud *hoc* ad Paupertatem referens, non ad Contumeliam illam: quippe indignum (ait) Ulyſſis ut ita ſentiret. Horatius vero antiquiorem potiùs quàm novam et Sanctiorem Comœdiam ſecutus, non modò hìc ſed ubique in hâc Satyrâ abutitur Perſonis Ulyſſis, Penelopes, et Tireſiæ, et eſt in hâc Satyrâ in alios acerrimus et contumelioſus, Vid. Sup. Verſ. 1.

V. 22. Dic.

De Teſtamentis enim nondum dixit, et Ulyſſes hìc quaſi tardus inducitur, ignarus ſcil. morum iſtorum. et hoc etiam ad Comœdiam illam licentiorem facit, et ad Contemptum Ulyſſis.

SAT. 6.

V. 7.

Facturus in futuro, quaſi olim tale aliquid feciſſet. Vid. inf. Sat. ſeq. V. 110. In hanc partem peccare paululum Horatius fortè potuit, in illam non potuit, quia minimè avarus.

V. 9. Denormat.

Normam noſtrates *Quadram* vocant. Sic Anglicè *to break ſquares,* et inf. Ep. 6. V. 35.

V. 17. Quid prius.

Scribit adhuc libenter et gaudens Horatius; ardor tamen minor eſt. Vid. ſup. Sat. 1. V. 7.

V. 38. Signa.

Sigillum Auguſti intelligit, cujus cuſtos Mæcenas teſte Dione et Xiphilino.

V. 40. Septimus.

Hoc tempore ergo Horatius circiter 34 annos natus.

V. 42. Duntaxat ad hoc.

Nec mentitur Horatius (ut vult Dacierus) nec Mæcenatem notat vel ludit (ut Vet. Com.) ſed de initio Amicitiæ loquitur. Quàm lentus in hác re Mæcenas. Vide ſup. Sat. 6. L. 1. V. 60.

V. 65.

an extreme. At length, it is to be hoped, that he will find his due place in the ranks of literature; and that, without being extravagantly extolled, he will continue to be read, and in

V. 65. Meique.

i. e. Amici, Familiares, (ut Vet. Com.) non ſervi *vernæque procaces*, qui *libatis dapibus*, Herilis menſæ reliquiis paſcebantur, ut ait Lamb. et Torrent. Hìc tamen ſibi non conſtat, cùm illud *Meique* de ſervis intelligere videtur. Horatium quidem *convivas* ſervos ipſos eoſdemque procaces dixiſſe vix credibile eſt: nec magis veriſimile in tali Cœtu de Philoſophiâ locutum fuiſſe; adeò ut quæri etiam poſſet anne graviora ſint hæc quàm res convivalis ferat: ut ait Torrentius (ad Verſ. 75, infra) immemor conviviorum Socraticorum et Socratici Horatii.

V. 75. Rectumne.

Planè huic inferiori opinioni favet. et ſic inf. Ep. 16. V. 52, &c.—At non ita olim. Vide ſup. Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 113.

V. 78. Ex re fabellas.

i. e. Ex uſu, utiles, Lambinus. Sed melior Cruquii Explicatio, viz. *Ex re natas:* hoc eſt *ex argumento quod controvertitur a convivis . . . . . ut ſi quis Stoicus Divitias neget cenſendas inter Bona, contrà Peripateticus . . . . hic confeſtim Cervius Apologum*, &c.

V. 91. Prærupti.

Optimè Cruquius. *Quàm quæſo procul abludit hæc Deſcriptio ab Horatianâ Villâ in ſuperno Tuſculo? ita ut hæc verba Muris Urbani delicati ſunt quaſi Mæcenatis Horatium pellicientis ad Vitam Urbanam*, vel potiùs Aulicam.

SAT. 7.

V. 9. Priſcus.

Vid. Ep. 15. V. 26. et ſup. Sat. 3. L. 1. in initio. Priſcus enim hic a Davo pro Horatio ponitur. inde Horatius mox Verſ. 21. *Quorſum?* Davus, *Ad Te* —atque inde, V. 53. *Tu cum projectis*, &c. i. e. *Tu Priſce.*

V. 19. Levius.

Levius quàm Priſcus ille, i. e. quàm Tu, O Horati!

V. 22. Ad Te.

Ad Te ſcil. quia ut mutabilis et levis ille Priſcus, laudas, &c.

V. 37. Ille.

i. e. *Dixerit aliquis* ὁ δεινα (Lamb.) modeſtè vel potiùs timidè pro Seipſo. quia ſupra, V. 2. *Reformidat.* et ſic infr. etiam magis, V. 44 et 116. neque enim Perſonam ſuam planè hic agnoſcit Davus, neque Heri, cum dicit Tu cum ſis quod, ego, &c. V. 40.—et *Tu cum projectis*, V. 53. Mox verò audacior factus, reſpondente Horatio (vel pro Horatio Davo ipſo) V. 72. palam et ſine ambagibus expoſtulat.

V. 38. Naſum.

Ut inf. V. 102. De ſeipſo enim loquitur Davus. Sic inf. V. 100. *Ceſſator Davus*, uti hic *inerſ.*

V. 53. Tu cum projectis.

Vid. ſup. ad Verſ. 9 et 37. Dacierus interim planè aſſerit Auguſtum Horatio et Annuli Equeſtris et Auguſti Clavi jus dediſſe. quâ auctoritate fretus neſcio. Quòd ſi hoc verum eſt, non neceſſe eſt ad Priſcum recurrere (Ut ſup. V. 9.) neque tantam timiditatem Davo tribuere (Ut ſup. V. 37.) qui ſemel tantum perſonam mutat, quando dixit *dixerit ille* pro ſeipſo. Poſtea magis audacter; jam ſtatim ad V. 40. *Tu cum*, &c. ut antea, V. 22. *Ad Te inquam.* Sed cum rurſus infra, V. 60. *Quo te demiſit* non tam commodè de ipſo Horatio explicavi poteſt (quia potius quid factum, quam quid futurum narrat Davus) ideo et rurſus fortaſſe de Priſco illo, Horatii Perſonam exhibente, intelligendum eſt. Facilis et Naturalis ſemper eſt Poeta Noſter Horatius, et in Compoſitione atque Ordine minimè obſcurus. Vel ergo notiſſima fuit olim iſta Fabula de Priſco; vel ſimile aliquid ſibi eveniſſe aut evenire potuiſſe indicat Horatius jam ſobrius et ſecurus, non ut olim *Calidus Juventâ Conſule Planco*, Od. 14. L. 3. Mox ergo reſpondet *Non ſum Mæchus* (V. 72.) *Non ſum*, in præſenti. Ad iſta, quæ olim facta ſunt, nihil reſpondet.

V. 72. Non ſum.

Quaſi dixiſſet *jam non amaſius ſum* vel *futurus ſum mæchus*. quia ſupra Davus *Evâſti? Credo metues*, &c. ειρωνικως.

V. 75. Rerum.

Stoicè. Sic Arr. L. 3. C. 20. Παυσασθ' ἑαυτους δηλας ποιουντες, πρωτον των πραγματων, ειτα δι' αυτα και των ανθρωπων των ταυτα περιποιειν η αφαιρεισθαι δυναμενων. Et Lib. 3. C. 24. Τον γαρ ὑπ' ανθρωπε μελλοντα ἡττασθαι, πολυ προτερον ὑπο των πραγματων δει ἡττασθαι. Et C. 26. Τα γαρ πραγματα προτερες τετων κυριες ἐχομεν. Hic ergo per *Res* intelligendum eſt τα πραγματα (Scil. Divitiæ, Honores, aliaque exteriora interioribus oppoſita) infra vero, Ep. 1. V. 19. Τα γινομενα a Providentiâ ſcil. vel Fortunâ. Hìc reluctandum; illic cedendum; ut Libertas nobis contingat.

V. 86. Totus teres.

Virtus enim ex Stoico Dogmate ita ſecum Virtutem trahit ut concatenati Annuli. Cruq.

V. 87. Læve morari.

Perſ. Sat. 1. V. 64. *Ut per læve ſeveros effundat junctura ungues.* Sic ſup. Sat. 5. L. 2. V. 32. Nec tamen contemnendus Dacierus, qui altiorem ſenſum petit ex Platone, quem cum cæteris Socraticis Horatius ſæpe in animo habet.

V. 101. Veterum.

De hoc Morbo vide Ciceronem in Paradox. Stoicis. C. 5. ubi Lucullum planè innuit, callidum nimis et barbaro iſti L. Mummio nimis contrarium. Vide Plutarchum in Vitâ: ubi et de Mummio et Cethego. Cicero autem, uti Docti et Viri bonè omnes, Lucullum amavit, qui etiamſi his Vitiis detentus, reipublicæ, Philoſophiæ, et huic præcipuè Socraticæ ſive Stoicæ favebat.

V. 118. Opera.

Sic Cuſtodia pro iis ipſis accipitur qui aliquid cuſtodiunt.

SAT. 8.

V. 3. Sic.

Reſpondet Fundanius (Ut inf. V. 19.) More Comico, *Sic ut nunquam melius*, i. e. *jucundius* (propter Riſus et res ridiculas) non *lautius.*

EPIST. LIB. 1.

Ep. 1. Confer cum Epiſt. 7. 10. et Lib. 2. Ep. 2.

V. 10. Ludicra.

Inf. Ep. 14. V. 36.—Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 143.

Carmina ſcil. amatoria, Satyraſque jocoſas (quales ſunt Sat. 5. 7. 9. L. 1.—et 8. L. 2.) et mordentes de quibus. Vid. Sat 1. L. 2. V. 21 et 46, &c.

V. 11. Decens.

Τι καλον και πρεπον. Secundum Stoicos. Jam enim ad Socraticam veram et divinam Sapientiam ab inſanienti illâ (Sup. Od. 34. L. 1.) revertitur Horatius.

V. 16. Agilis—Civilibus.

Πρακτικος και πολιτικος cum Socraticis, Stoicis, &c.—Contra Epicureorum præceptum.

V. 17. Veræ cuſtos rigiduſque.

Sic inf. *Veræ Vitæ.* Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 144. Vide et Ep. 18. V. 8.—Cuſtos, i. e. nihil præter Virtutem in bonis ducere. Vide Cic. de fin. Bon. et Mal. et quid ibi Cato in initio Libri. Vid. inf. Ep. 6. V. 30.

V. 18. Nunc.

Quaſi dixiſſet *pudet fateri.* Sed revera alius pudor Horatium urget, dum Mæcenati ſcribit, et Amico molli converſionem ſuam ad ſeveriorem Philoſophiam indicat, et quia olim Ariſtippum tantoperè laudavit. Vid. Ep. 17.

Relabor—quia olim Epicureis et Cyrenaicis renunciavit. Vide Od. 34. L. 1.

V. 19. Subjungere.

Vera lectio. Vide Ciceronem in Acad. Quæſt. Lib. 2. 45. prope finem. " Veruntamen (inquit) video quàm ſuaviter Voluptas ſenſibus noſtris blandiatur. Labor ut aſſentiar Epicuro aut Ariſtippo. revocat Virtus vel potius reprehendit manu; pecudum illos motus eſſe dicit: Hominem *jungit* Deo, &c."

Horatius noſter melius. Labor (inquit) ut aſſentiar Socrati, Zenoni, &c. revocat Voluptas. in Ariſtippi et Epicuri *præcepta relabor*, *Virtutem veram* deſero. Fortunæ non reſponſo (Ut inf. V. 68.) ſed ſubſervio, Deo me nec *jungo* nec *ſubjungo.* *Majore tento* (Ep. 17. V. 24.)

in ſome degree to be admired. This tribute, at leaſt, is due to his "Inquiry concerning Virtue," and to his "Moraliſts;" and in a great meaſure to his "Advice to an Author." But

V. 24.) *preſentibus* (uti Ariſtippus ipſe) *haud æquus. Et mihi res, non me rebus*, &c. In hâc ergo Epiſtolâ poſteriorem ſententiam, in illâ 17â. priorem probat. Hìc ſeneſcens, illìc nondum.

Vide ipſa Ariſtippi Verba, Mores, Conatus, in Dialogo iſto Socratico Xenophontis Απομν. L. 2. in initio. et inter alia αλλ' εγω τοι (εφη ὁ Αριστιππος) ουδε εις την δουλειαν αν εμαυτον ταττω. Quæ verba Horatius proculdubio in animo habuit, cùm ſcripſerit *ſubjungere*. Sic Epictetus apud Arrian.

Vulgatum eſt Philoſophiæ præceptum το συνταττειν vel ὑποταττειν ἑαυτον τοις ὁλοις (Vide Simplicium in Cap. Ench. 78. et Arrian. L. 1. C. 12.) το συναρμοσαι την αυτου βουλησιν τοις γινομενοις. Lib. 2. C. 14. Sic in Enchirid. 77. 18. Sic M. Ant. L. 4. 23. et Lib. 6. 39.—Vid. ſup. Sat. 2. L. 1. V. 76. et infra Ep. 17. 24. Vide et infr. hujus Epiſtolæ, V. 69.—Sic et Eurip. Marco citatus L. 7. 38. Τοις πραγμασι γαρ ουχι θυμωσθαι χρεων· hìc vero potiùs τα γινομενα quàm τα πραγματα· Vid. Sat. 7. L. 2. V. 75.

V. 26. Æquè neglectum.

Morbum fatetur, cujus remedium Philoſophia; pro quâ ſequens Apologia eſt: ut Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 41. De Morbo ergo in ſequentibus agitur. Mæcenas vero ut nec Morbo ſic neque Remedio fidem exhibet. ſic enim in fine *Nec Medici credis nec curatoris egere.* V. 102.

V. 30. Glyconis.

Glycon vel Lycon Philoſophus. Vide Diog. Laert. et Heinſii Notam.

V. 51. Sine pulvere.

Sine pulvere. Aul. Gell. L. 5. C. 6. impulverea, minus glorioſa. Duplicem ergo pono Interrogationem, viz. *Quis contemnat?* Et *cui*, quæſo, *ſpes, cui ipſa conditio palmæ ſine pulvere dulcis eſſe poteſt?* Philoſophica Horatio uſitata. Sic Arrian. L. 1. 29. Εμε νυν καταπιθηναι, &c. Sic etiam de Hercule, C. 6. et Lib. 4. C. 10. et Lib. 2. C. 11. Labores (inquit) qui pro virtute capiuntur, etiam dulces ſunt: Iſti pro divitiis infructuoſi, miſeri. Ad hos igitur confuge, ut illos devites. Sic Ep. 6. V. 30. *Fortis omiſſis Hoc age deliciis.* Fortis, i. e. Labores tolerans, amans. φιλοπονος.

V. 52. Vilius argentum.

Editor Noſter Cantabrigienſis novam hìc periocham ponit, quaſi verba hæc ſint Jani, qui concedit Aurum reverà virtutibus vilius eſſe; pecuniam tamen primùm quærendam; quia poſt nummos Virtus comparari poteſt, et Laus. Sine Nummis Laus nulla. Jocosè ſane et more Horatiano.

V. 69. Præſens.

Præſens Philoſophus. *Monitor* viam monſtrans, exemplo probans, ipſe Vir Bonus, te melior. De quo ſup. V. 48.

Aptat—Aptare idem eſt quod, Sup. V. 19. *Subjungere* rebus vel fortunæ.

V. 71. Judiciis.

Hoc idem eſt quod Inf. Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 154. *Monitoribus iiſdem.* Hinc ſequens Fabula de leone ægroto, cujus in Antrum (i. e. Aulam ditantem et corrumpentem) qui introitum ſuadet Animalium vel Hominum Vulgus, malè *ſuadet* et *hortatur*, malus eſt *Judex, Monitor, Medicus.* Sup. V. 25. Confer etiam cum Ep. 10. V. 10 et 34.

V. 76. Quid.

Quod Remedium? cùm malum inde *non fit levius?* (Ut Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 150.) Quod conſilium? cùm omnes diſcrepant, imo Sibi-ipſis non conſentiunt. Sic inf. ſtatim, V. 81, 82.

V. 108. Pituita.

Jocatur proculdubio Horatius: non ſic quaſi ad Ingenium et Dogmata Epicurea rediiſſet, ut ingeniosè Torrentius. Neque enim tam Stoicos quam Seipſum hìc more ſuo irridet Horatius; qui quamvis naturâ Bilioſus potius quam Pituitoſus dici poterit, cùm tamen Pituita (ut aiunt Medici Veteres) cerebrum alit, idcirco non minus Cerebro quam *Stomacho tumultum fert*, Sat. 2. L. 2. V. 76.—et cerebroſos ſicuti et triſtes efficit, cùm malè affecta et moleſta eſt. Sic Perſius Horatii imitator, Sat. 2. V. 57. *Somnia pituitâ qui purgatiſſima mittant.* Eſt etiam ſpecies Pituitæ *Vitrea:* et Perſius de Irâ loquens, Sat. 3. V. 8. *turgeſcit vitrea bilis* quam noſter *ſplendidam bilem* dixit, Sat. 3. L. 2. 141. Idem Humor vitreus, ſive pituitoſus, ſive bilioſus, lippitudinis etiam cauſa fuit Horatio. Bilioſis enim ſiccam lippitudinem moleſtam ſcribit Galenus. In duplicem ergo Morbum Oculorum et Cerebri jocatur Horatius, qui aliàs ſæpe et lippum ſe et cerebroſum vel iracundum fatetur. Sapiens vero quocunque modo ad Iras ſive Querelas deſcendens, ſanus non amplius eſt, ſenſu Stoico: Et ſic *præcipuè ſanus niſi cum Pituita moleſta eſt.* Eodem modo et hodiè abutimur Verbis et Notionibus Medicorum, cum pro Melancholici, Moroſi, et Queruli Hominis affectu ſubſtituimus vulgatum illud Anglicum *Spleen* et *Vapours.* Atque hæc, ni fallor, Pituita eſt illa *Moleſta* jucundiſſimi Horatii. De Melancholico affectu in Sapiente Stoico, Vide Arr. L. 1. C. 18. in fine—et L. 2. C. 17.—et de tertio et perfectiſſimo Loco. L. 3. C. 2. Τριτος εστιν ὁ ηδη τοις προκοπτουσιν επιβαλλων, ὁ περι την αυτων τυτων ασφαλειαν, ἱνα μηδ' εν ὑπνοις λαθη τις ανεξεταστος παρελθουσα φαντασια, μηδ' εν οινωσει, μηδε μελαγχολωντος, &c. Hæc verò inter Myſteria Diſciplinæ: neque intelligunt Commentatores.

EPIST. 3.

V. 29. Si patriæ volumus.

Ad Stoicam ergo non Epicuream Philoſophiam hæc pertinent.

V. 32. At.

Rectius *Ac*—et ſic interrogationis Notâ non hìc ſed infra ponenda poſt *feros.*

V. 33. *Heu* calidus ſanguis, heu rerum, &c.

Cantabrigienſis noſter plurium M. S. lectionem hanc vulgatæ anteponit. rectè equidem. Horatius enim Philoſophum agit, et (uti ſæpe in Sermonibus et Epiſtolis Gravioribus) Stoicum. Stoicis vero Perturbatio omnis ab opinione falsâ: idemque *Calidus Sanguis* (i. e. Ira) et *Inſcitia.* Sic ſup. Sat. 3. L. 2. 43.

EPIST. 4.

V. 7. Dederant.

Dederunt M. S. omnes. Nondum enim pauper Tibullus, ſed Juvenis et Dives; Amoribus vero indulgens, et inter Querelas Curaſque Amatorias vitam degens. Sic inf. V. 12.

Fruendi—non diſſipandi; neque talem rem tali nomine unquam deſignaret Horatius. Quem Vide ſup. in Sat. 2. V. 62.—et Sat. 6. L. 2. V. 7.

V. 12. Inter ſpem curamque.

Hæc omnia ad Amores præcipuè, non ad infortunia mutatumve Tibulli ſtatum pertinent. Exprobratio ſanè eſſet talis Commemoratio. Confer hæc cum iſtis ad eundem, Od. 33. L. 1. Vide etiam quæ ad Valgium, Od. 9. L. 2. et *quas Amor curas habet* (ut Epod. 2.) Vide Od. 4 et 5.—et 8. L. 2. Quas iras——

V. 16. Epicuri.

Epicureos irridens (Ut ſup. Sat. 8. L. 2.) Epicureum tamen ſeipſum profitetur; nondum, ut videtur, reverſus ad fortiorem iſtam Diſciplinam Socraticam (de quâ Vid. ſup. Ep. 1. et inf. Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 45. et Art. Poet. Verſ. 309. atque alibi) quanquam illuc ſpectat, ſup. V. 4 et 5. ideoque tanquam diſcedens hinc parvam Sectæ habet reverentiam. Rectius hoc.

Porcum—ineptus quidam Epicuri fautor Meibonius in Diog. Laert. ad Vitam Epicuri, *parcum* non *porcum* legit, ridiculè prorsùs.

EPIST. 6.

V. 1. Nil admirari.

Nil admirari, &c. V. 9. *Qui timet*, mirabitur et cupiet. *Qui cupiet, metuet quoque* (Inf. Ep. 16. V. 65.) Neque hoc ſolum: in ipsâ enim admiratione timor (ait) quidam ineſt; ſicuti et ſpes: eodem modo et in timore admiratio; quia *pavor* (i. e. perturbatio, εκπληξις, εκστασις) utrique affectui communis eſt, et ex utriuſque

But whatever becomes of Lord Shafteſbury's character as a writer, he was excellent as a man. This appears from every teſtimony that remains concerning him. " It muſt be owned,'

utriuſque objectis naſcitur. Ex falſis bonis, falſa gaudia, viz. Lætitia, exultatio, quæ et in malis numerantur. Hinc ſtatim infra *Gaudeat an doleat—quid ad rem.* Paradoxon eſt Stoicum. Vide Ciceron. Tuſc. L. 4. et Laertium in Zenone. Totaque hæc Epiſtola ex Stoicorum, non Epicureorum, Cyrenaicorum, (ut creditur) præceptis deprompta. Hinc illud inf. V. 16. *Ultra quam ſatis eſt,* &c. i. e. perturbatè, cum iſtâ admiratione et εμπληξει: ad quod pertinet etiam præceptum illud ſeu cautio de uſu ορεξεως Epict. Ench. C. 7. et Arr. L. 3. C. 13. in fine. Hæc omnia Stoicè. Et ſic infr. V. 34. *Si Virtus hoc Una poteſt dare.* In ſequentibus verò perpetuâ Ironiâ utitur: *Si res ſola,* V. 47.—*Si fortunatum ſpecies,* V. 49. *Si benè qui cœnat,* V. 56.—Notandum eſt perpetuum illud το *ſi.* Poſtremò Verſu 65. *Si Mimnermus,* &c. Ubi rursùs *Voluptates* unàque Voluptatum Præconem Poetam damnat et aſpernatur; minimè verò (ut creditur) laudat, amicove ſuo commendat.

V. 11. Improviſa, &c.

Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. L. 4. Simul objecta ſpecies cujuſpiam eſt quod Bonum videatur, ad id adipiſcendum impellit ipſa Natura. Id cùm conſtanter prudenterque fit, ejuſmodi Appetitionem Stoici βυλησιν appellant.

Et Seneca, Ep. 77. Stultis Fortunæ credentibus omnis videtur nova Rerum et inopinata Facies, &c.

V. 31. Virtutem verba.

Sic enim Epicurei de Juſto et Pulchro. Ουκ ην τι καθ' ἑαυτο δικαιοσυνη, &c. (Diog. Laert. Epicur.) τοις μη φωναις κεναις ἑαυτες συνταραττεσιν. Sic et illud μηδεν ειναι το καλον η αρα το ενδοξον. Arr. L. 2. C. 22.

V. 65. Vivas.

Ironicè. Jam enim Horatius non amplius ad exemplum Mimnermi amatoria ſcribit. Vid. Ep. 1. 10. et Ep. 2. L. 2. 145, &c. et etiam Epiſt. ſequentem.

EPIST. 7.

V. 3. Sanum.

Annotandum eſt, quòd etiamſi Horatius hìc de Curâ corporis ſolùm loquitur, hæc omnia de Animo debent intelligi. Confer hanc Ep. cum primâ ad Mæcenatem, atque etiam cum 6mâ et 10mâ. Inf. et Lib. 2. 2dâ. Vide etiam Sat. 6. L. 2. V. 18. ubi ſimul et Animi et Corporis Sanitatem ab eâdem causâ ſcil. a ſeceſſu ducit.

V. 12. Leget.

Quanquam tota hæc Epiſtola (uti ſup. prima) Apologia eſt Horatii pro Studiis ſuis et Philoſophiæ amore, cùm tamen neque libros neque Philoſophiam apertè nominat, hoc ſolum *leget* ad rem nauticam ſpectare credo, *leget littora*—Confer cum Sat. 3. L. 2. V. 9, 10, 11. De Studiis ergo intelligendum.

V. 12. Contractuſque leget.

Vid. ſupra Annot.—At ſi hoc verbum *leget* de lecturâ intelligendum eſt (quod ſuadet revera ſimilis locus, L. 1. Sat. 6. *Lecto aut ſcripto quod me tacitum juvet*, in priori tamen ſenſu το *contractus* accipiendum eſt, et ad vitam et ſeceſſum referendum, non ad Corpus, neque ad Animum, quo ſenſu Cruquius. Vide Senec. de Tranquil. C. 9. *Non poteſt tanta varietas et Iniquitas Caſuum ita depelli,* ut *non multum procellarem irruat magna Armamenta pandentibus.* Sequitur *Habitare contractiùs.* Huic enim contrarium eſt *Vela pandere* vel *explicare.* Sic idem Seneca, Ibid. C. 3. in fine.—*Utcunque Fortuna permittet ita aut explicabimus nos aut contrahemus.* Vide et ipſum Horat. Od. 10. L. 2. Rectiùs vives, &c. et Sat. 2. L. 2. V. 113. *Non latius uſum.*

V. 22. Dignis paratum.

i. e. *Dignis donis dandis* (uti Cruquius) vel *Dignis viris largiri liberaliter,* ut cæteri Comment.—Ego Horatium credo alludere ad notum aliquod Poetæ vel Philoſophi Dictum, quale in Cebetis Tab. de ſapiente Divite cui mandatur συντομως απειλθειν προς την βεβαιαν κ) ασφαλη δοσιν· non tamen ut ignoret *quid diſtent æra,* &c. Sapiens enim Fortunæ bona neque *ſpernit* neque *odit. Merens* ergo dat. Sic Tu mihi meritum tuum et laudem (i. e. Virtutem) agnoſcenti. Vid. inf. V. 38 et 39.

V. 34. Hâc ego ſi compellor.

Si Tu (Mæcenas) nuperam hanc otii et ſeceſsûs electionem, non, ut profiteor, a vero judicio et Deliciarum contemptu, ſed a plenitudine, copiâ, et indolentiâ ortam credis, ideoque Me tanquam ingratum perſtringis falſumque, quia pauper olim ad Aulam, repleturus me ſcilicet, acceſſi; nunc dives liberalitate tuâ factus, et laborem omnem moramque circa Amicos fugiens recedo; oſtendam contrarium. En! paratus ſum *donata reponere,* pauperque rurſus fieri, et exemplo monſtrare, me meam libertatem otiumque (Divitiis Arabum cariorem) etiam in pauperrimo Statu amplecti velle. *Tenuem* me rursùs *macrumque* videbis; in *cumeram* vero non facile ſicut antea *repentem.* Recipe ergo *Magis apta Tibi tua dona.* Te *obſecro et obteſtor* (ut olim Philippum Vulteius) *vitæ me redde priori.* Confer hæc omnia cum Ep. 1. 10. et L. 2. 2.

V. 37. Verecundum.

Non temere ergo *in cumeram repſerat* (ut ſup. V. 39.) ſed coactus quaſi (ut inf. Vulteius, V. 60.) et dona Mæcenatis larga recuſans ſæpe (ut ſup. Hoſpes) haud ſponte Dives factus eſt.

V. 39. Lætus.

Non dolens, non te incuſans, vel minùs amans, imò laudans, *nec verbo parcius.* Hoc modo Libertatem meumque vivendi morem ſine invidiâ vel ingratitudinis ſuſpicione retinebo. Sic *Dignum me etiam præſtabo.* V. 24.

V. 43. Tibi.

Tibi ſcil. Magnati, Aulico, Elegantiarum Arbitro, magis convenientia, non mihi ſimplici viro, *inopis et puſilli animi* (ut Sat. 4. L. 1.) otium ignobile, ſeceſſum, et ſtudia amanti.

V. 46. Strenuus.

Fabula ſive Hiſtoria hæc prioris Fabulæ (Vulpeculæ ſcil. et Muſtelæ) Epanorthoſis eſt. Oſtendit Horatius ſe non tam ſuâ culpâ quam Mæcenatis dolis in Aulicam Vitam tranſiiſſe et Libertatem perdidiſſe. —Confer hæc cum Fabulâ Murium S. 6. L. 2. et Cervi inf. Ep. 10.

V. 52. Demetri.

Confer hæc cum Sat. 6. Lib. 1. V. 54. Demetrius hìc pro Virgilio et Vario, ut Philippus pro Mæcenate, Vulteius pro Horatio ponitur.

V. 56. Præconem.

Præconem vel Coactorem ut inf. V. 65. Talis fuit Horatii Pater. Nec longè abfuit a tali quæſtu Horatius ipſe poſtquam amiſit paterna bona. Vid. ſup. Sat. 6. L. 1. V. 86.—et Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 50.

V. 78. Laudare.

Si Horatius Aulam Voluptatis.

V. 85. Immoritur ſtudiis.

Vulteius avaritiâ, Horatius Luxuriâ, Amore captus: Vulteius Ruſticis Studiis, Horatius Urbanis, Aulicis Negotiis et Elegantiis, paraſiticis Menſis, Poeticis Laboribus obſtrictus eſt. Vid. Sat. 6. L. 2. —et Ep. 2. L. 2. 50, &c. — uſque ad 145. Vide etiam Sat. 7. Lib. 2. 53.—et Sat. 4. L. 2. in fine.—et inf. Ep. 10. V. 10.

EPIST. 8.

V. 9. Offendar—Iraſcar.

Confer hæc cum Satyrâ 3. L. 2. in initio et fine. Ubi correptus a Damaſippo ridiculo quidem nec verè amico, ſatis tamen et Veturnum hunc ſuum, cæteraque Vitia et aſperitatem erga Monitores explicat, honeſtè quidem et ſimpliciter. Sic Sat. 7. ejuſdem Libri cum Davo. De *Irâ* hâc ſuâ et *Rabie horrendâ* (uti amplificat Damaſippus ille Pſeudo-Stoicus, V. 323.) Vide Ep. 20. V. 25. *iraſci celerem.* et in Sat. illâ ſeptimâ L. 2. V. 34.—et ſequentia, etiam quæ in fine υποκριτικως et quaſi in ſcenâ. Vide etiam Sat. 4. L. 1. V. 135, 6, 7. et Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 29.

EPIST. 10.

V. 10. Liba.

Menſas ſcil. paraſiticas et regias ut in Auguſti Ep. fragmentis: De eodem tædio vitæ Aulicæ, poeticæ, aſſen-

owned," says Bishop Warburton, "that this Lord had many excellent qualities, both as a man and a writer. He was temperate, chaste, honest, and a lover of his country (*u*)." There

(*u*) Dedication to the Divine Legation, *ubi supra*, p. 28,

assentatoriæ, Desiderioque Libertatis et Philosophiæ, Vide Epist. 1. 7. et Lib. 2. 2.—et hanc ipsam inf. V. 33, 34, &c. et Sat. 6. L. 2. V. 80.

V. 11. Pane.

Sic Pers. Sat. 5. *Fruge Cleantheâ.* et Max. Tyr. Diss. 12. εγω δε ποθω προς την ευωχιων τροφην λογων, &c. Huic opponitur, in ludibrium, το πλακουνταριον, Stoicè pro luxu. Vide Arrianum.

V. 12. Vivere naturæ, &c.

i. e. Vivere seligentem quæ secundum Naturam, &c. Cic. de Fin. Bon. Lib. 3. Stoicè Summum Bonum.

EPIST. 15.

V. 26. Mænius.

Inconstantiam suam fatetur Horatius. Hìc cum Mænio, sup. (Sat. 3.) cum Tigellio se confert. Hoc vitium Horatii perstringit quoque Davus sub Personâ Prisci. Sat. 7. L. 2.

V. 42. Nimirum hic ego sum.

Sic Sat. 7. L. 2. V. 23, &c. et Ep. 8. V. 12.

Talis ergo Horatius hactenus: Posthac magis constans. Vide Ep. 7. V. 44. et Ep. 14. V. 16.

V. 45. Vos.

Non sic postea Horatius. Vide Ep. 10. V. 8.

EPIST. 16.

V. 52. Oderunt.

Sic Stoici: Epicurei verò alitèr; et est quidem hæc Epistola tota Stoica. Vid. inf. V. 65.

V. 54. Sit spes fallendi.

Negabant Epicurei Spem Secreti ullam esse in Furtis: ideoque (non aliâ de Causâ) a furto abstinendum. Contra verò Stoicis spem esse: sed ad Amicitiam et Fidem non *Usum* sed *Rectum* nos trahere. (Sup. Sat. 6. L. 2.) Hìc verò contra Epicureos Disputatio est, et quæ sequuntur statim (viz. *Damnum est non facinus*) omnia Stoica sunt.

EPIST. 17.

V. 24. Ferè præsentibus æquum.

Ægrè quidem se præsentibus rebus et concessis subjungentem (ut sup. Ep. 1. V. 19.) sed majore et splendidiora tentantem, ut sup. V. 20.) Vid. Sat. 2. L. 1. 76.

V. 42. Experiens.

In hâc vitâ atque arte parasiticâ hìc se jactat Horatius, sibi placens. Non ita posthac. Vid. inf. Ep. 18. 86 et 107.—et sup. Ep. 10. 10.—et Ep. 1. L. 1.

EPIST. 18.

V. 86. Inexpertis.

Non immeritò Horatius jam expertus hoc dicit. Scriptam ergo hanc Epistolam post præcedentem credo, ubi se jactat, V. 35.—Paululum equidem distat parasitica hæc potentis Amici cultura ab istâ infami sup. Sat. 5. L. 2. Confer hæc quæ sequuntur cum istis præceptis, præcipuè 90, &c.

V. 107. Ut mihi vivam.

Ut *mihi* non *aliis*; potentibus scil. Amicis, divitibus, Aulicis; uti olim Ego, jam Tu. *Dulcis enim inexpertis*, &c.—Sup. V. 86.—Tibi interim vitam istam parasiticam sequenti, et inexperto, ego expertus Consilium do. Talis est hæc Epistola ad Lollium. In præcedenti, V. 17. ad Scævam, nondum adeo expertus Horatius, Vitam parasiticam laudat.

EPIST. 19.

V. 10. Edixit.

Ennius certè, vel alius aliquis, de quibus supra mentio est. Eodem modo de Poetis, inf. in Arte Poet. V. 295, &c.

EP. 20.

V. 21. Majores.

De Militiâ sub Bruto loquitur. Vide Sat. 6. L. 1. V. 48.—et inf. Epist. 2. V. 50.

V. 23. Me primis, &c.

Bruto scil. postea Mæcenati et Augusto. his *domi* et in pace, illi in bello.

EPISTOLARUM.

LIB. 2. EP. 1.

V. 145. Fescennina, &c.

Vide et apud Græcos quid simile evenit. Ars Poet. V. 282. Confer etiam cum Aristot. Poet. C. 4.—Ubi de ortu Comœdiæ agit. Obscœna nempè et rustica olim. Etiam suo tempore in quibusdam civitatibus τα φαλλικα permansere. Post illum rursus nova Comœdia politior et emendatior Caput extulit. *Lex est accepta*, &c. Ars Poet. 283.—Imperfectam esse Comœdiam suo tempore planè sentiebat Philosophus.—Nam quoad Tragœdiam hæc habet: και πολλας μεταβολας μεταβαλουσα ἡ τραγωδια επαυσατο, επει εσχε την ἑαυτης φυσιν. Vide Liv. Lib. 7. C. 2.

V. 168. Creditur.

Τοσουτω δε εν λογω δει μαλλον φιλοπονειν περι αυτων ὁσω εξ ελαττονων βοηθηματων ὁ λογος εστι των μετρων. Arist. Rhetor. L. 3. C. 2.

V. 170. Plautus.

Inf. Ars Poet. V. 270. Negat Plauto in personis repræsentandis illud ηθικον adesse. Heins: sic sup. V. 58. *Properare* dicitur Plautus, Terentius *Arte vincere.* Terentio quantum favet Horatius, Vide sup. Sat. 3. L. 2. V. 2, &c. nisi quòd ista omnino Græca sint, et ex Menandri fonte potiùs quam e Terentio sumpta.

V. 173. Dossennus.

Alius Poeta Comicus Romanus: de quo Plinius, L. 14. C. 13.

EP. 2.

V. 20. Dixi, &c.

Justificatio.

V. 26. Luculli, &c.

Excusatio 1ma. a Fortunâ mutata, Libertate adeptâ. Confer hæc cum Epist. 7. V. 29, &c. et cum Annot. —Uti hìc militis sic supra Vulpeculæ sub Imagine Horatius seipsum Fortunasque suas describit. Fortiùs hìc quidem, nec seipsum purgans, aut ab exemplo recedens: quippe hìc Amico Solùm, illic Patrono rem exponit. Neque militis hoc exemplum ferre potuisset, ut diceret, *En! Zonam reddo* et *Tibi tua dona relinquo.* Nullum ibi jus relictum Mæcenati, nulla causa postulandi, expostulandive. Zonam enim primam (i. e. rem familiarem paternam) propriam habuit et nulli debitam: etiam secundam illam a Mæcenate datam, laboribus suis (inf. V. 50, &c.) ingenio studiisque non aliter quâm stipendium justum meruit. Sed hoc ne diceret Mæcenati, Modestia prohibuit: aliâ ergo imagine sibi minùs favorabili ad Illum usus est, politè admodum, at non minùs liberè.

V. 45. Academi.

Ep. 4. L. 1. V. 4. Veterem veram et genuinam Academiam intelligit, unde postea ad Epicureos deflexerat, nunc tandem rediit; atque ut supra, Ep. 1. V. 11. *Quid verum atque Decens curat*, &c. *agilis* et *civilis* fit, V. 16. *Virtutisque veræ rigidus satelles.*

V. 51. Paupertas.

Sic Luculli militem, sup. V. 26. Nunc verò invitanti Floro vel Neroni, imo Mæcenati ipsi et Augusto recusat Noster.

V. 55. Singula.

Excusatio 2da ab Impotentiâ.

V. 58. Denique non omnes.

Excusatio 3tia a Discrepantiâ.

V. 65. Præter cætera.

Excusatio 4ta ab Occupationibus.

V. 87. Frater erat.

Excusatio 5ta ab Adulatione et Invidiâ Poetarum.

V. 106. Ridentur mala.

Excusatio 6ta a Difficultate et Labore operis.

V. 126. Prætulerim Scriptor.

Excusationum Confirmatio, et Conclusio e superioribus

There is a paſſage in one of the Earl of Shafteſbury's Letters to Robert Moleſworth, Eſq; which is worthy of notice. " I am perſuaded," ſays his Lordſhip, " to think no vices will " grow

oribus in hunc modum. Poeta, ſi ineptus, Beatus; ſi ſanus, miſer. Ineptus vero fieri quis vult? Miſer quidem nemo ſequitur ergo, V. 141. *Nimirum ſapere eſt*, &c.

V. 141. Sapere.

Quia priùs dixerat *Quam ſapere et ringi*. Sed verſus ſcribere, negat omnino ſapientis eſſe. Eſt ergo Epanorthoſis iſtius Dicti, ſup. V. 128.—Nunc verò abjectis nugis et erroribus Poetarum (qui vel inſani vel miſeri) ad Philoſophiam et ſui emendationem ſe convertit Horatius.—Heinſius hæc omnia turbavit, et Epiſtolam perfectiſſimam miſerè in Editionibus ſuis laceravit, eâdem fiduciâ alias contaminans. Vid. infr. in Arte Poet. ad V. 86.

V. 144. Veræ Vitæ.

i. e. *Rectè vivere et Naturæ convenienter*, ut ſup. Ep. 6. V. 29. et Ep. 10. V. 12. et Ep. 16. V. 17. Hoc nimirum eſt illud *Verum atque decens*. Το καλον, το πρεπον, ab Epicureis irriſum.

V. 158. Proprium.

Hæc omnia Stoica, viz. Τι εφ' ημιν, τι ουκ εφ' ημιν· τι ημετερον, τι αλλοτριον· V. inf. V. 175.

De Arte Poeticâ.

Quintilianus Epiſtolam hanc ſic vocat. Ab aliis tamen, non ab Horatio ipſo, Nomen datum credo, neque communitèr receptum: ut ex M. S. apparet (Vide Cruq. et Lamb.) Eſt enim Epiſtola Illa ad Auguſtum (1ma ſcil. L. 2.) de Arte Poeticâ, cujus Artis etiam præcepta tradit, in Ep. ad Florum, quæ inter hanc et illam eſt: adeò ut tres ſint de eâdem re. Et in Libris antiquis Epiſtola hæc (rectè ut opinor) tertia Libri. 2di inſcribitur, ſimpliciter, vel addito tantùm *ad Piſones*, ut Lambinus. Cruquius epiſtolam hanc vocat *Co-epiſtolam* et *Co-hæredem*; reſpectu ſcil. ſuperiorum duarum. Meritò tamen de *Arte Poeticâ* inſcribitur: quia eſt præcipua, neque ut credunt nonnulli imperfecta; ſed omnibus modis ornata, polita, perfecta.

V. 1. Humano, &c. ad V. 37.—Capillo.—Conſtitutio Συστασις.

V. 38. Sumite materiam—ad V. 41.—Ordo.—Materia Υλη·

V. 42. Ordinis—ad V. 45.—Auctor. Ordo Ταξις.—

V. 45. Promiſſi Carminis.

Longi Epici. V. infr. V. 150, 152. et quæ ibi de Homero. et poſtea, V. 360. Horatius enim promittenda carmina jactandaque antequam edita ſint, haud cenſet: quum *premi* pauciſque ſaltem oſtendi dum componuntur ſuadet, inf. V. 386. et ſup. Epiſt. 2. V. 114. Editoque jam in opere Promiſſorem damnat. V. 138.

V. 46. In verbis—ad V. 100.—Dictio Λεξις.

V. 73. Res geſtæ.

Poema Epicum.—Poſt præcepta familiaria atque obvia, ad Hiſtoriam Poeſeos et Poetarum deſcendit. inde ad graviora τα ηθικα· Vide inf. V. 295.

V. 75. Verſibus.

Elegiacum.

V. 79. Archilochum, &c.

Poema Iambicum.

V. 83. Muſa dedit.—

Lyricum.

V. 86. Deſcriptas ſervare vices, &c.

Dramaticum, ubi ſtatim de Moribus.—De Tragœdiâ hic præcipuè diſſerit Horatius uſque ad V. 130. Poſtea vero V. 153, de Comœdiâ: Vid. infr. V. 114. et Annot.—Hæc omnia turbavit Heinſius, ut ſup. in Ep. 2dâ.—Vide infr. Annot. ad V. 309.

Deſcriptas Vices.—Χαρακτηρας et Mores in Dramatico. Sic Iſocrates ad Dem. χαρακτηρα τοις εργοις εμβαλλειν· et Demoſth. εν δε ταις ομιλιαις ο της ψυχης χαρακτηρ βλεπεται. Sic rurſus infra de Comœdiâ, V. 155. *Ætatis cujuſque*, &c. *Mobilibuſque decor naturis*.—Vide et Sat. 10. V. 12. *Defendente Vicem modò Rhetoris atque Poetæ*. et inf. V. 193. *Officiumque virile defendat*. *Partes defendere*, quod idem hìc *Servare Vices*. Sic Ep. 1. L. 2. V. 171. *Partes tueri*.

Operumque colores.

i. e. Actionum Affectuum humanorum in Scenis, ubi *Res agitur* (ut inf. V. 179.) in Satyrâ *refertur* tantùm. Quare ſup. Sat. 2. L. 2. V. 60. *Quiſquis erit Vitæ ſcribam color*.

V. 93. Interdum tamen.

Sententiam dicit de Comœdiâ contra illos (ſup. Sat. 4. V. 45.) qui Comœdiam Poema eſſe negaverunt. Ibidem V. 63. *alias* dicit ſe quæſiturum. unde apparet hanc epiſtolam iſti Satyræ poſteriorem eſſe. Et quia infra de Comœdiâ plura habet (Veluti V. 234.) apparet quidem Horatium inter poemata ponere.

V. 94. Tumido.

Sermone et Verbis Tragicis: quod magis eſt quam quod ſupra dixit Sat. 4. V. 48, 49.—*Pater ardens ſævit*, &c.

V. 101. Adſunt.

Mores ηθος.

Uti hic in Dramatico, de Tragœdiâ et Comœdiâ, ſic de *Moribus* communitèr diſſerit Horatius: poſtea vero ſpeciatim et graviter, viz. V. 309, 10, 11, 12, &c.

V. 114. Divuſne.

Vide Annot. et ſup. Verſ. 86. hìc enim de Tragœdiâ diſſerit; de Comœdiâ, inf. V. 153. de utrâque (ſcil. *quid interſit Davuſne loquatur an Deus*) inf. V. 237.

V. 120. Honoratum.

Scil. a Jove, ut in Homero. Il. L. 2. in initio ὡς Αχιλλα τιμηση, &c.—Quod Thetidi promiſerat, L. 1. in fine.—Sic et rurſus Jupiter, L. 15. in initio.

V. 131. Publica materies.

Hactenùs de Tragœdiâ, nunc de Carmine Epico unde illam deductam vult.

V. 153. Tu quid, &c.

Poſt Graviora Poemata ad Comœdiam ſe convertit.

V. 158. Puer.

Puer hìc et *Juvenis* (inf. V. 161.) et *Vir* (V. 166.) et *Senex* (V. 169.) Comœdiæ ſunt χαρακτηρες et *Deſcriptæ Vices*, ut ſup. V. 86.—Hæc enim omnia a Verſ. 153 ad 178.—ad Comœdiam ſpectant. Hoc vidit Lambinus, cum dicit in Præfatione Horatium in hâc Epiſtolâ de omni Poeſeos genere diſputare, maximè verò de Comœdiâ et Tragœdiâ. Hoc etiam vidit Vet. Com. et Cruquius ad Terentium referentes in his locis.

V. 179. Aut agitur res.—

Hactenus de Tragœdiâ ſeorſim atque Comœdiâ. Nunc de utráque ſimul: præcipuè verò de Tragœdiâ, et de Satyris qui in Tragœdiis exhibebantur. Vid. inf. V. 235.—Annot.

V. 193. Actoris partes.

Ariſtot. de Arte Poet. και τον χορον δε ενα υπολαβειν των υποκριτων· Lamb. Hinc conſtat legendum *Actoris* non *Auctoris*. Sic etiam Vet. Com. et Cruquius ex omnibus M. S. Et ſic Heinſius: qui ſequentia Ariſtotelis Verba ponit viz. και μοριον ειναι τη ὁλη, μη συναγωνιζεσθαι, &c.

V. 235. Amabo.

Ut ſup. V. 25 et 26, *laboro, fio:* et V. 87. *Cur ego*, &c. et inf. V. 265. Neque enim de Seipſo, neque de Satyris Suis vel ejuſmodi loquitur. De Seipſo quàm modeſtè, Vide inf. V. 304, &c.

Satyrorum ſcriptor.—Mirum eſt quibuſdam quid cauſæ fuerit Horatio, cur tam accuratè de Satyris hic præcipiat, quum non potuerit ignorare, illos jamdiu a vetuſtiſſimis quibuſque Tragicis Æſchylo, Sophocle, et Euripide, non adhibitos in ipſorum Tragœdiis: quod etiam Ariſtoteles (in Arte) videtur innuere. Itaque conjectare licet ex hâc præſcriptione, Satyros, ab illis priùs quidem excluſos a Tragœdiis, ſed tempore Horatii nudos in Scenam introductos, et in uſum revocatos: ideoque dari hìc præcepta de genere ſermonis, geſtûs, habitûs, quod illos deceat in Tragœdiâ. P. Gualt. Chab. Baſil. 1615.

V. 295. Ingenium.

Tranſitio ab Incuriâ, Ineptiis, et furoribus Poetarum, ad Prudentiam, Sapientiam, Mores, qui in vero Poetâ requiruntur. Vid. V. 309. Annot.

" grow upon me: for in this I have been ever ſincere, to make myſelf as good as I was " able, and to live for no other end (*w*)." The man who could ſpeak thus concerning himſelf is entitled to the beſt applauſe, the applauſe of the heart.] K.

(*w*) Letters, &c I. 7.

V. 306. Nil ſcribens ipſe.

Modeſtè, quia neque Dramaticum neque Epicum Carmen (de quibus hìc præcipuè) ipſe ſcripſerat: Satyrarum verò (non Satyrorum) ſcriptor ipſe Poetam inde ſe vocari noluit. Vid. Sat. 4. V. 39, &c. et Sat. 6. L. 2. V. 17.

V. 309. Scribendi rectè.

De Diſtributione et Ordine.—Finitâ Hiſtoriâ Poeticâ, ubi et Poematum Species, ortus, et Poetarum mores, ingenia ſingulatim expoſuit, jam ad veros Mores (de quibus ſup. V. 86—100, &c.) Doctrinam et præcepta generalia deſcendit; et poſt Jocos, Fabulas, Ironias, rem ſeriò ηθικως tractat; ita tamen ut ſuo more jocosè deſinat. Mirus ordo, ſed quem Heinſius adeo non ſentit, ut totum conatus ſit evertere.

V. 310. Socraticæ.

Non jam amplius ergo Epicureus, ſed Socraticus Horatius. Vide Ep. 1. Annot.

V. 317. Exemplar Vitæ.

Quod in *Socraticis Chartis* habet (ut ſup. 310.) ubi Perſonæ, Characteres, Mores, nimirùm quia *Dialogi* erant. Vide Ariſt. Poet. C. 1. Σωκρατικους λογους —et Athenæum, L. 2.

V. 319. Locis.

Cicero in Oratore: " nec verò in Dialecticis modò ſit inſtructus, ſed habeat omnes *Philoſophiæ notos et tractatos Locos*."

V. 364. Judicis.

Confer cum verſu 388—425—436.—Atque inde uſque ad, V. 453. Hìc enim *Vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico tangit*, et Majorem Juvenum Poetæ famam affectantem dehortatur; magnæ molis opus monſtrans, artemque Criticam maximè neceſſariam. V. inf. V. 408.

V. 391. Silveſtris.

Hiſtoria Moralis in honorem Artis, ut inf. V. 406.

V. 406. Ne fortè.

Callidè. quaſi Juveni indulgens, quem tamen reprimit.

Such are the principal notes, which the author of the Characteriſtics partly collected, and in greater part made on the writings of Horace. From theſe Notes (16) we are led to form a right idea of the Poet, taken not " from his precarious and low circumſtances at Court, after the forfeiture of his Eſtate, under the Uſurpation and conqueſt of Octavius, and the Miniſtry of a Mæcenas;" but " from his better condition and nobler employments in *earlier* days, under the favour and friendſhip of *greater* and *better* men, whilſt the Roman State and Liberty ſubſiſted;" and from the latter part of his life, when wearied with the ſervility of dependence, and diſguſted with the degeneracy of Epicurean Philoſophy, he returned to that more ſevere and ſublime Syſtem, which he plainly appears to have thought beſt calculated by its generous principles for the forming of an active Citizen, an accompliſhed Gentleman, a virtuous Man. The Poet's renunciation of Epicurean Errors, and firm though polite language with which he again aſſerts his freedom, inclines us to draw a veil over thoſe years, wherein he could be induced to ſacrifice his very ſentiments to the opinions and practice of his Patron; a conduct this, which however it may be juſtified on conſiderations of mere worldly intereſt, yet muſt it ever appear culpable on the Principles of that Morality, which taught him to be reſigned indeed to the ways of Providence, but to diſdain baſe compliance for the ſake of exterior advantages. But the more grave, ſerious, and dignified ſentiments of his later writings abundantly compenſate the levity of ſome of his earlier Odes, and the time-ſerving maxims inculcated in ſome of his earlier Satires and Epiſtles. And the experience of a Man ſo thoroughly verſed in the Manners of the World cannot fail of being inſtructive to us; for it will teach us, as we value the integrity and peace of our Minds, never to relinquiſh the ways of Rectitude for the fallacious allurements of Error, however great may be the emoluments, which may reward a dereliction of virtuous principle.

(16) See Characteriſtics, vol. iii. Miſc. 5, c. 1.

What the Poet was in his earlier and latter days, that the noble Critic uniformly continued to be through much too ſhort a life. His principles were always on the ſide of liberty, and conſequently, independent, benevolent, magnanimous: his knowledge of Ancient Writers, particularly of the Greek, was extenſive and accurate: his Taſte, formed on the model of Antiquity, was of courſe pure and refined. All theſe excellencies are diſcoverable, not leſs in the above Notes than in his edited works. Nor is it to be wondered at that he was ſo elegant a Scholar, ſo exact a Critic, ſo generous a Philoſopher, ſince he devoted to Study and Meditation thoſe hours, which too many diſſipate in the purſuit of trifling engagements, illiberal amuſements or irrational pleaſures.

I am, Dear Sir, with the greateſt regard,
Your moſt obliged,
and moſt affectionate friend,
G. J. HUNTINGFORD.

OXFORD, NEW COLLEGE, *Dec.* 20, 1784.

*** [Since the article of the firſt Earl of Shafteſbury was printed off, an ingenious publication has appeared, entitled, " Eſſays, Philoſophical, Hiſtorical, and Literary," in which are ſome ſtrictures on Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors. Among other remarks, the Eſſayiſt obſerves, that of Mr. Walpole's ſhort account of the famous Earl of Shafteſbury, much is exceptionable. Mr. Walpole, continues he, relates, upon the authority of Biſhop Burnet, a ridiculous ſtory of Shafteſbury's pretending that Cromwell offered to make him King. " If he " did," ſays Mr. Walpole, " it only proves that " Cromwell took him for a fool." But if Cromwell took Shafteſbury for a fool, it only proves that he made a moſt egregious blunder.—The abilities of Lord Shafteſbury were certainly of the firſt claſs, far above the reach of Burnet's comprehenſion." After comparing the Biſhop's inability to account for the aſcendancy which our eminent Stateſman acquired over the perſons with whom he was connected, to the Judges of the famous Leonora de Galigai, wife of Marſhal D'Ancre, who at her Trial was interrogated by what magical powers ſhe had gained ſo abſolute an influence over the mind of Mary of Medicis, and who nobly replied, that ſhe uſed no other powers than thoſe which a ſtrong mind naturally poſſeſſes over a weak one, the eſſay writer adds as follows: " When " the portrait of ſo great a man as Lord Shafteſbury " is delineated by ſo wretched a dauber as Burnet, " we may expect to find it what in fact it is, miſe- " rably defective in drawing, colouring, and reſemb- " lance (*)." Though we think that Burnet was not a little miſtaken in his repreſentation of the Earl of Shafteſbury's character, we do not give our approbation to ſo ſevere a cenſure of that worthy and learned Prelate.] K.

(*) Eſſays, Philoſophical, Hiſtorical, and Literary, p. 352—354.

*** [COOPER

*** [COOPER (SAMUEL), a Miniature Painter of diſtinguiſhed excellence, was born in London, in the year 1609 (*a*). He was bred up, together with an elder brother, named Alexander [*A*], under the care of John Hoſkins, his uncle [*B*], by whom he was initiated in the art of painting. He made ſo great a proficiency, that he ſoon excelled his maſter, who found that his nephew's performances were more admired than his own. He, therefore, took him into partnerſhip with him; but the ſuperior reputation which Cooper obtained, exciting ſome jealouſy in his uncle, he diſſolved the partnerſhip (*b*). Cooper then ſet up for himſelf, and met with ſuch encouragement as his uncommon merit deſerved. He painted miniature portraits of King Charles II. and his Queen, the Duke of York, the Ducheſs of Cleveland, and moſt of the Court. But two pieces of his which were the moſt eſteemed were thoſe of Oliver Cromwell, and of one Swingfield. The latter picture was carried by Cooper to the Court of France, where it was much admired, and where he was employed to paint ſeveral pieces larger than his uſual ſize, and for which his widow received a penſion during her life (*c*). He travelled into Holland, as well as France, and is ſaid to have been many years abroad (*d*). In the ſtyle of painting to which he addicted himſelf, he was ſuperior to any of his contemporaries in his own country, and equal to the beſt artiſts of Italy. He had ſtudied the works of Vandyke with great attention, and copied many of them, either to improve himſelf by imitating his manner, or at the deſire of others who rewarded him for his labour. Accordingly he was ſometimes called "the Vandyke "in little," as he reſembled that celebrated maſter in the beauty and clearneſs of his colouring, the agreeable turn of his heads, and the ſpirit and relief of his portraits (*e*). Mr. Walpole ſays, that 'Samuel Cooper owed great part of his merit to the works of Vandyke, 'and yet may be called an original genius, as he was the firſt who gave the ſtrength and 'freedom of oil to miniature. Oliver's works are touched and re-touched with ſuch careful fidelity, that you cannot help perceiving they are nature in the abſtract; Cooper's 'are ſo bold, that they ſeem perfect nature only of a leſs ſtandard. Magnify the former, 'they are ſtill diminutively conceived: if a glaſs could expand Cooper's pictures to the 'ſize of Vandyke's, they would appear to have been painted for that proportion. If his 'portrait of Cromwell [*C*] could be ſo enlarged, I don't know but Vandyke would appear 'leſs great by the compariſon (*f*).'

Notwithſtanding the great merit of Cooper as an artiſt, his pencil was generally confined to a head only; for below that part his drawing was incorrect. But for a face, and its dependencies, the free and natural air of his heads, the ſtrength, relievo, and noble ſpirit, the ſoftneſs and tender livelineſs of fleſh and blood, and the looſeneſs and gentle management of the hair, he was ſo unrivalled, that his works ſold for very high prices, and were in great eſtimation in France, and alſo at Rome and Venice, and in almoſt every part of Europe. Among other excellencies, for which his pieces were admired, was the variety of tints that he introduced, and the clearneſs of his carnations. Mr. Oldys ſays, 'It 'has been affirmed to me, that he would ſteal a face upon his nail, and remember the 'complexion, air, and all other diſtinguiſhments, ſo exactly, as to preſent any perſon with 'their portrait, who never knew they had ſat to him for it (*g*).' He was intimately acquainted with Butler, the celebrated author of Hudibras, whom he inſtructed in his art. Muſic was alſo cultivated by him, as well as by Butler, and he played extremely well upon the lute. His manners were poliſhed, and he was maſter of ſeveral languages. He died in London, on the 5th of May, 1672, at the age of ſixty-three, and was buried in Pancras-church, where a monument was erected to his memory, on which is the following inſcription:

(*a*) Graham's Account of Eminent Painters, annexed to Dryden's Tranſlation of Freſnoy, p. 375. ſecond edit.

(*b*) Eſſay towards an Engliſh School of Painters, annexed to De Piles, p. 365.

(*c*) Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. iii. p. 113, 114. third edit.

(*d*) Eſſay towards an Engliſh School, *ut ſupra*.

(*e*) Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, p. 149.

(*f*) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 10.

(*g*) Oldys's MSS.

[*A*] *An elder brother, named Alexander.*] Mr. Pilkington ſays of Alexander Cooper, who was alſo inſtructed in the art of painting by his uncle Hoſkins; that 'although he became a good artiſt in limning, 'yet he was in no degree of competition with his 'brother. He followed his profeſſion in ſeveral cities 'of the Low Countries, and particularly at Amſterdam; from whence he was invited to Sweden, where 'he had the honour of being appointed Limner to 'Queen Chriſtina. He alſo painted landſcapes in 'water-colours extremely well, and was accounted to 'have a correct manner of drawing.(1)'

(1) Dictionary of Painters, p. 149.

[*B*] *Under the care of John Hoſkins, his uncle.*] Of this artiſt Mr. Walpole ſays, 'Hoſkins, though ſurpaſſed by his ſcholar, the younger Cooper, was a 'very good painter. There is great truth and nature 'in his heads; but the carnations are too bricky, 'and want a degradation and variety of tints. I 'have a head of Serjeant Maynard by him, boldly 'painted and in a manly ſtyle, though not without 'theſe faults; and another good one of Lord Falkland, more deſcriptive of his patriot melancholy 'than the common prints. It was in the collection 'of Dr. Mead. There is, indeed, one work of 'Hoſkins that may be called perfect. It is a head 'of a man, rather young, in the gown of a maſter of 'arts, and a red ſattin waiſtcoat. The clearneſs of 'the colouring is equal to either Oliver; the diſhevelled hair touched with exquiſite freedom. It is 'in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Fanſhaw, but not known 'whoſe portrait (2).' Another writer ſays of Hoſkins, that 'he was a very eminent Limner in the reign of 'King Charles I. whom he drew, with his Queen, 'and moſt of his Court. He was bred a face-painter 'in oil, but afterwards taking to miniature, he far 'exceeded what he did before. He died in Covent-Garden (3).'

(2) Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. ii. p. 231, 232. third edit.

[*C*] *His portrait of Cromwell.*] Mr. Walpole ſays, 'This fine head is in the poſſeſſion of the Lady 'Frankland, widow of Sir Thomas, a deſcendant of 'Cromwell. The body is unfiniſhed. Vertue engraved it, as he did another, in profile, in the collection of the Duke of Devonſhire (4).']

(3) Eſſay towards an Engliſh School of Painters, annexed to De Piles, p. 389.

(4) Anecdotes of Painting, vol. iii. p. 111.

H. S. E.
SAMUEL COOPER, Armiger,
Angliæ Apelles,
Seculi ſui, et Artis Decus,
In quâ excolendâ
Sicut Neminem, quem ſequeretur, invenit,
Ita nec, qui Eum aſſequatur, eſt habiturus.
Supra omne Exemplum,
Simul ac omne Exemplar,
Minio-Graphices Artifex ſummus,
Summis Europæ Principibus notus,
Et in Pretio habitus;
Cujus porro egregias Animi Dotes,
Ingenium expoliti ſſimum,
Linguarum plurimarum Peritiam,
Mores ſuavi ſſimas,
Ut tam brevis Tabella rite complecti poſſet
Ipſius unice Manu delineanda fuit:
Sed modeſtior ille,
Dum per Ora, Oculoſque omnium Fama volat,
Cineres hic potius ſuos optavit deliteſcere,
Ipſe, in Eccleſiæ Pace, feliciter requieſcens
Chari ſſimâ Conjuge Chriſtianâ
Obiit quinto Die Maii Anno { Ætatis ſuæ 63. / Salutis MDCLXXII (*b*).

(*b*) Eſſay towards an Engliſh School p. 360.

The works of Cooper are numerous. Mr. Walpole ſays, 'Seven or eight are in 'Queen Caroline's cloſet at Kenſington; one of them, a head of a monk, is capital, but 'unfiniſhed. Lord Oxford had a head of Archbiſhop Sheldon; and the buſt of Lord 'Chancellor Shafteſbury, on his monument by Ryſbrack, was taken from a picture of 'Cooper (*i*).' Mr. Oldys ſays (*k*), that he painted the Duke and Ducheſs of Monmouth, and moſt of the nobility and beauties of the Court; ſeveral of the moſt eminent artiſts of his own profeſſion; together with Sir John Denham, and other celebrated wits of that age. Among the poems of Mrs. Katharine Philips, is one addreſſed to Cooper on his drawing her friend Lucaſia's picture in 1660, in which are the following lines:

(*i*) Anecdotes of Painting in England, p. 114.
(*k*) In his MSS.

'A pencil from an angel newly caught,
'And colours in the morning's boſom ſought,
'Would make no picture, if by you not wrought.

'But done by you, it does no more admit
'Of an encomium for the higheſt wit,
'Than that another hand ſhould equal it (*l*).'

(*l*) Poems by Mrs. Katharine Philips, the Matchleſs Orinda, edit. folio, 1669, p. 158.

It may not be improper to mention, that Mr. Pope's mother was ſiſter to Cooper's wife. Mr. Walpole ſays, 'Lord Carleton had a portrait of Cooper in crayons, which Mrs. Pope 'ſaid was not very like, and which, deſcending to Lord Burlington, was given by his Lord-'ſhip to Kent. It was painted by one Jackſon, a relation of Cooper, of whom I know 'nothing more, and who, I ſuppoſe, drew another head of Cooper, in crayons, in Queen 'Caroline's cloſet, ſaid to be painted by himſelf; but I find no account of his eſſays in that 'way.'—'I have a drawing of Pope's father, as he lay dead in his bed, by his brother-'in-law Cooper. It was Mr. Pope's (*m*).' This was probably a drawing of Pope's grandfather; it could not be his father, who ſurvived Cooper many years. If it was his father, it muſt have been done by ſome other hand.] T.

(*m*) Anecdotes of Painting, *ut ſupra*.

[COOPER (JOHN-GILBERT), a polite writer of the preſent age, was born in 1723; and was deſcended from an ancient family in the county of Nottingham, whoſe fortune was injured in the laſt century by their attachment to the principles of monarchy. He reſided at Thurgarton Priory in Nottinghamſhire (*a*), which was granted by King Henry VIII. to William Cooper, one of his anceſtors. This manſion [*A*] Mr. Cooper inherited from his father, who, in 1739, was High-Sheriff of the county; and tranſmitted it to his ſon, who filled the ſame reſpectable office in 1783 (*b*). After paſſing through Weſtminſter ſchool under Dr. John Nicoll, along with the late Lord Albemarle, Lord Buckinghamſhire, Major Johnſon, Mr. Geo. Aſhby, and many other eminent and ingenious men, he became in 1743 a Fellow-Commoner of Trinity-College, Cambridge, and reſided there two or three years; but quitted the Univerſity on his marriage with Suſanna the daughter of William Wrighte, Eſq; ſon to the

(*a*) Thoroton's Nottinghamſhire, p. 305. Tanner's Not. Mon. p. 403.
(*b*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 273.

[*A*] *This manſion.*] In 1726, when S. Buck took a view of it, it belonged to William Draper, Eſq.

Lord

Lord Keeper of that name, and Recorder of Leiceſter 1729—1763 (*c*). In the year 1745 he commenced Author by the publication of "The Power of Harmony," a poem in 4to; and in 1746 and 1747 he produced ſeveral Eſſays and Poems under the ſignature of *Philalethes*, in a periodical work called "The Muſeum," publiſhed by Mr. Dodſley. On his eldeſt ſon, who was born July 25, 1749, and died the next day, Mr. Cooper wrote an elegant epitaph, which is placed in the Chancel of St. Margaret's Church in Leiceſter, and ſhall be tranſcribed below [*B*]. In the ſame year, he came forward as an author, with his name, by a work which received much aſſiſtance from his friend, the Rev. John Jackſon of Leiceſter (*d*), who communicated ſeveral learned notes, in which he contrived to manifeſt his diſlike to his formidable antagoniſt Mr. Warburton. It was intituled, "The Life of Socrates, collected from the Memorabilia of Xenophon and the Dialogues "of Plato, and illuſtrated farther by Ariſtotle, Diodorus Siculus, Cicero, Proclus, Apuleius, "Maximus Tyrius, Boëthius, Diogenes Laërtius, Aulus Gellius, and others, 1749," 8vo. In this work Mr. Cooper gave evident marks of ſuperior genius; warm, impetuous, and impatient of reſtraint. In ſuch a diſpoſition, we are not to wonder if he was ſometimes led to ſpeak without due deference of preceding writers, whom, not content with confuting, he laſhes and ſpurns like a mercileſs exulting victor, thoughtleſs of the viciſſitudes of war, and regardleſs how ſoon it might be his fortune to fall under the laſh of critics as ſevere as himſelf [*C*]. Among theſe was Mr. Warburton (*e*), who then figured high in "the firſt ranks of "learning; a man of vigorous faculties, a mind fervid and vehement, ſupplied by inceſſant "and unlimited enquiry, with wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which had not "oppreſſed his imagination, nor clouded his perſpicacity." In a note on the "Eſſay on "Criticiſm," the learned Commentator thus takes occaſion to introduce our author (*f*): "As *Ignorance*, when joined with *Humility*, produces ſtupid admiration, on which account "it is ſo commonly obſerved to be the *mother of Devotion* and blind homage; ſo when "joined with *Vanity* (as it always is in bad critics) it gives birth to every iniquity of im-"pudent abuſe and ſlander. See an example (for want of a better) in a late worthleſs "and now forgotten thing, called the *Life of Socrates*; where the head of the Author "(as a man of wit obſerved on reading the book) has juſt made a ſhift to do the office of "a *camera obſcura*, and repreſent things in an inverted order; himſelf *above*, and Sprat, "Rollin, Voltaire, and every other author of reputation, *below*." This ſevere attack produced "Curſory Remarks on Mr. Warburton's new edition of Mr. Pope's Works, in a "Letter to a Friend. By John Gilbert Cooper, Eſq. Author of the Life of Socrates, "1751;" in which Mr. C. appeals to the impartial reader, "whether there is the leaſt "reflection through the whole Life of Socrates, or the notes, upon Mr. W's *morals*, and "whether he has not confined his criticiſm to Mr. W's *practice* as an author?" and declares the epithet beſtowed upon him by Mr. W. to be "a downright ſlander [*D*]." In 1754,

(*c*) Hiſtory of Hinckley, p. 150.

(*d*) See art. JACKSON.

(*e*) Johnſon's Life of Pope, Hawkins's edit. vol. iv. p. 67.

(*f*) Pope's Works, ed. 1751, vol. i. p. 151.

[*B*] *Which ſhall be tranſcribed below.*]

"Hic jacet
Quod mori potuit
HENRICI GILBERTI COOPER,
Infantis deſideratiſſimi,
Filii natu maximi
JOHANNIS GILBERTI COOPER,
De Thurgarton, in agro Nottinghamienſi,
Et SUSANNÆ, uxoris ejus;
Natus 25 Julii, denatus 26, 1749.
Atavis eſſet editus antiquis;
Nulla alia in re claruit,
Nec potuit:
Floſculus enim in ipſa quoque dulcis ætatula,
Prima gemma pullulaturus,
Parcarum heu parcere neſciarum
Fatali afflatu contactus
Exaruit.
Mœſtus itaque et mœrens pater
Chariſſimi infantuli ſui memoriæ
Hoc etſi inane munus
Amoris monumentum
Collocavit (1)."

(1) Gent. Mag. 1778, p. 487, where it is facetiouſly and properly burleſqued and ridiculed.

[*C*] *Critics as ſevere as himſelf.*] Speaking of his own ſtyle, he ſays, "It is ſuch in every "place, as the ſubject ſeems to require, conciſe "though circumſtantial in the hiſtorical parts, "diffuſed and declamatory in the recapitula-"tion, and cloſe and unaffected in the occaſional "reflections." As to his freedom with other writers, "Some expreſſions," ſays he, "may appear too "harſh, and others too luſory; but all weapons are "not to be uſed alike againſt all adverſaries: for, as "the antient warlike Scythians found, in the ſervile "war, that whips more intimidated the army of "ſlaves, that marched amongſt them, than the ſword, "which had ſo often corrected the pride of nations; "ſo contumely and ridicule will avail againſt thoſe "who are loſt to good manners, candour, and good "ſenſe, when the nobler methods of humanity, rea-"ſon, and learning, would prove ineffectual. The "ſentiments of others, who write like men, are exa-"mined with the ſame ſpirit; and where the author "is obliged to oppoſe their opinions, he does it with "a proper reſpect due to their characters, always diſ-"tinguiſhing between the deſigning deceits of the "heart, and the involuntary errors of a miſled under-"ſtanding. He entered on the work," he adds, "with no ſmall application, for his own inſtruction "and amuſement; and, after being carefully reviſed, "it is now communicated with the honeſt deſign of "making others partake in the ſame ſatisfaction this "enquiry has already afforded him. If this deſire-"able end cannot be obtained, he thinks it is pay-"ing a greater reſpect to mankind to confeſs, that "the failure proceeds from deficiency of abilities, "and not from the want of laudable endeavours.— "Whatever failings the learned may obſerve, the "author has reaſon to expect, ſince all he advances "is intended for the promotion of good-manners, "morality, and true religion, that they would, with "the good-nature becoming ſuch, candidly impute "them to error, inſiſting ſtrongly on the merit of his "deſign, however little he may have in the execu-"tion of it."

[*D*] *A downright ſlander.*] "I have undergone (2)," ſays he, "young as I am, too many diſappointments in "life, to wonder much at many things which the mob "of mankind call extraordinary; otherwiſe I might be "ſurpriſed that almoſt a total retirement from the world "would not ſhelter me from the injuries of it, eſpecially "too at an age when few have had any concerns "with it. I thought I might have enjoyed an un-"envied obſcurity in the moſt undiſturbed peace and "tran-

(2) Anecdotes of Bowyer, *ut ſupra*.

1754, Mr. Cooper publiſhed his "Letters on Taſte," 8vo; an elegant little volume, on which no ſmall ſhare of his reputation is founded [*E*]; and, in 1755, "The Tomb of "Shakſpeare, a Viſion," 4to; a decent performance, but in which there is more of wit and application than of nature or genius. In 1756 he aſſiſted Mr. Moore, by writing ſome numbers of "The World;" and attempted to rouſe the indignation of his countrymen againſt the Heſſians, at that juncture brought over to defend the nation, in a poem called "The Genius of Britain," addreſſed to Mr. Pitt. In 1758, he publiſhed "Epiſtles to "the Great, from Ariſtippus in Retirement," 4to; and "The Call of Ariſtippus, Epiſtle "IV. to Mark Akenſide, M. D." Alſo, "A Father's Advice to his Son," in 4to. In the Annual Regiſter of the ſame year is his Tranſlation of "An Epiſtle from "the King of Pruſſia to Monſieur Voltaire." In 1759, he publiſhed "Ver Vert; "or, the Nunnery Parrot; an Heroic Poem, in Four Cantos; inſcribed to the Abbeſs of "D***; tranſlated from the French of Monſieur Greſſet," 4to; reprinted in the firſt volume of Dilly's "Repoſitory, 1777;" and, in 1764, "Poems on ſeveral Subjects, by the "Author of the Life of Socrates;" with a prefatory Advertiſement by Mr. Dodſley [*F*]. In this little volume were included all the ſeparate poetical pieces which have been already mentioned, excepting "Ver Vert," which is a ſprightly compoſition. We have only to add to this ſhort narrative, that Mr. Cooper was an active, uſeful magiſtrate; and that he died at his father's houſe in May-Fair, after a long and excruciating illneſs ariſing from the ſtone, April 14, 1769.] N.

*** [Though Mr. Gilbert Cooper does not ſtand very high in the rank of Engliſh writers, his abilities and his temporary celebrity were conſiderable enough to entitle him to a place in the Biographia. Beſides, he was of a particular ſchool of literature; and of ſuch ſchools it is the intention of this work to give as full an account as poſſible. The ſchool he belonged to was that of his nameſake, Anthony Aſhley Cooper, third Earl of Shafteſbury. That of this Author Mr. Gilbert Cooper was a moſt zealous admirer and imitator, is apparent from his works in general, and is acknowledged in ſeveral particular paſſages. Hence, likewiſe, he was devoted to other writers who embraced the ſentimental philoſophy, and eſpecially to Hutcheſon and Akenſide. His firſt production, the Life of Socrates, is not now held in much eſtimation. The moſt popular of his proſe works were his Letters on Taſte, which have gone through four editions. To the two laſt editions of them are added nine Eſſays, on various ſubjects. Perhaps Mr. Cooper is not very accurate in his definition of Taſte, and the juſtneſs of his criticiſms may ſometimes be diſputed. Nevertheleſs, the work is an agreeable one upon the whole, and will be read with pleaſure by the lovers of polite literature. The admirers of ſimple and elegant poetry are not a little obliged

"tranquillity, and that CALUMNY was too buſy "about the names of thoſe who were candidates for "fame, to find time to viſit the receſs of one, whoſe "contempt of every advantage of life, but what con-"duced to quiet, ſhould, it was hoped, protect him "from the poiſonous breath of that daughter of "ENVY. But I was greatly miſtaken, it ſeems, in "my humble expectations; for I had ſcarcely begun "to feel the calm comforts which the abſence of "contention yields to a thinking creature, before I "was informed by letters from ſome friends in town, "that Mr. *Warburton* had, with his uſual humanity "and good manners, very compendiouſly anſwered "the *Life of Socrates* in the tail of one note, by the "free uſe of thoſe appellations he has indiſcrimi-"nately thrown out upon, not only all thoſe who "have ever had any controverſy with him, but upon "all others too whom he ever ſuſpected to have the "raſhneſs to contradict any of his opinions. How-"ſoever this would have alarmed me heretofore, as "an author, from the pen of any other perſon, it had "no effect upon me then from the writer it came "from; and I ſat down contemptuouſly contented, "without ſo much as being ſolicitous to know what "abuſe he had conferred upon my writings. I ſay, "abuſe, for he never ſpeaks of an opponent without "it. But as indifferent as I was about my charac-"ter as a writer, I cannot ſay I was quite ſo eaſy "when I was afterwards told that he had attacked "it as a man. Upon this I wrote to him, that I "thought he had uſed me very ill, and ſhould take "a proper notice of him for it in publick; in anſwer "to which he tells a friend of mine, 'That he was "ſurpriſed I ſhould think myſelf ill-uſed, for that he "had never mentioned my name or writings in pub-"lic, or in converſation, but with honour, till I had "wrote a book wherein I had treated him through "the whole with a ſcurrility worſe than *Billingſgate*, "and that he had now taken no other revenge than the "caſual mention of the Author of the *Life of Socra-*

"*tes* (without the mention of my name) with a ſlight "joke.' I will aſk any impartial reader, if there is "the leaſt reflection through the whole *Life of Socra-*"*tes*, or the notes, upon Mr. *W*'s morals? whe-"ther I have not confined my criticiſm to his prac-"tice as an author? and whether every thing therein "advanced cannot be proved over and over again by "citations from the *Divine Legation*, and his other "tracts? At the ſame time I deſire one part of the "diſpute betwixt us may be finiſhed by an anſwer to "theſe queſtions: Is not calling a guiltleſs man an "impudent ſlanderer, calumny? and quite a differ-"ent revenge than a ſlight joke? and has not Mr. "*Warburtan* done that in the note in queſtion (3)?" (3) Curſory Remarks, p. 3—6.

[*E*] *His reputation is founded.*] On the firſt appearance of theſe "Letters" it was acutely obſerved by Dr. Johnſon, "that Cooper's genius ſeemed "to ſhine more in deſcription than in definition; that "he had more of imagery than of ſpecula-"tion; that his imagination was the ſtrongeſt "talent of his mind; and that, if he had not at-"tempted to offer any thing new on the ſubject of "Taſte, he was always ſo entertaining, ſpirited, and "ſplendid in his diction, that the reader who is not "inſtructed by him, cannot fail of being pleaſed and "diverted (4)." (4) Literary Mag. 1757, p. 134.

[*F*] *Advertiſement by Mr. Dodſley.*] "The follow-"ing Poems having been very favourably received "by the Public when they firſt appeared, at different "times, in detached pieces, the Author has been "prevailed upon to permit me to collect them into "this ſmall volume. When I requeſted him to give "me a preface, he replied, 'That to thoſe to whom "ſuch trifles afforded pleaſure, a formal introduction "would be unneceſſary; that he wrote moſt of them, "when he was very young, for his own amuſement, "and publiſhed them afterwards for my profit; and, "as they had once anſwered both thoſe ends, he was "very little ſolicitous what would be the fate of them "for the future."] N.

[5] Letters Taſte, p. 91, fourth edit.

obliged to the Author for bringing them acquainted with the Song to Winifreda [G] Of Mr. Cooper's poetical writings, the moſt pleaſing are his "Epiſtles to his Friends in "Town, from Ariſtippus in Retirement." They were written in imitation of ſome faſhionable French writers, and particularly of Greſſet. From theſe Epiſtles we ſhall inſert below two paſſages; the firſt relative to our Author's temper of mind, and the ſecond deſcribing the character of his own poetry [H]. His next principal poetical work is his "Power "of Harmony;" in two books. This we do not greatly admire. It is evidently compoſed in imitation of Akenſide's Pleaſures of Imagination, without riſing to the ſame merit; and it abounds with the ſentiments of Shafteſbury, not very perſpicuouſly expreſſed. Mr. Cooper was not deſtitute of fancy; but his fancy was not always under proper regulation, and he ſometimes failed in the preciſion of his ideas. Another fault in him is a ſuperabundance of proſopopeias, which is one of the tricks of modern poetry. His declaration to

[G] *For bringing them acquainted with the Song to Winifreda.*] This beautiful ſong, though it hath made its way into ſeveral collections, our Readers will be glad to ſee here inſerted.

"Away, let nought to love diſpleaſing,
My WINIFREDA, move thy fear,
Let nought delay the heav'nly bleſſing,
Nor ſqueamiſh pride, nor gloomy care.

What tho' no grants of royal donors,
With pompous titles grace our blood,
We'll ſhine in more ſubſtantial honours,
And to be noble, we'll be good.

What tho' from fortune's laviſh bounty,
No mighty treaſures we poſſeſs,
We'll find within our pittance plenty,
And be content without exceſs.

Still ſhall each kind returning ſeaſon,
Sufficient for our wiſhes give,
For we will live a life of reaſon,
And that's the only life to live.

Our name, whilſt virtue thus we tender,
Shall ſweetly ſound where-e'er 'tis ſpoke,
And all the great ones much ſhall wonder,
How they admire ſuch little folk.

Thro' youth and age in love excelling,
We'll hand in hand together tread,
Sweet ſmiling peace ſhall crown our dwelling,
And babes, ſweet ſmiling babes, our bed.

How ſhould I love the pretty creatures,
Whilſt round my knees they fondly clung,
To ſee 'em look their mother's features,
To hear 'em liſp their mother's tongue!

And when with envy time tranſported
Shall think to rob us of our joys,
You'll in your girls again be courted,
And I go wooing in my boys (5)."

(5) Letters on Taſte, p. 91, 92. fourth edit.

[H] *From theſe epiſtles we ſhall inſert*, &c.] His own temper of mind he thus deſcribes:

"I've oft, MELISSA, heard you ſay,
"The world obſerves I never wear
"An aſpect gloomy or ſevere,
"That, conſtitutionally gay,
"Whether dark clouds obſcure the ſky,
"Or PHOEBUS gilds the face of day,
"In pleaſure's true philoſophy
"I paſs the winged years away."
IN moſt, 'tis true, the human ſenſe
Is ſubjected to ſmiles, or tears,
To ſwelling pride, or trembling fears,
"By ev'ry ſkyey influence."
Cameleon-like *their* ſouls agree
With all they hear and all they ſee,
Or, as one inſtrument reſounds,
Another's uniſon of ſounds,
Their mutable complexions carry
The looks of anger, hope, and joy;
Juſt as the ſcenes around 'em vary,
Pleaſures delight, or pains annoy.
But I, by philoſophic mood,
Let the wiſe call it happy folly,
Educe from ev'ry evil good,
And rapture e'en from melancholy.
When in the ſilent midnight grove,
Sweet PHILOMELA ſwells her throat
With tremulous and plaintive note,
Expreſſive of diſaſt'rous love,
I with the PENSIVE PLEASURES dwell,
And in their calm ſequeſter'd cell,
Liſten with rapturous delight
To the ſoft ſongſter of the night.
Here ECHO, in her moſſy cave,
Symphonious to the love-lorn ſong,
Warbles the vocal rocks among,
Whilſt gently-trickling waters lave
The oak-fring'd mountain's hoary brow,
Whoſe ſtreams, united in the vale,
O'er pebbled beds loquacious flow,
Tun'd to the ſad melodious tale
In murmurs querulouſly flow.
And, whilſt immers'd in thought I lie,
From ages paſt and realms unſeen,
There moves before the mental eye
The pleaſing melancholy ſcene
Of nymphs and youths unfortunate,
Whoſe fame ſhall ſpread from ſhore to ſhore,
Preſerv'd by bards from death and fate,
Till time itſelf ſhall be no more.
THUS, not by black miſanthropy
Impell'd, to caves or rocks I fly;
But when, by chance or humour led,
My wand'ring feet thoſe regions tread,
Taught by philoſophy ſo ſweet
To ſhun the fellowſhip of care,
Far from the world I go to meet
Such pleaſures as inhabit there.
WITH rebel-will I ne'er oppoſe
The current of my deſtiny,
But, pliant as the torrent flows,
Receive my courſe implicitly (6)."

(6) Poems on ſeveral Subjects, p. 19—21.

Mr. Cooper characterizes his own Poetry in the following lines.

"BUT ſhould you aſk me, why I chooſe,
Of all the laurel'd ſiſterhood
Th' inhabitants of PINDUS' wood,
The leaſt conſiderable muſe,
The vi'lets round the mountain's feet,
Whoſe humble gems unheeded blow,
Are to the ſhepherd's ſmell more ſweet
Than lofty cedars on its brow.
Let the loud EPIC ſound th' alarms
Of dreadful war, and heroes ſprung
From ſome immortal anceſtry,
Clad in impenetrable arms
By VULCAN forg'd, my lyre is ſtrung
With ſofter chords, my MUSE more free
Wanders thro' PINDUS' humbler ways
In amiable ſimplicity:
Unſtudy'd are her artleſs lays,
She aſks no laurel for her brows;
Careleſs of cenſure or of praiſe,
She haunts where tender myrtle grows;
Fonder of happineſs than fame
To the proud bay prefers the roſe,
Nor barters pleaſure for a name.

to his Editor, Mr. Dodſley, that he was very little ſolicitous what would be the fate of his Poems for the future, was probably the reſult of affectation or diſguſt. It is well known to the writer of this addition to his life, that he was much diſguſted on a particular occaſion. He was, for ſome time, a conſtant attendant, and a frequent ſpeaker, at the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*; and it was an object of ambition with him, to be choſen a Vice-preſident of that moſt reſpectable and uſeful Society. Not being elected, his diſſatisfaction was ſo great, that I believe he never appeared there again. Mr. Cooper was a Gentleman of an agreeable appearance, of polite addreſs, and accompliſhed manners. The great room of the Society now mentioned was for ſeveral years the place where many perſons choſe to try, or to diſplay, their oratorical abilities. Dr. Goldſmith, I remember, made an attempt at a ſpeech, but was obliged to ſit down in confuſion. I once heard Dr. Johnſon ſpeak there, upon a ſubject relative to mechanics, with a propriety, perſpicuity, and energy which excited general admiration.] K.

* He was for a little while one of the Chairmen of the Committee of polite Arts.

On NATURE's lap reclin'd at eaſe,
I liſten to her heav'nly tongue,
From her derive the pow'r to pleaſe,
From her receive th' harmonious time,
And what the goddeſs makes my ſong
In unpremeditated rhyme
Melliſluous flows, whilſt young DESIRE,
Cull'd from th' ELYSIAN bloom of ſpring,
Strews flow'rs immortal round my lyre,
And FANCY's ſportive children bring,
From bloſſom'd grove and lilied mead,
Freſh fragrant chaplets for my head.
The moſt, tho' ſofteſt of the NINE,
EUTERPE, muſe of gaiety
Queen of heart-ſoft'ning melody,
Allures my ear with notes divine.
In my retreat EUTERPE plays,
Where SCIENCE, garlanded with flow'rs,
Enraptur'd liſtens to her lays
Beneath the ſhade of myrtle bow'rs (7)."

(7) *Ibid.* p. 29–31.

COOTE (Sir CHARLES) a brave and active Officer in the ſeventeenth Century, created in 1660 Earl of Mountrath, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Charles Coote [*A*], who was made a Baronet on the 2d of April 1621 (*a*). In Jan. 1641-2 he was beſieged in Caſtle-Coote by twelve hundred Iriſh, but he valiantly raiſed the ſiege within a week. Not long after, he defeated Hugh O Connor and his forces: And on the 2d of March encountred Con O Rourk and his followers, who came to plunder Roſcommon; took him priſoner, and killed moſt of his party. Afterwards he gave a total defeat to the rebels, who had formed a Camp at Kregs, and took all their baggage and proviſions. He likewiſe got a conſiderable prey from about Ballyniſlow; and in Eaſter-week relieved Athlone with ſome proviſions and other neceſſaries (*b*). About the beginning of the year 1644, he was one of the Agents from the Iriſh Proteſtants, who attended King Charles I. at Oxford, in order to treat of a Peace between them and the Catholicks in Ireland (*c*). In November 1646, having received ſome forces from England, he broke through the army of the Iriſh with a party, and cauſed them to draw farther off from Dublin, which they kept in a manner beſieged (*d*). In May 1647, he gave them a great defeat, in which a thouſand of them were ſlain (*e*). Soon after, he had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with them, in which ſome of the leading Rebels were taken priſoners (*f*). In October the ſame year, joining his forces with thoſe of Col. Jones and Col. Monk, they took ſeveral Caſtles and places from the Iriſh; and among the reſt, Port Leſter, and Athboy (*g*). About the end of the next year, marching with the forces he had aſſembled in Connought, from Sligo ſeventy miles into

(*a*) The Iriſh Compendium, &c. by Fr. Nicholls, ed. 1735, p. 107.

(*b*) Hiſt. of Ireland, &c. by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 97.

(*c*) Cox, *ibid.* p. 139.

(*d*) Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, &c. by Mr. Whitelock, edit. 1732, p. 228.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 251.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 258.

(*g*) Page 279

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of Sir* Charles Coote.] This Sir Charles Coote was a man of great conſideration in Ireland. Upon the breaking out of the Iriſh rebellion, in 1641, he had a commiſſion for a regiment of foot, and was made Governor of Dublin (1). On the 29th of November he relieved the caſtle of Wicklow, beat a thouſand of the Iriſh, with their commander, Luke Toole, and put them to a ſhameful flight; whereby he became ſo terrible to the Iriſh, that they ſeldom made any reſiſtance where he was (2). In December, the Lords of the Pale, in Ireland, accuſed him of having uttered, at the council-board, ſome ſpeeches, tending to a purpoſe and reſolution of executing a general maſſacre upon the Iriſh Roman Catholicks: but the Lords Juſtices cleared him of that imputation (3). On the 15th of the ſame month he pillaged and burnt the village of Clantarſe, near Dublin (4). The 10th of April, 1642, he was ſent with Sir Thomas Lucas, and ſix troops of horſe, to relieve Bir, and ſome other places. They were to paſs a cauſeway which the rebels had broken, and had caſt up a ditch at the end of it; but Coote made thirty of his dragoons alight, and, in perſon, led them on, and beat off the Iriſh, with the ſlaughter of forty rebels and their captain, and then relieved the caſtles of Bir, Burrous, and Knocknemeaſe; and having ſat almoſt forty-eight hours on horſeback, and loſt and ſpoiled a hundred horſe in this expedition, they returned to the camp on *the eleventh*, at night, without the loſs of one man. And this was the prodigious paſſage through Mountrath-woods, which indeed is wonderful in many reſpects, and therefore juſtly gave occaſion for the title of Earl of Mountrath to be entailed upon the poſterity of Sir Charles Coote, who was the chief commander in this expedition (5). Some time after he accompanied the Lord Liſle in relieving the caſtle of Geaſhill, and, at the council of war, told the reſt, that if they made haſte they might eaſily paſs the defiles and cauſeways, before the enemy could aſſemble to oppoſe them: whereto another replied, that perhaps it might be ſo, but when the country was alarmed how ſhould they get back? 'I proteſt, ſaid 'Sir Charles Coote, I never thought of that in my 'life; I always conſidered how to do my buſineſs, and 'when that was done, I got home again as well as I 'could, and hitherto I have not miſſed of forcing my 'way:' ſo they relieved that place, and beſides took Philipſtown and Trim; which laſt, three thouſand Iriſh attempting to recover the next night, Sir Charles Coote routed them with a very few forces. But in this rencounter he had the misfortune of being ſhot to death; whether by the enemy, or by one of his own troopers, is uncertain (6). Beſides his other offices and employments, he was one of the council to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland (7). He left ſeveral ſons, namely, Sir Charles his eldeſt ſon and heir, created Earl of Mountrath; Richard, afterwards Baron of Colloony and Earl of Bellamont; Chudleigh; Thomas (8).

(1) The Iriſh Rebellion, &c. by Sir John Temple, edit. 1646, 4to. P. ii. p. 3.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 17; and Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 83.

(3) Temple, *ibid.* p. 23, 24.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 29; and Cox, p. 84, 85.

(5) Cox, *ibid.* p. 105.

(6) *Idem*, p. 106, 107.

(7) Temple, as above, p. 26, 28, 51.

(8) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 339. See alſo The Iriſh Compendium, p. 107, 119.

into the Rebels county; after a little ſkirmiſh with them, he burned great ſtore of their corn, and brought away a great booty (*h*). He alſo took Culmore fort (*i*). At his return, he apprehended Sir Robert Stuart, the King's Commander in thoſe parts, and ſent him into England with an Accuſation againſt him. Upon which occaſion, ſo well did the Parliament approve of his conduct, that they ordered care to be taken of his forces, and ſent him a letter of thanks (*k*). In 1649 he did not meet with the ſame ſucceſs: for he was ſtraitly beſieged in Londonderry [*B*] by ſuch of the Iriſh as had declared for King Charles II. and they demanded he ſhould depart the kingdom (*l*). But having ſome relief from England, he ſallied out, and ſcoured the county for ſeven miles on all ſides of the city, killing many, and taking ſeveral priſoners (*m*). After this, he concluded a peace with Major-general Owen Row O-neal, in order to preſerve the garriſon of Londonderry, and the Engliſh intereſt in thoſe parts: which the Parliament highly approved of, and ordered him to be ſupplied with proviſions and amunition (*n*). Accordingly, being ſupplied with them, and reinforced with a thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, he marched into the country poſſeſſed by King Charles's friends, and having cleared all round Londonderry fourteen miles together, he brought great ſtore of proviſions into that city (*o*), and kept the field without any conſiderable oppoſition. In December, he routed about four thouſand horſe and foot, that came to the relief of Carrickfergus, then cloſely beſieged by him, and ſlew fourteen hundred men; whereupon Carrickfergus ſurrendered (*p*). About the beginning of the year 1650, he marched towards Belfaſt, where he found no oppoſition, and ſettled that country (*q*). Then he reduced Caſtledover (*r*), and advanced towards Catherlough (*s*). In April, he reduced many ſmall Forts near Carrickfergus, and took Inniſkilling and ſome other places (*t*), whereby he became ſo formidable, that the Iriſh army in Ulſter would not engage with him, though he took great booties from them (*u*). In June, he gave a great defeat to the Biſhop of Clogher [*C*], who was advancing at the head of four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, to hinder the junction of Sir Charles, and Colonel Venables (*w*). In September, he was at the ſiege of Athlone: and in May 1651, was ſent to attend the motions of the Iriſh in Connaught (*x*). In June, he marched thirty miles in a day and night, in order to eſcape the Marquis of Clanrickard who endeavoured to intercept his paſſage; and joining the then Deputy of Ireland, they routed the united forces of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Earl of Caſtlehaven, killing and taking three thouſand of them. Then he went, and ſat down before Galloway (*y*). Soon after, advancing againſt the remains of the Marquis of Clanrickard's Forces, they abandoned ſeveral paſſes, and a caſtle of conſequence (*z*); and he alſo took Maſo-caſtle (*a*). In the beginning of the year 1652, he harraſſed the Barony of Burren [*D*], which refuſed to pay him contributions (*b*). And on the 12th of May enſuing, Galloway ſurrendered to him, after a long and tedious ſiege. Whereupon, the Marquis of Clanrickard deſired to enter into a Treaty with him, for putting a period to the war in Ireland, and eſtabliſhing the repoſe of that Nation (*c*). In June he reduced Sligo (*d*): and in July marched againſt a party of the Royaliſts in Kerry [*E*]; whom having beaten from their faſtneſſes, and ſecured the paſſes by planting ſome garriſons, he ſo diſtreſſed them that they could no longer continue in a body; therefore they, and the Marquis of Clanrickard came in and ſubmitted; and he had leave to tranſport himſelf with three thouſand men to any foreign country in friendſhip with England, within the ſpace of three months (*e*). To enable Sir Charles to carry on the war, he was one of the Commiſſioners of the taxes, exciſe, and cuſtoms, for Ulſter (*f*). After Ireland was reduced

(*h*) *Idem.* p. 367.
(*i*) Hiſt. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 203.
(*k*) Whitelock, p. 367.
(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 396.
(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 414, 420.
(*n*) Page 422.
(*o*) Page 425, 426, 427.
(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 435, 436.
(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 443.
(*r*) Page 446.
(*s*) Page 451.
(*t*) Page 453, 455.
(*u*) Page 455, 458.
(*w*) Page 463, 464.
(*x*) Page 477, 493.
Ludlow's Memoirs, edit. 1698, vol. i. p. 343, 348.
(*y*) Whitelock, p. 495, 497, 500.
(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 507.
(*a*) Page 516.
(*b*) Page 521.
(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 527, 531, 532. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. edit. 1698, p. 396, &c.
(*d*) Whitelock, as above, p. 538.
(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 540. Ludlow, as above, p. 418.
(*f*) Ludlow, *ibid.* p. 338.

[*B*] *For he was ſtraitly beſieged in Londonderry.*] During this ſiege, he agreed to ſupply the beſiegers with powder, upon their engaging to furniſh him with ſuch proviſions as he wanted; which was performed on both ſides (9). This ſhows how little Sir Charles was afraid of the beſiegers. But how greatly he was, and had been, diſtreſſed, for want of pay and proviſions, is evident, from a paper of requeſts to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, wherein it was repreſented, in the name of Sir Charles Coote and his forces, that they, being three regiments of horſe, and three of foot, had received but eight months pay in eight years, and a peck of oatmeal a week (10).

(9) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 294.
(10) Whitelock, as above, p. 410.

[*C*] *In June he gave a great defeat to the Biſhop of* Clogher.] This battle was fought at Skirfolas, on the 21ſt of June (11); and, after an hour's hot diſpute, with great reſolution on both ſides, the Iriſh were wholly routed. Many of them were killed upon the place, and the execution was ten or eleven miles every way that night (12): but, afterwards, the purſuit was continued farther than ever was heard of before, namely, above thirty miles. So that it was believed, that five hundred of all this army did not eſcape (13). But Sir Charles writes in a letter, that there were at leaſt, in all, three thouſand killed. The Biſhop being taken, much wounded (14), was hanged the next day, by order of the Preſident, and his head ſet up on one of the gates of Londonderry; of which, but the year before, he had aſſiſted Sir Charles Coote in raiſing the ſiege (15).

(11) Hiſt. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 24.
(12) Whitelock, p. 464.
(13) R. Cox, *ubi ſupra.*
(14) Whitelock, as above.
(15) R. Cox, as above, p. 24; and Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 331.

[*D*] *He harraſſed the Barony of* Burren.] Mr. Whitelock informs us, that this Barony hath neither wood, water, nor earth enough to hang, drown, or bury a man (16).

(16) Memorials, p. 521.

[*E*] *And in July he marched againſt a party of the Royaliſts in* Kerry.] They had got together a body of about five thouſand men, under the conduct of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Sir Phelim O Neal, with which they had beſieged and taken the fort of Balliſhannon. Whereupon Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Venables drew out what forces they could, and advanced towards them with ſuch expedition, that they were near the place before the enemy had notice of their march; who, finding themſelves ſurprized, retreated to the bogs, leaving a ſmall garriſon in Balliſhannon; but being purſued by the Parliament's forces, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, (in which number were thirty officers) and took from them ſeven or eight thouſand cows, on whoſe milk they chiefly ſubſiſted; twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their arms; upon which the garriſon they had placed in Balliſhannon ſurrendered upon articles (17).

(17) Ludlow, as above, vol. i. p. 412.

to

to the obedience of the Parliament, he was one of the Court of Juſtice in the province of Connaught (*g*); of which he was made Preſident by Act of Parliament (*h*). Being in England at the time of the depoſing of Richard Cromwell, he went poſt for Ireland, to carry the news of that great alteration to his brother Henry Cromwell, and to concert with him what to do in order to maintain themſelves in their poſts (*i*). At firſt he ſeemed to aim at nothing more, than to keep his Government in Connaught, and to have his Regiment of Foot, and troop of Horſe, continued to him (*k*) [*F*]. But when he found that King Charles the Second's intereſt was likely to prevail, he endeavoured to inſinuate himſelf into his favour. For that purpoſe, he ſent over to the Marquis of Ormond, then at Bruſſels, one Sir Arthur Forbes, a Scotiſh Gentleman of good affection to the King, and good intereſt in the Province of Ulſter, where he was an Officer of Horſe, 'To aſſure 'his Majeſty of Sir Charles's affection and duty; and that, if his Majeſty would vouchſafe 'to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole kingdom would declare for him: that 'though the preſent power in England had removed all the ſober men from the govern-'ment of the State in Ireland, under the character of Preſbyterians; and had put Ludlow, 'Corbet, and others of the King's judges in their places; yet they were generally ſo 'odious to the army as well as to the people, that they could ſeize upon their perſons, 'and the very caſtle of Dublin, when they ſhould judge it convenient.' However, the King not chuſing to go to Ireland, diſmiſſed Sir Arthur Forbes with ſuch letters and commiſſions as he deſired: who, upon his return to Ireland, found the ſtate of affairs much altered ſince his departure (*l*). For Sir Charles Coote, and one or two more, ſo influenced the whole council of Officers, that they prevailed upon them to vote, Not to receive Col. Ludlow as Commander in Chief; and, beſides, made themſelves maſters of Athlone, Drogheda, Limerick, Dublin, and other places for the ſervice of the King (*m*). Then he ſent to Col. Monk, to acquaint him with the progreſs he had made in ſecuring Ireland; who was ſo pleaſed with it, that he cauſed the cannon at Berwick to be fired in teſtimony of his joy, and ſent back the meſſenger with letters of thanks for the good ſervice, deſiring him and his friends not to reſtore the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, whom they had ſeized, to the exerciſe of their authority (*n*). Soon after, Sir Charles Coote, and ſome others ſent to the Parliament a charge of high-treaſon, againſt Col. Ludlow, Col. John Jones, Col. Thomlinſon, and Miles Corbet (*o*). But the oppoſite party reſolved to ſeize him, and his friends: of which having notice, he mounted on horſebrck, and, attended by great numbers of people, rode about the ſtreets of Dublin, and declared for a Free Parliament (*p*). He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of Dublin-Caſtle, and expelled Sir Hardreſs Waller from the command of the army (*q*). To recommend himſelf farther to the King, he apprehended John Coke, Chief Juſtice of Ireland, who had been Solicitor-General at the trial of King Charles I (*r*). Notwithſtanding all that, the Rump thought themſelves ſo

(*g*) *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 443.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 704.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 642.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 704.

(*l*) The Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. by Lord Clarendon, ed. 1731, 8*vo*. P. iii. vol. ii. p. 754, 755.

(*m*) Ludlow, as above, vol. ii. p. 787, 788.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 798.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 805, 806.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 838.

(*q*) Page 839.

(*r*) Page 851.

[*F*] *At firſt he ſeemed to aim at nothing more than to keep his government in Connaught, and to have his regiment of foot, and troop of horſe continued to him.*] Mr. Ludlow informs us, (if he is altogether to be credited) that he aſſured him of his endeavours, to have all thoſe things confirmed to him by the Parliament, in hopes that he would employ them in the defence and preſervation of that authority under which he had done ſo many great ſervices, and from which he had received ſo many marks of favour. This Sir Charles promiſed to do, and added, that he was fully convinced that his intereſt was wholly involved in the preſervation of the Parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their authority; and that as he had oppoſed the late King in his arbitrary deſigns, ſo he would continue to act in conformity to thoſe actions, well knowing, that if the ſon ſhould happen to prevail, the Engliſh intereſt would be loſt in Ireland, and the Iriſh reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands, according to an agreement paſſed between them. And this Sir Charles promiſed Ludlow he would do (18).

M.

(18) Ludlow's Memoirs, &c. vol. ii. p. 704, 705.

*** [The character of Sir Charles Coote the elder, is drawn by Dr. Leland in a very unfavourable light. "Sir Charles Coote," ſays that hiſtorian, "was a "ſoldier of fortune, trained in the wars of Elizabeth, "moroſe, inſolent, and cruel, provoked, particularly, "by the ravages made in his eſtates, which he ac-"quired by various projects, and impatient to "revenge them on the Iriſh, againſt whom he had "imbibed the moſt illiberal and inveterate prejudices. "This man was employed by the chief governors "to drive ſome of the inſurgents of Leinſter from the "Caſtle of Wicklow, which they had inveſted. He "executed his commiſſion; repelled the Iriſh to their "mountains; and, in revenge of their depredations, "committed ſuch unprovoked, ſuch ruthleſs, and "indiſcriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the "utmoſt extravagancies of the northerns. The "wanton cruelty, inſtead of terrifying, ſerved to ex-"aſperate the rebels, and to provoke them to ſevere "retaliation (19)."

(19) Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 145, 146.

Sir Charles Coote the younger, the ſubject of the preſent article, ſeems not to have been much more in Dr. Leland's favour. "Coote," ſays he, "and his "father, had engaged in the parliamentarian ſervice, "not from principle, but intereſt (20)." Perhaps the full truth of this aſſertion may be ſomewhat doubtful. For as the Cootes are underſtood to have been zealous Preſbyterians, it is highly probable that they were influenced, in part, by their real ſentiments, civil and religious, and eſpecially by their averſion to popery.

(20) *Ibid.* p. 404.

It was in one of Sir Charles Coote's expeditions, that a complete and authentic copy was found of that private Treaty of the Earl Glamorgan with the confederated Iriſh Roman Catholics, which excited ſo much noiſe at the time, and hath ſince been the object of ſo much diſcuſſion (21). The ſubject has been conſidered by us under the article of BIRCH.

(21) *Ibid.* as above.

When Sir Charles Coote determined to exert himſelf in promoting the reſtoration of King Charles the Second, he acted with all the zeal of a new convert. After the Convention and Council of Officers at Dublin had avowed their deſign of reſtoring his Majeſty, one point only remained to be diſcuſſed, which was, whether they ſhould ſtipulate for a confirmation of eſtates to the adventurers and ſoldiers, or whether they ſhould reſtore him without any previous condition. This matter was warmly debated, and Lord Broghill was for proceeding with ſecrecy and caution. But Sir Charles Coote contended for ſubmitting all their intereſts implicitly to the King; and his opinion at length prevailed (22).]

K.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 407.

ſure of him, that on the 5th of January 1659-60, they approved of what had been done by him and other Officers of the Army in Ireland for the ſervice of the Parliament; and ordered, that the Thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given them for their good ſervice, to be ſigned by the Speaker, and ſealed with the Seal of the Parliament (*s*). On the 19th of the ſame month, they appointed him one of the Commiſſioners for the management of the affairs of Ireland (*t*). But, before thoſe Commiſſioners declared for King Charles, they inſiſted upon ſeveral particulars relating to their intereſt as members of that nation (*u*). On the 6th of September 1660, Sir Charles Coote, on account of his many and great ſervices for the Royal Cauſe, was created Baron and Viſcount Coote, and Earl of Mountrath in the Queen's county in Ireland: and he was alſo appointed one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland (*w*). But he did not long enjoy theſe honours, for he died the 18th of December 1661 (*x*). He was ſucceeded in honour and eſtate by Charles his ſon, the ſecond Earl; anceſtor of Charles-Henry, the ſeventh Earl of Mountrath.

(*s*) Mercurius Politic. No. 602, p. 1009.

(*t*) *Ibid.* No. 604.

(*u*) *Ibid.* No. 612.

(*w*) The Iriſh Compendium, &c. as above, p. 107, 108.

(*x*) *Ibid.*

*** [CORAM (THOMAS), a name which claims admittance in this Temple of Britiſh Worthies (*a*), as the Founder of a new ſpecies of public charity, was born about the year 1668; and, taking an early attachment to naval purſuits, ſpent the firſt part of his life as maſter of a veſſel trading to the American Colonies. While he reſided in that part of the metropolis which is the common reſidence of ſea-faring people, buſineſs often obliging him to come early into the city, and return late, he had frequent occaſions of ſeeing young children expoſed, through the indigence or cruelty of their parents. This excited his compaſſion ſo far, that he projected the Foundling Hoſpital; in which humane deſign he laboured ſeventeen years, and at laſt, by his ſole application, obtained in 1739 the royal charter for it. He was highly inſtrumental in promoting another good deſign, viz. the procuring a bounty upon naval ſtores imported from the Colonies; and was eminently concerned in ſetting on foot the Colonies of Georgia and Nova Scotia. A ſhort ſpecimen of his manner of applying for relief to thoſe who were in diſtreſs ſhall be given below (*b*), in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane [*A*]. His laſt charitable deſign, which he lived to make ſome progreſs in, but not to complete, was a ſcheme for uniting the Indians in North America more cloſely to the Britiſh intereſt, by an eſtabliſhment for the education of Indian girls. Indeed he ſpent a great part of his life in ſerving the public, and with ſo total a diſregard to his private intereſt, that, towards the latter part of it, he was himſelf ſupported by a penſion of ſomewhat more than an hundred pounds a year, raiſed for him, at the ſolicitation of Dr. Brockleſby [*B*] and Sir Sampſon Gideon, by the voluntary ſubſcriptions of public-ſpirited perſons; at the head of whom was that truly amiable and benevolent prince, Frederic, late Prince of Wales.—This ſingular and memorable man died, at his lodgings near Leiceſter Square, March 29, 1751, in his 84th year; and was interred, purſuant to his deſire, in the vault under the chapel of the Foundling Hoſpital, where the inſcription tranſcribed below [*C*] perpetuates his memory, as Hogarth's portrait [*D*] has preſerved his honeſt countenance.] N.

(*a*) New and General Biographical Dictionary, 1784.

(*b*) Sloane's MS. 4041.

[*A*] *To Sir Hans Sloane.*]

HONOURED SIR, *Oct.* 28, 1744.

I requeſt your favour to this pretty girl, who has long had a ſore eye, and has not yet been able to obtain any relief for it. I humbly aſk you pardon for this freedom.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
Honoured Sir,
Your Honour's
moſt obedient Servant,
THOMAS CORAM."

[*B*] *Dr. Brockleſby.*] On the Doctor's applying to the good old man, to know whether his ſetting on foot a ſubſcription for his benefit would not offend him, he received this noble anſwer: "I have not waſted the little wealth, of which I was formerly poſſeſſed, in ſelf-indulgence or vain expences, and am not aſhamed to confeſs that, in this my old age, I am poor (1)." Upon the death of Coram, this penſion was continued to Leveridge, a worn-out ſinger at the Theatres, who, at the age of ninety, had ſcarce any other proſpect than that of a pariſh ſubſiſtence.

(1) Sir John Hawkins's Life of Johnſon, p. 573.

[*C*] *The inſcription tranſcribed below.*]

"Captain THOMAS CORAM,
whoſe Name will never want a Monument
ſo long as this Hoſpital ſhall ſubſiſt, was born about
the year 1668; a Man eminent in that moſt eminent
Virtue, the Love of Mankind;
little attentive to his private Fortune, and refuſing
many Opportunities of increaſing it, his Time and
Thoughts were continually employed in endeavours
to promote the public Happineſs,
both in this Kingdom and elſewhere, particularly
in the Colonies of North America; and his Endeavours
were many Times crowned with the deſired Succeſs.
His unwearied Solicitations, for above Seventeen
Years together,
(which would have baffled the Patience and Induſtry of
any Man leſs zealous in doing Good)
and his Application to Perſons of Diſtinction of both
Sexes, obtained at Length the Charter of
the Incorporation
(bearing Date the 17th of *October* 1739)
FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND EDUCATION
OF EXPOSED AND DESERTED YOUNG CHILDREN,
by which many Thouſands of Lives may be preſerved
to the Public, and employed in a frugal and honeſt
Courſe of Induſtry. He died the 29th of *March*,
1751, in the 84th Year of his Age, poor in
worldly Eſtate, rich in good Works; and was buried,
at his own Deſire, in the Vault underneath
this Chapel
(the firſt here depoſited)
at the Eaſt End thereof; many of the Governors
and other Gentlemen attending the Funeral, to do
Honour to his Memory.
Reader, thy Actions will ſhew whether thou art
ſincere in the Praiſes thou may'ſt beſtow on him; and
if thou haſt Virtue enough to commend his
Virtues, forget not to add alſo the
Imitation of them."

[*D*] *Hogarth's portrait.*] This portrait, which is ſaid to be the beſt that Hogarth ever painted, is a whole-length. The Captain has the ſeal of the charter in his hand. Before him is a globe; at a diſ-

tance a proſpect of the ſea. It is thus deſcribed in "The Scandalizade," a ſatire publiſhed about the year 1749:

"Lo, old Captain Coram, ſo round in the face,
"And a pair of good chaps plump'd up in good caſe,
"His amiable locks hanging grey on each ſide
"To his double-breaſt coat o'er his ſhoulder ſo wide," &c (2).

(2) Biographical Anecdotes of Hogarth, p. 261.

A mezzotinto from this portrait, a three-quarters length, was publiſhed by Mac Ardell.—Hogarth, ſo early as 1739, had introduced the good old Captain in an engraved Power of Attorney from the Truſtees of the Foundling Hoſpital to thoſe gentlemen who were appointed to receive ſubſcriptions towards the building (3). In this picture are ſeen ſeveral children of the Hoſpital; the boys with mathematical inſtruments, the girls with ſpinning-wheels. Over the door of the houſe they come out at, are the King's Arms. A porter is bringing in a child followed by Captain Coram, whoſe benevolent countenance is directed towards a kneeling woman.] N.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 253.

*** [The Editor cannot diſmiſs this article without mentioning a few particulars relative to the Foundling Hoſpital. For ſeveral years after its inſtitution, it was an eminently popular object. Numbers of affluent perſons were ardent to encourage it, and the Benefactions to the Hoſpital flowed in, in a very great abundance. It was at length taken under the direction of Parliament, and, from 1756 to 1759, annual and liberal grants were made for its ſupport; in conſequence of which children were poured in from every part of the kingdom. This circumſtance, after ſome time, excited a general alarm. It was ſuggeſted, that the children, being cut off from all intercourſe with their fathers and mothers, would, when they grew up, be aliens in their native land; without any viſible obligations, and conſequently without affections. It was farther ſuggeſted, that they might look upon themſelves as a kind of independent beings in ſociety; and that if they were permitted to increaſe as they had lately done, no one could tell what harm might enſue to the ſtate, when there were ſuch numbers who could ſcarcely be ſaid to be connected with the body politic. Nay, it was aſked, whether they might not, in time, riſe like the ſlaves of Rome, and throw the kingdom into confuſion (4)? Sentiments of this nature were firſt thrown out to the world by a Mr. Maſſie, a political writer of that period. In a pamphlet, entitled, "A Plan for the Eſtabliſhment of Charity Houſes for expoſed or deſerted Women and Girls, and for penitent Proſtitutes," and which was printed in 1758, he introduced ſome obſervations concerning the Foundling Hoſpital, ſhewing the ill conſequences of its receiving a public ſupport. Afterwards, in 1759, he made a ſecond attack upon the Hoſpital, in a Tract written ſolely for that purpoſe. In this Tract, the good man's zeal upon the ſubject led him to ſeveral extravagancies and abſurdities: but his general principles, concerning the evil that might ariſe from bringing up large multitudes of people who were not bound to ſociety by the common ties of private and domeſtic affection, had a powerful influence on the public mind. The indiſcriminate admiſſion of infants into the Hoſpital was put a ſtop to; Parliamentary ſupport was withdrawn; and the inſtitution was left to be maintained by the generoſity of individuals. Perhaps that generoſity has too much abated. The Foundling Hoſpital doth not ſeem, at preſent, to be a favourite child of the public; and yet ſuch a charity, properly reſtricted and regulated, comes recommended by many ſtrong and affecting conſiderations. Mr. Jonas Hanway, whoſe philanthropy we need not celebrate, entered largely into the ſubject, and ſhewed that the Foundling Hoſpital was in itſelf an eſtabliſhment of great importance, and that it only required to be duly modified and directed, in order to render it of real utility.

(4) Monthly Review, vol. xxii. p. 210. 212.

It is natural, on this occaſion, to reflect on the influence of faſhion, with regard to charitable inſtitutions. Of late years, the zeal for the ſupport of public Hoſpitals appears to have declined in a conſiderable degree. The Royal Foundations, though in part dependent on occaſional benefactions and bequeſts, do, indeed, ſtand firm. Guy's Hoſpital, which was founded on the liberality of a ſingle perſon, requires no adventitious aid. St. Luke's is rendered equally firm, by the noble legacies that have been left it, and the funds of which it is hence poſſeſſed. But other Hoſpitals, which principally reſt on voluntary ſubſcriptions, have not retained their former ſplendour. This has been particularly the caſe with reſpect to the St. George's, Weſtminſter, and London Hoſpitals. The two former have received ſome temporary aids from the Muſical Exhibitions; and St. George's Hoſpital, though an immediate ſufferer, will hereafter revive, in conſequence of a large reverſion. It is to be apprehended, that the revival of the proſperity of the Weſtminſter and London Hoſpitals is more doubtful and precarious. One ſource of ſome failure in the encouragement of theſe and other ſimilar eſtabliſhments, may be traced, perhaps, in the burthens and diſtreſſes of the late war. Another and more obvious cauſe is the inſtitution of Diſpenſaries, of which there are ſaid to be twenty-one, in and near the metropolis. That they are very uſeful, I have no intention to deny; and they would appear ſtill more reſpectable, if they never were converted to particular intereſted purpoſes. But, though I am a ſincere well-wiſher to them, I cannot help regretting that any of the old noble eſtabliſhments ſhould be neglected. They are an honour to this country, and it would redound to the credit, as well as to the benefit of the public, to have them maintained in their original luſtre. It is to be lamented, that faſhion ſhould ever have an undue ſway in ſo excellent a thing as Charity.] K.

CORBET (RICHARD), Biſhop of Norwich, and an excellent Poet, was ſon of Mr. Vincent Corbet [*A*], and born at Ewell in Surrey, towards the latter end of the ſixteenth century, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He had his education in Weſtminſter School, and thence was ſent to Oxford in Lent Term 1597-8, where he was admitted a Student

[*A*] *He was ſon of Mr. Vincent Corbet.*] Our author's filial piety put him upon immortalizing the memory and virtues of his father in an excellent elegy, which begins thus (1):

(1) See Poems, written by the Right Rev. Dr. Richard Corbet, late Lord Biſhop of Norwich, London, 1672, p. 31.

Vincent Corbet, farther known
By Pointer's name than by his own,
Here lies engaged, till the day
Of raiſing bones, and quick'ning clay.

That gentleman's character is beautifully drawn in the following lines:

Years he liv'd were near fourſcore;
But, count his virtues, he liv'd more:
And number him by doing good,
He liv'd the age before the flood.

Again;

Simple he was, and withal
His purſe not baſe nor prodigal;
Poorer in ſubſtance than in friends,
Future and *public* were his ends.
His conſcience, like his diet, ſuch
As neither took, nor left, too much.
So the made laws needleſs grown
To him, he needed but his own.

The elegy ends with this turn:

Read then, and mourn, whate'er thou art
That doſt hope to have a part
In honeſt epitaphs; leſt being dead,
Thy life be written, and not read.

[*B*] *He*

Student of Chriſt-Church. In 1605, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, being at that time eſteemed one of the moſt celebrated Wits of the Univerſity. Afterwards entering into Holy Orders, he became an eminent Preacher, and was much followed by perſons of taſte and learning. His wit and eloquence recommended him to the favour of King James I. who made him one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and, in 1620, promoted him to the Deanery of Chriſt-Church; about which time he was Doctor in Divinity, Vicar of Caſſington near Woodſtock in Oxfordſhire, and Prebendary of Bedminſter-Secunda in the Church of Sarum (*a*). He made verſes, whilſt Dean of Chriſt-Church, on a play acted before the King at Woodſtock [*B*]. He was elected, the 30th of July 1629, Biſhop of Oxford, in the room of Dr. Howſon tranſlated to the See of Durham; was conſecrated the 19th of October, and inſtalled the 3d of November following. Laſtly, upon the tranſlation of Doctor White to Ely, he was elected Biſhop of Norwich, the 7th of April 1632; and received the Temporalities, the 12th of May following (*b*). This Prelate married Alice the daughter of Dr. Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower in Northamptonſhire (*c*) [*C*], by whom he had a ſon named after his grandfather *Vincent* [*D*]. In his younger years, he wrote ſeveral pieces of poetry [*E*], without any intention of their being made public (*d*); and

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 600, 601.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.* col. 571.

(*d*) *Id. ubi ſupra*, col. 601.

[*B*] *He made verſes on a play acted before the King at Woodſtock.*] The play was called *Technogamia:* or, *The Marriage of Arts*, and was written by Barten Holiday, the Poet. The ill ſucceſs it met with in the repreſentation, occaſioned ſeveral copies of verſes; among which, to uſe Anthony Wood's words (3), '*Corbet*, Dean of Chriſt-Church, put in for one, who 'had that day preached (as it ſeems) before the King, '*with his band ſtarched clean*; for which he was re-'proved by the graver ſort, but thoſe who knew him 'well took no notice of it, for they have ſeveral times 'ſaid, that *he loved to the laſt boys play very well.*'

(3) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 260.

[*C*] *He married Alice, the daughter of Dr. Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower, in Northamptonſhire.*] He mentions that village in his *Iter Boreale*.

Here we paid thanks, and parted, and at night
Had entertainment, all in one man's right,
At *Flow're*, a village, where our tenant ſhe,
Sharp as a winter morning, fierce, yet free, &c (4).

(4) Poems, &c. p. 2.

It is not improbable, that our author's acquaintance with Dr. Hutten might take it's riſe from that *Northern-Trip*, and that he might then have had the firſt ſight of the Doctor's daughter, whom he afterwards married.

[*D*] *He had a ſon named* Vincent.] Our author's Muſe obeyed the dictates of paternal affection no leſs than of filial piety; for as he wrote an elegy on his own father, ſo he addreſſed the following verſes, fraught with the beſt and kindeſt wiſhes, to his ſon.

What I ſhall leave thee none can tell,
But all ſhall ſay, I wiſh thee well.
I wiſh thee, *Vin*, before all wealth,
Both bodily and ghoſtly health:
Nor too much wealth, nor wit, come to thee;
So much of either might undo thee.
I wiſh thee learning, not for ſhow,
Enough for to inſtruct, and know;
Not ſuch as gentlemen require,
To prate at table, or at fire.
I wiſh thee all thy mother's graces,
Thy father's fortunes, and his places.
I wiſh thee friends, and one at court,
Not to build on, but to ſupport;
To keep thee, not in doing many
Oppreſſions, but from ſuffering any.
I wiſh thee peace in all thy ways,
Nor lazy, nor contentious days;
And when thy ſoul and body part,
As innocent as now thou art (5).

(5) Page 35.

I conjecture, from the laſt line, that *Vin* was very young when his father wrote theſe.

[*E*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces of poetry.*] A collection of them was publiſhed, under the title of *Poetica Stromata*, in octavo, London, 1647-8 (6). There is another edition of them in a thin *duodecimo*, London, 1672, dedicated to Sir Edmund Bacon, of Redgrave-Hall, in Suffolk, Baronet. The Editor tells his patron, that *the moſt pious of the Clergy have made uſe of the innocent art of poeſy, not only for their pleaſant diverſion, but their moſt fervent devotion.* After the dedication follows an *advertiſement*, in which we are told, that 'Upon reprinting theſe poems, diligent 'ſearch was made to perfect them, which were very 'imperfectly printed before;' and that, 'though in 'this edition there be but few new poems, yet we may 'find many of them more perfect than before; for in 'ſome there are ſix, in others four, and in many two 'lines added out of perfecter copies, which were left 'out in the former impreſſion.' Beſides what has been already cited, I ſhall give the curious reader a farther ſpecimen of Biſhop Corbet's poetical genius, as his works are in but few hands. In his *Iter Boreale*, or *Journey Northward*, he has the following humorous deſcription of a Serjeant.

(6) Wood *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. col. 601.

I'th' interim comes a moſt officious drudge,
His face and gown draw'd out with the ſame budge.
His pendent pouch, which was both large and wide,
Look'd like a letters-patents by his ſide.
He was as awful, as he had been ſent
From Moſes with the eleventh commandement (7).

(7) Poems, &c. p. 3.

In the ſame poem we meet with a fine moral reflection upon the burial-place of King Richard III. and Cardinal Wolſey, who were both interred at Leiceſter.

Is not uſurping Richard buried here,
That King of Hate, and therefore ſlave of fear;
Dragg'd from the fatal Boſworth-field, where he
Loſt life, and, what he liv'd for, cruelty?
Search, find his name; but there is none: O Kings,
Remember whence your pow'r and vaſtneſs ſprings;
If not as Richard now, ſo may you be,
Who hath no tomb, but ſcorn and memory.
And tho' from his own ſtore Wolſey might have
A palace *, or a college †, for his grave,
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remembered were his fall.
Nothing but earth on earth, no pompous weight
Upon him, but a pebble or a quoit.
If thou art thus neglected, what ſhall we ‖
Hope after death, that are but ſhreds of thee (8)?

(*) Whitehall.
(†) Chriſt-church.
(‖) Students of Chriſt-church.
(8) Page 6, 7.

The hoſt's pointing out the diſpoſition of the two armies in Boſworth-field affords a very humorous and entertaining picture.

Mine Hoſt was full of ale and hiſtory,
And on the morrow when he brought us nigh
Where the two roſes joined, you wou'd ſuppoſe
Chaucer ne're writ the Romant of the Roſe.
Hear him: ſee ye yon woods? there Richard lay
With his whole army: look the other way,
And lo! where Richmond in a bed of groſſe
Encamp'd himſelf o're night with all his force.
Upon this hill they met. Why, he could tell
The inch where Richmond ſtood, where Richard fell.
Beſides what of his knowledge he could ſay,
He had authentic notice from the play:
Which I might gueſs by's muſtring up the ghoſts,
And policies, not incident to hoſts:

But

and he was one of thoſe celebrated perſons, who, with Ben Jonſon, Sir John Harrington, Dr. Donne, Michael Drayton, and others, wrote Mock-Commendatory verſes on Tom Coryate's *Crudities* (e). He concurred likewiſe with other Poets of the Univerſity in inviting the celebrated Ben Jonſon to Oxford, where that Poet was created Maſter of Arts (f). There is extant in the *Muſæum Aſhmolæum* (g) a Funeral Oration in Latin, by Dr. Corbet, on the death of Prince Henry, A. D. 1612. This learned and ingenious Prelate died in the year 1635, and was buried at the upper end of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Norwich [F]. He was very hoſpitable, and always a generous encourager of public deſigns; and particularly, when St. Paul's Cathedral was repaired, in the year 1634, he not only contributed largely himſelf, but was very diligent in procuring contributions from others (h). I know not why Anthony Wood ſays, *he was conſecrated Biſhop of Oxford, though in ſome reſpects unworthy of ſuch an office* (i), unleſs it be that he thought the character of a Poet inconſiſtent with that of a Biſhop. It appears by our Author's

(e) Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Lond. 1697, p. 121.
(f) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 602.
(g) No. 1153.
(h) *Id. ib.* col. 601.
(i) *Ibid.* col. 736.

But chiefly by that one perſpicuous thing,
Where he miſtook a player for a King;
For when he wou'd have ſaid, King Richard died,
And call'd a horſe, a horſe, he *Burbage* cry'd (9).

(9) Page 17, 18.

Our author appears to have had an excellent genius for *Panegyric*, by the following lines, which are part of *an elegy on the late Lord* William Howard, *Baron of* Effingham, *who died the 10th of December* 1615.

What did he? Acts of mercy, and refrain
Oppreſſion in himſelf, and in his train?
Was his eſſential table full as free
As boaſts and invitations uſed to be;
Where if his Ruſſet-friend did chance to dine,
Whether his Satten-man wou'd fill him wine?——
Did he ſeek regular pleaſures? was he known
Juſt huſband of one wife, and ſhe his own?
Did he give freely without pauſe or doubt,
And read petitions e're they were worn out?——
Did he attend the court for no man's fall?
Wore he the ruin of no hoſpital?
And when he did his rich apparel don,
Put he no widow, nor an orphan on?
Did he love ſimple virtue for the thing?
The King for no reſpect but for the King?
But above all, did his religion wait
Upon God's throne, or on the chair of ſtate?
He that is guilty of no *Quære* here,
Out-laſts his epitaph, out-lives his heir.

And a few lines farther;

And therefore I am angry, when a name
Comes to upbraid the world like *Effingham*.
Nor was it modeſt in thee to depart
To thy eternal home, where now thou art,
E're thy reproach was ready; or to die,
E're cuſtom had prepar'd thy calumny.
Eight days are paſt ſince thou haſt paid thy debt
To Sin, and not a libel ſtirring yet;
Courtiers, that ſcoff by patent, ſilent ſit,
And have no uſe of ſlander, or of wit:
But, which is monſtrous, tho' againſt the tide,
The water-men have neither rail'd nor ly'd.
Of good or bad there's no diſtinction known,
For in thy praiſe the good and bad are one (10).

(10) P. 38, 39, 40.

Nor was his talent for *Satire* leſs extraordinary, as appears by his verſes *upon Mrs.* Mallet, *an unhandſome gentlewoman that made love unto him.*

Have I renounc'd my faith? or baſely ſold
Salvation, or my loyalty for gold?
Have I ſome foreign practice undertook,
By poiſon, ſhot, ſharp knife, or ſharper look,
To kill my King? Have I betray'd the ſtate
To fire or fury, or ſome newer fate,
Which learned murth'rers, thoſe grand deſtinies,
The Jeſuits, have nurs'd? If of all theſe
I guilty am, proceed, I am content
That *Mallet* take me for my puniſhment.
For never ſin was of ſo high a rate,
But one night's Hell with her might expiate.

Again;

Whether her wit, form, talk, ſmile, fire, I name,
Each is a ſtock of tyranny and ſhame.
But for her breath, ſpectators, come not nigh,
That lays about, God bleſs the company.
The man in a bear's ſkin, bated to death,
Wou'd chuſe the dogs much rather than her breath.
One kiſs of her's, and eighteen words alone,
Puts down the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

He concludes with theſe lines:

No Tyger's like her, ſhe feeds upon man,
Worſe than a Tygreſs or a Leopard can.
Let me go pray, and think upon ſome ſpell,
At once to bid the devil and her farewell (11).

(11) P. 44, 45, 46.

Our author's *Epigrammatic* turn may be ſeen in the following tetraſtick *on Henry Bolings.*

If gentleneſs cou'd tame the fates, or wit
Deliver man, Bolings had not dy'd yet:
But one, which over us in judgment ſits,
Doth ſay, our ſins are ſtronger than our wits (12).

(12) Page 88.

And in thoſe verſes, *On the birth of the young Prince Charles.*

When private men get ſons, they get a ſpoon,
Without eclipſe, or any ſtar at noon.

When Kings get ſons, they get withal ſupplies,
And ſuccours far beyond all ſubſidies.
Welcome God's loan, thou tribute to the ſtate,
Thou money newly coin'd, thou fleet of plate;
Thrice happy child, whom God thy father ſent,
To make him rich without a parliament (13).

(13) Page 108.

I ſhall only add here the following ſenſible and witty reflection in his *Elegy upon the death of Queen Anne.*

Know henceforth, that grief's vital part
Conſiſts in nature, not in art;
And verſes that are ſtudied,
Mourn for themſelves, not for the dead (14).

(14) Page 126.

Theſe extracts may ſerve to give the reader a taſte of an author, who is but little known at preſent, and whoſe works are not eaſily to be met with.

[F] *He was buried——in the Cathedrial Church of Norwich.*] Soon after, a large freeſtone, of a ſandy colour, was laid over his grave, and the following inſcription, engraven on a plate of braſs, was faſtened thereon.

Richardus Corbet Theologiæ Doctor, Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Chriſti Oxonienſis primum Alumnus, inde Decanus, exinde Epiſcopus, illinc huc tranſlatus, et hinc in cælum, Julii 28, *an.* 1635.

In Engliſh.

'Richard Corbet, Doctor of Divinity, firſt ſtudent, 'then Dean, of Chriſt-Church, in Oxford, and 'next Biſhop of that See; from thence tranſlated hi-'ther, and from hence to Heaven, July 28, 1635.

On the ſaid ſtone are the antient arms of the Corbets, of Shropſhire, *viz. Or, a raven paſſant ſab.* (15).

(15) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[G] *He*

Author's Poems, that, at ſome time or other of his life, he took a journey to Paris [*G*]. I ſhall ſubjoin ſome manuſcript verſes in honour of Biſhop Corbet [*H*].

[*G*] *He took a journey to Paris.*] I cannot forbear giving the reader one more ſample of Biſhop Corbet's wit, out of the ballad he made on that journey. It is a ridicule on the ſuperſtitious veneration of the Roman Catholics for relics, and the many forgeries practiſed in that reſpect.

Then to *St. Dennis* faſt we came,
To ſee the ſights of *Notre Dame*;
The man that ſhews 'em ſnaffles;
Where, who is apt for to believe,
May ſee our lady's right-arm ſleeve,
And eke her old pantoffles;

Her breaſt, her milk, her very gown
That ſhe did wear in Bethlem town,
When in the inn ſhe lay:
Yet all the world knows that's a fable;
For ſo good cloaths ne're lay in ſtable
Upon a lock of hay.

No Carpenter cou'd by his trade
Gain ſo much coin as to have made
A gown of ſo rich ſtuff;
Yet they, poor fools, think for their credit
They may believe old Joſeph did it,
'Cauſe he deſerv'd enough.

There is one of the croſs's nails,
Which whoſo ſees his bonnet vails,
And, if he will, may kneel:
Some ſay 'twas falſe, 'twas never ſo;
Yet feeling it, thus much I know,
It is as true as ſteel.

There is a lanthorn, which the Jews,
When Judas led them forth, did uſe;
It weighs my weight downright:
But to believe it, you muſt think,
The Jews did put a candle in't,
And then 'twas very light (16).

(16) Poems, &c. p. 129.

[*H*] *Some manuſcript verſes in honour of Biſhop Corbet.*] I found them in a blank leaf of his *poems*.

In flowing wit, if verſes writ with eaſe,
If learning, void of pedantry, can pleaſe;
If much good humour, join'd to ſolid ſenſe,
And mirth accompanied with innocence,
Can give a poet a juſt right to fame,
Then CORBET may immortal honour claim:
For he theſe virtues had, and in his lines
Poetic and heroic ſpirit ſhines;
Tho' bright, yet ſolid, pleaſant, but not rude,
With wit and wiſdom equally indu'd.
Be ſilent, Muſe, thy praiſes are too faint:
Thou want'ſt a pow'r this prodigy to paint,
At once a poet, prelate, and a ſaint. J. C.
B.

*** [The extracts from Biſhop Corbet's Poems, ſhew him to have been a man of ingenuity, wit, and humour, and that he was capable of excelling either in panegyric or ſatire. But there is one inſtance in which his ſatirical vein was diſplayed, that muſt be condemned. We mean his verſes *upon* Mrs. Mallet, *an unhandſome Gentlewoman that made love to him.* The Lady, no doubt, was very ordinary and diſagreeable; and Corbet, if he did not like her, was under no obligation to comply with her propoſals of marriage. But ſurely her affection did not merit ſo cruel a return. The puniſhment was far beyond the crime, if there be a crime at all in an ugly woman's falling in love; for lines more ſevere can ſcarcely be met with in any ſatire that exiſts in the Engliſh language. Perhaps the manners of the age, which might be leſs offended than ours at a harſhneſs of ſentiment and expreſſion, may furniſh ſome excuſe for Dr. Corbet. At preſent, ſuch verſes, upon ſuch an occaſion, would be deemed equally contrary to politeneſs and humanity.] K.

*** [CORYATE (THOMAS), a writer who poſſeſſed no inconſiderable ſhare of learning, but with a ſmall portion of common ſenſe, was the ſon of George [*A*] Coryate, Rector of Odcombe, in the county of Somerſet, by Gertrude his wife. His family was a very reſpectable one, being related to the Earl of Eſſex in the fourth degree, but whether on the father or mother's ſide we are not informed (*a*). He was born at Odcombe in the year 1577 (*b*), and received part of his education at Wincheſter School (*c*), whence he was removed to Oxford, where, in the year 1596, at the age of nineteen years, he became a Commoner of Gloceſter Hall. Here he continued three years, and attained, by the help

(*a*) Crudities, 239.
(*c*) Verſes by Hugh Holland and John Chapman, prefixed to Crudities.
(*b*) Athen. Oxon. 422.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of George Coryate.*] George Coryate was born in the pariſh of St. Thomas, within the city of Saliſbury. He received his education at Wincheſter School, and in the year 1562 was admitted perpetual Fellow of New College, Oxford (1). In the year 1566, on Queen Elizabeth's viſiting the Univerſity, he, together with W. Reynolds, Bachelor of Arts, received her Majeſty and her train at New College; on which occaſion he pronounced an Oration, for which he received great praiſes and a handſome purſe of gold (2). He afterwards took his degree in Arts, and, in June 1570, became Rector of Odcombe on the death of Thomas Reade, and ſometime after Bachelor of Divinity (3). In the year 1594, he was appointed Prebendary of Warthill, in the Cathedral Church of York, and alſo held ſome other dignity, but what we are not informed (4). He died at the Parſonage-Houſe at Odcombe, on the fourth of March 1606. It is aſſerted that his ſon, agreeably to the madneſs of his character, entertained a deſign of preſerving his body from ſtench and putrefaction, and with that view cauſed it to be kept above ground until the 14th of April following, when it was buried in the Chancel of the Church of Odcombe, by his ſucceſſor Gibbs Galiop, M. A. who had formerly belonged to Gloceſter Hall (5). This George Coryate was a perſon much commended in his time for his fine fancy in Latin poetry; and for certain pieces which he had written was honourably quoted by ſeveral eminent writers (6). The only pieces Mr. Wood had ſeen of his compoſition were, 1. "Poemata varia Latina," London 1611, quarto, publiſhed by his ſon after his death, and by him intitled "Poſthuma fragmenta Poematum Georgii Coryate." 2. "Deſcriptio Angliæ Scotiæ et Hiberniæ," written in Latin verſe, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth (7). It is not ſaid whether this piece was ever printed. In the year 1763 was publiſhed, from a MS. found amongſt the papers belonging to a conſiderable family in one of the weſtern counties, a Latin Poem, which appears to have been written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, intitled, "Deſcriptio Angliæ et Deſcriptio Londini," being two Poems in Latin verſe, ſuppoſed to be written in the 15th century (8) This pamphlet is imagined to be part of the Poem noticed by Mr. Wood. The mention of only fifteen Colleges at Oxford, fixes the date of the verſes before the year 1571. Beſides this his ſon, George Coryate had two other children, both daughters, by his wife Gertrude (9). She outlived her huſband and ſon many years. Her reſidence continued to be at Odcombe or near it until her death. Dr. Humphy Hody, a native of that place, informed Mr. Wood, that ſhe was buried near the remains of her huſband on the 3d of April 1645 (10). It appears that after her huſband's death ſhe married a ſecond time (11).

(1) Athen. Oxon. 335.
(2) Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Oxford, 4to. 1773. 226.
(3) Athen. Oxon. 335.
(4) *Ibid.*
(5) *Ibid.*
(6) John Caſe the Philoſopher. *In ſpeculo Moralium, lib. 4. c. 2.* James Middendorp. In 8vo. *Libro De celeberrimis Acad. Col. Agrip.* 1602. p. 450, 451. John Cay, in lib. 1. De Antiq. Acad. Cant. p. 45. *& alibi.*
(7) Athen. Oxon. 335.
(8) Gough's Topographic Antiquities, 4to. p. 21.
(9) *In Antiquitates Sariſburienſes*, 1771, p. 227, it is ſaid three daughters.
(10) Athen. Oxon. 335.
(11) Taylor the Water Poet's Works, 1630, p. 82.

of a great memory, to ſome competency in Logic, but more by far in the Greek tongue and human learning. He ſeems to have left Oxford without taking any degree [*B*]; and it is probable that thence he returned home, as we find him at Odcombe in the year 1606 (*d*). In that year he aſſembled his neighbours on Whitſunday, and with them went in cavalcade to Ewill, where he made an Oration at the Croſs, to the people of the town, and about two thouſand more who came from many places in the neighbourhood. His deſign in this proceeding, he ſays, was to draw a great company to Odcombe for the benefit of the Church, the whole ſtock of which had been expended. He alſo made another Oration to the ſame people on their coming to Odcombe (*e*). As his father died ſoon after, perhaps on that event he came up to London, where he was received into the family of Henry, Prince of Wales, who allowed him a penſion (*f*) and kept him as a ſervant [*C*]. Until this time he lived in obſcurity; but now he fell into the company of wits, who, as one of his Biographers (*g*) remarks, finding him little better than a fool in many reſpects, made him their whetſtone, and ſo he became *notus nimis omnibus*. In the beginning of the year 1608, he commenced his travels through Europe. On the 14th of May, he embarked at Dover, and the ſame day arrived at Calais, where, after a ſhort ſtay, he proceeded to Paris, and reached that city (*h*) on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month. Through the whole courſe of his travels, his reſidence at any place (excepting Venice) was confined to a few days. He remained at Paris only until the 28th of that month; but in that time viſited St. Denis, and which he moſt deſired above all other things, and oftentimes wiſhed for before he ſaw the city, he enjoyed the ſight and company of Iſaac Caſaubon, with whom he had much familiar converſation, at his houſe near St. German's Gate within the city. "I found him, ſays he, very affable and courteous and learned in "his diſcourſes, and by ſo much the more willing to give me entertainment by how much "the more I made relation to him of his learned works (*i*). From Paris he proceeded to Lyons, at which place he arrived on the 3d of June. He ſtayed there two whole days; during which time he chanced to fall into company with a Turk (one of the train of M. de Breves, the French Embaſſador at Conſtantinople) "a notable companion and a "great ſcholler in his kinde; for he ſpake ſix or ſeven languages beſides the Latin, which "he ſpake very well: he was borne in Conſtantinople. I had a long diſcourſe with him "in Latin of many things, and amongſt other queſtions I aſked him whether he were "ever baptized; he tolde me, no, and ſaid he never would be. After that wee fell into "ſpeeches of Chriſt, whom he acknowledged for a great Prophet, but not for the Sonne "of God; affirming that neither he nor any of his country-men would worſhip him, but "the onely true God, Creator of heaven and earth: and called us Chriſtians, Idolaters, "becauſe we worſhipped images; a moſt memorable ſpeech if it be properly applied to "thoſe kind of Chriſtians which deſerve that imputation of idolatry. At laſt I fell into "ſome vehement argumentations with him in defence of Chriſt; whereupon being unwilling to anſwere me, he ſuddenly flung out of my company (*k*)." Coryate quitted Lyons on the 6th of June, and on the 11th aſcended Mount Senis. On the 12th he arrived at Turin, where he found ſo great a diſtemperature in his body, by drinking the ſweet wines of Piedmont, that it cauſed a grievous inflammation in his hands and face (*l*). His illneſs, however, did not prevent him from continuing his journey. He left Turin on the 13th, and two days after came to Milan, where he ſtayed only one day. His next ſtage was to the city of Lodi, at which place arriving too late, he could not obtain entrance into the town, but was obliged to repoſe that night in the coach he rode thither in (*m*). On the evening of the 20th he arrived at Padua, where he was informed of a very extraordinary cuſtom which diſcharged perſons in debt from the obligation of payment (*n*); a cuſtom which, had it not been noticed by a leſs haſty and more informed traveller (*o*), might have been ſuſpected for an impoſition by ſome one who had diſcovered the credulity of Coryate's diſpoſition. In this city he ſaw Livy's houſe, of which he gives a long deſcription (*p*): and here alſo in the Church of St. Anthony he obſerved a monument, which "made me even "lament, ſays he (*q*), being that" of a certain Engliſh Nobleman, "namely, Edward "Courteney, Earle of Devonſhire, who was buried there in the time of Queen Mary; "he died there in his youth, and was the ſonne of Henry, Earle of Devonſhire, and Marquiſſe of Exceter, who was beheaded by Queen Mary. Truly it ſtrooke great compaſſion and remorſe in me to ſee an Engliſhman ſo ignobly buried. For his body lieth in a "poore woodden coffin, placed upon another faire monument, having neither Epitaph

(*d*) Crambe.
(*e*) *Ibid.*
(*f*) Fuller.
(*g*) Athen. Oxon.
(*b*) Crudities, 20.
(*i*) *Ibid.* 51.
(*k*) *Ibid.* 65.
(*l*) *Ibid.* 82.
(*m*) *Ibid.*
(*n*) *Ibid.* 136.
(*o*) Addiſon's Works, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 51.
(*p*) Crudities, 138.
(*q*) *Ibid.* 143.

[*B*] *Without taking any degree.*] His friend Lawrence Whitaker, in a note to ſome verſes (12), ſays, he proceeded a Cæſarian Doctor, at the Univerſity of Royſton. To what this alludes may be difficult to diſcover at ſo great a diſtance of time; probably ſome court merriment. It was at Royſton, where King James frequently reſided, that Coryate made an Oration (13) on preſenting to him a copy of his Crudities. He is alſo ſtyled Doctor by Anthony Waſhbourne, in another copy of verſes (14).

(12) Coryate's Crambe, 1611.
(13) It is printed in his Crambe.
(14) Crambe.

[*C*] *And kept him as a ſervant.*] It is not known when, nor by whoſe means, he came to be noticed by Prince Henry; but as his name does not occur in either of the Liſts of that Prince's Houſhold, at the ſettlement of it in the years 1603 or 1610 (15), it is to be preſumed he was retained only for the purpoſe of creating mirth. "Sweetmeats and Coryate made "up the laſt courſe at all entertainments. Indeed he "was the Courtiers anvil to try their wits upon, and "ſometimes this anvil returned the hammers as hard "knocks as he received, his bluntneſs repaying their "abuſe (16)."

(15) Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 35. 449.
(16) Fuller.

"nor

" nor any other thing to preſerve it from oblivion, ſo that I could not have known it for " an Engliſhman's coffin, except an Engliſh gentleman, my kinde friend, Mr. George " Rooke, of whom I have before ſpoken, had told me of it and ſhewed me the ſame [*D*]." He remained at Padua three days. On leaving it he proceeded to Venice, where he arrived on the 24th. Of this place he ſpeaks with the utmoſt rapture: " it yieldeth," ſays he, " the moſt glorious and heavenly ſhew upon the water that ever any mortal eye beheld; " ſuch a ſhew as did raviſh me with delight and admiration (*r*)." Here he reſided ſix weeks, which he declares to have been the ſweeteſt time for ſo much he ever ſpent in his life (*s*) [*E*]. As at Lyons he entered into a diſpute with a Turk on the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, ſo here he engaged in another with a Jewiſh Rabbin, whom he endeavoured to convert; but as the event of this controverſy had nearly terminated in a very ſerious manner, we ſhall relate it in his own words. " After there had paſſed many vehement " ſpeeches to and fro betwixt us, it happened that ſome forty or fifty Jews more flocked " about me, and ſome of them beganne very inſolently to ſwagger with me becauſe I " durſt reprehend their religion. Whereupon, fearing leaſt they would have offered me " ſome violence, I withdrew myſelf by little and little towards the bridge, at the entrance " into the Ghetto, with an intent to flee from them; but by good fortune our noble Am- " baſſador, Sir Henry Wotton, paſſing under the bridge in his gondola at that very time, " eſpyed me ſomewhat earneſtly bickering with them; and ſo incontinently ſent unto me " out of his boate one of his principal gentlemen, Maſter Belford his Secretary, who con- " veighed mee ſafely from theſe unchriſtian miſcreants, which perhaps would have given " me juſt occaſion to forſweare any more comming to the Ghetto (*t*)." We alſo find him viſiting a Courtezan with a deſign of converting her; and it muſt be owned he gives a very entertaining account of the manners of theſe people. Indeed, whatever cenſure any other parts of his travels are liable to, his deſcription of Venice, and the manners and cuſtoms of the people, may be peruſed with much ſatisfaction by thoſe who wiſh to be acquainted with the particular modes of living in different ages and nations; his account, though prolix, being always to be depended on for its veracity, and in this inſtance being calculated to afford much information. He departed from Venice the 8th of Auguſt, and paſſing through Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, on the 14th arrived at Brixia, where happening to be preſent at the dedication of a new image of the Virgin Mary, he found himſelf tempted to purloin a little waxen idol, in which he ſucceeded, and brought it away undiſcovered (*u*). His next ſtage was to Bergamo, where he was conſtrained to repoſe in a ſtable among horſes; and this vile lodging he with difficulty obtained, being obliged for it to the curteſy of an Italian Prieſt, who was ſhot the ſame night by a Bravo (*w*). Intending to go through the Griſons country into Germany, he repaired to a monaſtery in order to obtain ſome information for his conduct in his journey. He was received in a friendly manner by the Monks, who recommended him to a Dominican Friar, from whom he obtained the neceſſary inſtructions; and among others was particularly warned to avoid a certain Caſtle ſeated on the Lake of Como, which was then garriſoned by the Spaniards, who might poſſibly ſeize and impriſon him being an Engliſhman (*x*). On the 18th he left Bergamo, and on the 26th arrived at Zurich, where he was introduced to Henry Bullinger, nephew of the famous preacher of both thoſe names, who was the ſucceſſor of Zuinglius, in the Eccleſiaſtical function at this place. He deſcribes Bullinger as a " very vigilant " preacher and painefull labourer in the Lord's Vineyard. He ſhewed himſelf," ſays he, " very debonaire and courteous unto me." And our traveller particularly notices that he was led through his library, which was exceedingly well furniſhed with divinity books; and, among other curioſities, he was ſhewn ſome MSS. of Bullinger's grandfather, and alſo an execrable book written by one Joannes Caſa, Biſhop of Beneventum in Italy, in defence of the horrid ſin of ſodomy (*y*). He ſtayed at Zurich but one day, after which

(*r*) Crudities, 157.

(*s*) *Ibid.* 160.

(*t*) *Ibid.* 236.

(*u*) *Ibid.* 340.

(*w*) *Ibid.* 350.

(*x*) *Ibid.* 351.

(*y*) *Ibid.* 391.

[*D*] *And ſhewed me the ſame.*] It may not be improper to give ſome farther account of this Nobleman, who was the laſt Earl of Devonſhire of the family of Courtney, and not more remarkable for his misfortunes than for his ſingular endowments of body and mind, which were ſuppoſed to have made a deep impreſſion on the hearts of one, if not two Queens, viz. Mary and Elizabeth. He was polite, ſtudious, and learned; an accurate maſter of the languages, and ſkilled in the Mathematics, Painting, and Muſic. He lived a priſoner in the Tower from the age of fourteen to twenty-one years. On Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Throne, he was releaſed, and ſhe conceived an affection for him which he was no ſtranger to; yet ſeemed rather to attach himſelf to the Princeſs Elizabeth, whoſe youth and lively converſation had more prevailing charms than the pomp and power of her ſiſter. This preference not only produced a total change in Mary's ſentiments with regard to the Earl, but was nearly proving fatal to Elizabeth. On ſuſpicion of being concerned with that Princeſs in Wyat's Rebellion, he was impriſoned again in Fotheringay Caſtle, whence on his releaſe he travelled into Italy, and died at Padua at the age of thirty years. Some ſay he was poiſoned (17).

(17) Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. 3. 338, 339. Warton's Life of Sir Tho. Pope, 62. 100.

[*E*] *Sweeteſt time for ſo much he ever ſpent in his life.*] How well ſatisfied he was with Venice, will appear by the following paſſage. " Had there been " an offer made to me, before I tooke my journey " to Venice, eyther that foure of the richeſt Man- " nors of Somerſetſhire (wherein I was borne) ſhould " be gratis beſtowed upon me if I never ſaw Venice, " or neither of them if I ſhould ſee it; although " certainly thoſe Mannors would do me much " more good in reſpect of a ſtate of livelyhood " to live in the world then the ſight of Venice, yet " notwithſtanding I will ever ſay, while I live, that " the ſight of Venice and her reſplendent beauty, " antiquities, and monuments, hath by many degrees " more contented my minde and ſatisfyed my deſires " then thoſe four Lordſhippes could poſſibly have " done (18)."

(18) Crudities, 120.

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he continued his journey through Badon to the Baths of Hinderhove. Of theſe, together with the cuſtoms of the place, the properties of the waters, and the manners of the inhabitants and viſitors, he gives a very accurate and entertaining account (z). On the 30th he arrived at Baſil, and after remaining there one day he went to Straſbourg, and thence to Lower Baden. At Heidelberg he ſaw the famous veſſel which held 530 hogſheads of Rheniſh wine, worth one thouſand nine hundred and eighty-eight pounds, eight ſhillings (a). His next ſtage was to Spira. On the 10th of September he came to Wormes, having in his way thither had an encounter with a boor, occaſioned by his pulling ſome grapes in a vineyard (b). In two days after his arrival at Wormes, we find him at Mentz, and the next day at Frankfort (c). He was at Colen on the 19th, and thence he proceeded to Fluſhing, where he embarked in a veſſel for London. He arrived at the Cuſtom-Houſe there on the 3d of October, and in this manner concluded the firſt part of his travels, which had employed five months wanting a few days. In this ſhort time he had ſeen forty-five cities (d). The length of his journey was 1975 miles, more than half of which he performed with only one pair of ſhoes. Theſe memorable ſhoes, we are told, were only once mended, and on his return to Odcombe were hung up in the Church there (e). Having thus recited, with a degree of minuteneſs worthy of Thomas himſelf, the ſeveral ſtages of his journey, it will readily occur to the Reader, that had our Traveller been qualified for the taſk of improving his country by his obſervations on the laws, manners, cuſtoms, or government of the ſeveral countries through which he paſſed, the haſty manner in which he made his tour would totally preclude ſuch expectations. And it may be obſerved in his defence that he had no view of that kind. To one who had objected that he had copied out more inſcriptions and epitaphs than any judicious traveller would have done in many years, and thereby had branded him with the note of a tomb-ſtone traveller (e), he anſwers. "But becauſe this objection ſhall not juſtly take hold upon me, "that I am a tombe-ſtone traveller, if God ſhall grant me happy ſucceſſe in my next "journey, I will ſo farre wade into a few matters of policie for the better ſatisfaction of "the Reader, as I may with ſecurity of my life attain unto. Surely I do not a little "wonder that the obſerving of inſcriptions and epitaphes ſhould be objected unto me by "way of diſgrace." He had juſt before obſerved, that being a private man, and no ſtatiſt, matters of policy were impertinent unto him. It may, therefore, be concluded, that accuracy in thoſe things which he profeſſed to diſcuſs, and veracity in relating the circumſtances of his journey, are only to be ſought after in his book; and ſo far as any commendation is due to an Author, in theſe points he is entitled to his reward [F]. It will give ſome ſurprize to thoſe who have not peruſed the account of his journey, and to many who form their judgment on the manners of paſt times by what they ſee at preſent, to be informed that he was the firſt Engliſhman who made uſe of a fork at his meals: as the paſſage ſhews how far behind the Italians we then were in point of delicacy, and is alſo deſcriptive of the manners of the age, it will be ſet down at large in the note [G]. But though his Travels cannot be conſidered as very important to the public, they produced that which the greater number of Travellers have in view. They afforded himſelf much

(z) Crudities, 494.

(a) *Ibid.* 494.

(b) *Ibid.* 524.

(c) *Ibid.* 561.

(d) Crambe.

(e) Verſes prefixed to Crambe.

(f) Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to Crudities.

[F] *He is entitled to his reward.*] A late Author (19) appears not to have done juſtice to our Traveller, when, ſpeaking of the length of William Lithgow's Travels, he ſays, that "here the marvellous "ſeems to riſe to the incredible," and to ſet him in point of veracity below Coryate, "whom it is never-"theleſs certain that he outwalked." It may be obſerved in Coryate's favour, that his minute accuracy not his want of veracity, was what ſubjected him to the ridicule of his contemporaries. Much more juſt is the judgment of Mr. Aubery, cited by the ſame author (20) concerning him, "that though he was not "a wiſe man, he wrote faithfully matter of fact." Another writer, who had ſufficient opportunities of knowing him ſays, that if he had lived to have written his travels—"there might have been very good "uſe of his obſervations; for as he was a very par-"ticular, ſo was he without queſtion a very faithful "relator of things he ſaw; ever diſclaiming that bold "liberty which divers travellers have, and do take "by ſpeaking and writing any thing they pleaſe of "remote parts, when they cannot eaſily be contradict-"ed, taking a pride in their feigned relations to "overſpeak things (21)."

(19) Granger's Supplement, 157.

(20) Granger's Biographical Hiſtory, vol. i. 304.

(21) Terry's Travels, 59.

[G] *Set down at large in the note.*] "Here I will "mention a thing that might have been ſpoken of "before in diſcourſe of the firſt Italian towne. I "obſerved a cuſtome in all thoſe Italian cities and "townes through the which I paſſed, that is not uſed "in any other country that I ſaw in my travels, nei-"ther doe I thinke that any other nation of Chriſ-"tendome doth uſe it, but only Italy. The Italian "and alſo moſt ſtrangers that are commorant in Italy, "do alwaies at their meales uſe a little forke when "they cut their meat. For while with their knife which "they hold in one hand they cut the meate out of "the diſh, they faſten their forke which they hold in "their other hand upon the ſame diſh, ſo that what-"ſoever he be that ſitting in the company of any "others at meale, ſhould unadviſedly touch the "diſh of meate with his fingers from which all at the "table doe cut, he will give occaſion of offence unto "the company, as having tranſgreſſed the lawes of "good manners, inſomuch that for his error he ſhall "be at leaſt brow beaten if not reprehended in "wordes. This forme of feeding I underſtand is "generally uſed in all places of Italy; their forkes "being for the moſt part made of yron or ſteele, and "ſome of ſilver, but thoſe are uſed only by Gentle-"men. The reaſon of this their curioſity is, becauſe "the Italian cannot by any meanes indure to have "his diſh touched with fingers, ſeeing all men's fin-"gers are not alike cleane. Hereupon I myſelfe "thought good to imitate the Italian faſhion by this "forked cutting of meate, not only while I was in "Italy, but alſo in Germany, and oftentimes in "England ſince I came home, being once quipped "for that frequent uſing of my forke by a certain "learned Gentleman, a familiar friend of mine, one "Mr. Laurence Whitaker, who in his merry hu-"mour doubted not to call me at table *furcifer*, only "for uſing a forke at feeding, but for no other "cauſe (22)."

(22) Crudities, 90.

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entertainment, indeed ſo much that on his return he declared, that " of all the pleaſures " in the world Travel is the ſweeteſt and moſt delightful," and, that " ſuch is the exu- " berance and ſuperfluity of theſe exoticke pleaſures (ariſing from travelling) that for my " own part, I will moſt truly affirm I reaped more entire and ſweet comfort in five months " travels of thoſe ſeven countries mentioned in the front of my booke, than I did all the " dayes of my life before in England which contayned two and thirty years (*g*)." On his return to England he immediately began to digeſt his Travels in order for publication; and that he might proceed therein without interruption he retired to his native place Odcombe, where he employed himſelf in that buſineſs, according to Ben Jonſon, five months (*h*). While on his journey through Europe he had reſolved to viſit many of the places again which he then only imperfectly noticed, particularly Venice (*i*) and ſome parts of Switzerland (*k*). But he had not long been in England before he changed his deſign, and determined to enlarge the plan of his future Travels. Having therefore compleated his book, he was deſirous of having it printed at London without delay. To effect which, he applied himſelf, by Letter [*H*], to Sir Michael Hicks, deſiring his interceſſion with the Earl of Saliſbury then Lord Treaſurer, to obtain a licence. His requeſt was granted, and the next year his work made its appearance under the following affected

(g) Epiſtle to the Reader prefixed to Crudities.

(*h*) Verſes prefixed to Crambe.

(*i*) Crudities, 280.

(*k*) *Ibid.* 390.

[*H*] *To effect which he applied himſelf by Letter.*] This Letter which formerly belonged to James Weſt, Eſq (23); is ſtill extant. It is now in the poſſeſſion of the writer of this article, and having never been printed may not improperly be inſerted here.

(23) Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales.

Right Worſhip and generoſe Sir,

Though I feare I ſhall incurre your reprehenſion for preſuming to write unto your worſhip; yet I hope the ſuperficiall acquaintance which I had with you lately at Mr. Ingrams (where it pleaſed you, after a very debonaire and courteous manner, to take notice of me) will in ſome ſort diſpenſe with my bouldneſſe. I write unto you partly by way of deprecation for my error committed at that time at Mr. Ingrams table, which I beſeech you to impute not to any voluntarie malipartneſs of mine, but rather to the merry prompting of that joviall black-bearded Gentleman that ſat next unto me, who you know is ſoe much given to his παρρησία and libertie of ſpeech, that ſometimes he will not ſticke amiciſſimum quempiam perſtringere even to glaunce with ſome exquiſite ſtraine of witte at the deareſt fre'inde he hath: partly alſo for that I am ſoe bould to inſinuate myſelfe unto you with a ſuite, whereunto if it ſhall pleaſe you to condeſcend, not onely I myſelfe ſhall be obliged unto you for it, in the ſtricteſt bonde of true obſervance till I ſuffer the fatall diſſolution of my bodie and ſowle, but perhaps many notable members of other commonwealths may render no ſmall thankes unto you for the ſame. Therefore, without any long introductions to diſcover unto you the ſumme of the matter it is thus; having travelled about two years ſince in theſe ſeven famous countries France, Savoy, Italie, Rhetia, commonly called the Griſons countrie, Helvetia, alias Swicerland, ſome partes of high Germanie, and the Netherlands, I was diſpoſed to turne my microcoſme (a phraſe that a certaine learned Gentleman not long ſince uſed of me) into eyes, I meane to prie into all thinges of chiefeſt remarque that were obvious unto my eyes in every place where I travelled, in ſoe much that by my inceſſant induſtrie and Herculean toyle I wrote ſoe many obſervations in the foreſayd countries as have filled very neere four quires of paper, having in the ſpace of five months ſurvayed forty-ſeven cities; and this my itinerarie I have concealed ſoe long, that it ſeemed cum lineis ac blattis rixari (as eloquent Angelus Politiang writeth of certaine of his bookes, in an epiſtle to Laurentius Medices, Duke of Florence) determining indeed rather Thetidi aut Veneris eas largiri marito, then to evulge them to the light of my countrie before the conſummation of my future travells, which I thinke will be very neere ten yeares hence, but ſome of my deare friendes, eſpecially a certaine learned Gentleman, one Mr. Lawrence Whitaker, hath uſed ſuch importunities of perſuaſions unto me, who, amongſt other things, alledged that excellent proverbiall verſe,

(22) Crudities 90.

Πολλὰ μείλαξὺ πείθει κύλικῶν καὶ κείλεσιν ἄκρα.

that I have confidently reſolved, by God's gracious permiſſion, to imprint the obſervations of my paſt travells, for the benefite of my travelling countrie men, before I goe abroad againe, for which cauſe, determining to dedicate them to the Prince, I went lately to his Highneſſe, pronounced an oration unto him before a greate aſſemblie of courtiers, and withal preſented unto him my journall, who ſoe graciouſly accepted it, that he hath promiſed to entertaine the dedication thereof. Since which time I have laboured very much about the licencing of my booke, that it might be printed firſt with the late Archbyſhop of Canterbury, whoſe ſudden death hath much defeated my deſignement, after that with ſome of the High Commiſſioners, and the Byſhop of London, of whom I can not get an approbation, ſeeing it is not in their power to allowe any bookes to be printed (as they affirme) but theologicall, ſoe that the whole ſcope of my ſuite unto your worſhip doth tend unto this, that you would vouchſafe to intercede for me unto my Lorde Treaſurer, that it would pleaſe his Lordſhip to give order it might be printed in London, with ſome expedition: the Prince not onely approving, yea applauding it, together with all thoſe ſelected flowers of gentilitie that flouriſh in his princely courte, but alſo earneſtly expecting it, eſpecially ſince there is not as much as one line contained in my whole journall that maketh againſt other ſtate, or any forraine Prince confederate with us, or againſt religion or good manners, my booke containing principally the moſt remarkable antiquities of thoſe cities that I have deſcribed; yea, and ſo many of them, that I hope you will pardon me, though I think that no man of other nation ſince the incarnation of Chriſt, hath obſerved more for the time, in the foreſayd countries, which I hope you would not hold to be unlikely, if you did but knowe what intolerable paynes I tooke in my travells, both by day and night, ſcarce affording myſelfe two howe'rs reſt ſometimes of the whole twenty-four, in the citie of Venice, by reaſon of my continuall writing, whereupon divers Engliſh men that lay in the ſame howſe with me, obſerving my extreme watchings wherewith I did grievouſly excruciat my bodie, inſtantly deſired me to pittie myſelfe and not to kill myſelfe with my inordinate labours. To conclude, if it ſhall pleaſe your worſhip to gratifie me in this my earneſt ſupplication, you will adde unto me very ſpurres of diligence, and give me wonderfull encouragement to obſerve ſuch thinges in my future travells as I doubt not but ſhall be acceptable to the King and Queen themſelves and all their royall children, as alſo to the greateſt Peers and Nobles of this kingdom; in hope whereof I will commend your worſhip to the gracious clientele of the omnipotent Jehova.

From my chamber in Bowe-lane this 15th November, 1610.

Your Worſhip's moſte ſuppliant Beadſman,

THOMAS CORYATE.

To the Right Worſhipful Sir Michaell Hixe's, Knight, give theſe with all ſpeede.

title, " Coryat's Crudities haſtily gobled up in five months Travells in France, Savoy, " Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Griſons country, Helvetia alias Switzerland, ſome " parts of High Germany, and the Netherlands, newly digeſted in the hungry aire of " Odcombe in the county of Somerſet, and now diſperſed to the nouriſhment of the " travelling Members of this Kingdome." It contains beſides his Travels ſome poſthumous Latin Poems, the productions of his deceaſed father, and many copies of verſes by the moſt eminent Poets [*I*] of the time, who tickled the Author's vanity, at the ſame time that they made a jeſt of him. We learn that he printed at his own expence (*l*), and his ſucceſs was in every way anſwerable to his expectation; for whether from the ſingularity of the ſtyle, or the whimſical character of our Traveller, his work at its firſt publication was much read, but the fame of it laſted only a ſhort time, for about two years afterwards it appears to have been little noticed [*K*]. The Author had however been flattered into ſo high an opinion of the merit of his work, that in anſwer to a writer who had ſaid he would have epitomized it if " he could have melted out of the whole lumpe, ſo much matter " worth the reading as wold have filled four pages [*m*]," he replies, " I will boldly affirme " for the better juſtification of my obſervations, and by way of oppoſition againſt the ma- " licious cenſure of that hypercriticall Momus, that of the ſixe hundred fiftie and foure " pages, he ſhall find at the leaſt five hundred worthy the reading (*n*)." And it was his intention to have tranſlated both theſe and his future travels into Latin, for the benefit not only of his own country, but alſo of thoſe he had already, or might hereafter reſolve to travel through (*o*). A copy of his Crudities, it appears, he preſented to the Bodleian Library; and being expected to viſit Oxford afterwards at the Act, Sir Thomas Bodley deſired the book might be ſent for, and placed for the time in ſome ſuch place in the Library as may ſeem, he adds, to have magnified the Author and the book (*p*). In 1611 he publiſhed " Coryat's Crambe, or his Colwort twiſe ſodden, and now ſerved in with other " Macaronicke Diſhes as the ſecond courſe to his Crudities," 4*to*. On the 20th of Oct. 1612, after taking leave of his countrymen by an Oration ſpoken at the croſs at Odcombe (*q*), he proceeded on his farther travels, in which he intended to employ ten years (*r*). He arrived at Zante on the 13th of January 1613, and there ſaw the Sepulchre of Marcus Tullius Cicero and his wife, " ſuch an obſcene and ignoble grave that I could not but " condole the misfortune of that famous and incomparable Orator, from the inexhauſted " fountaine of whoſe incomparable learning, ſo many excellent Orators have drawn liquor " of Rhetoricall invention, to the great garniſhing and adorning of their polite lucubra- " tions. For it ſtandeth *ſub dio* in the open aire without any ſepulchrate or Titularie- " ſtone that might teſtifie to the Reader who lieth there, which cannot but ſtrike a kind of " veneration into any man that hath any ſparke of learning (*s*)." From Zante he proceeded to Syo, and while there made an attempt to viſit the Tomb of Homer, in which he did not ſucceed (*t*). He then ſailed in an Engliſh ſhip to the Trojan ſhore, on which he landed on the 22d of February (*u*). He here employed much pains for ſeveral hours in ſearching out the moſt notable antiquities of Troy, which one of his companions, Maſter Robert Rugge, obſerving, " to yield mee ſome kind of guirdon or remuneration for my " paines in a merrie humour drew his ſword out of the ſcabberd, and aſcending to one " of thoſe great ſtones that lye in the open part of this middle gate, knighted mee, that " kneeled upon another ſtone on my right knee, by the name of the firſt Engliſh Knight " of Troy; and on the knighting of mee pronounced thoſe wittie verſes extempore:

(*l*) Cotton's Compleat Angler, p. 18. ed. 1766. *Laquei ridiculoſi*, or Springes for Woodcocks, by H. P. (Parrot) 12*mo*. 1613. Epigram 144.

(*m*) The Odcombian Banquet diſhed forth, &c. 1611, 4*to*. at the end.

(*n*) Crambe at the end.

(*o*) Epiſtle to the Reader prefixed to Crudities.

(*p*) *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, p. 355.

(*q*) Wood's *Ath. Ox.*

(*r*) Terry's Voyage to the East Indies, 58.

(*s*) 2 Purchaſh Pilgrims, Fo. 1625. P. 1811.

(*t*) *Ibid.* 1812.

(*u*) *Ibid.* 1815.

Coryate no more, but now a Knight of Troy;
Odcombe no more, but henceforth England's joy:
Brute, Brute of our beſt Engliſh wits commended,
True Trojane from Æneas' race deſcended:
Riſe top of wit, the honour of our nation,
And to old Ilium make a new Oration.

[*I*] *Many copies of verſes by the moſt eminent Poets.*] Among theſe we find the names of Ben Jonſon, John Harrington, Dudley Digges, John Donne, Chriſtopher Brooke, John Hoſkins, Inigo Jones, Richard Corbet, John Chapman, John Owen, Thomas Farnabie, Michael Drayton, John Davis, beſides many others. The verſes are alſo in various languages, as Engliſh, Latin, French, Italian, Spaniſh, and even Welch and Iriſh. The Author was ſo little conſcious of the deſign of them, that in the introduction to them he makes a formal apology for their inſertion, deſiring the Reader to aſcribe it not to any ambitious humour in him to obtrude ſo many to the world in praiſe of his book, and aſſuring him that when he ſaw the multitude of them to increaſe to ſo great a number, he reſolved to put above a thouſand of them into an Index Expurgatorius, and to detain them from the preſs. But that Prince Henry, to whom his performance was dedicated, gave a ſtrict and expreſs commandment to print all thoſe verſes which he had read to his Highneſs (24). The Author had the honour of preſenting copies of this his work to the King, the Queen, Prince Henry, the Duke of York, afterwards Charles the Firſt, and the Princeſs Elizabeth afterwards Queen of Bohemia, to each of whom he made an Oration which he afterwards made public (25).

(24) Introduction to the Verſes prefixed to Crudities.

(25) Crambe.

[*K*] *Little noticed.*] In the year 1613, two years after the publication of the Crudities, an Epigramatiſt writes thus of it:

Wonder of Writers (for once ſo thou wert)
What pitty 'tis thy fame no longer laſted,
That ſuch of note in travell and deſert,
Like time-leſs bloſſomes ſhould ſo ſoon be blaſted;
For thus farre boldly may thy booke compare,
How ill ſo ever, ſure 'twas paſſing rare (26).

(26) *Laquei ridiculoſi* Epigram, 192.

" Two

" Two Turks that ſtood but a little way from us when he drew his naked ſword, thought " verily hee meant to have cut off my head for ſome notorious villany which I had per- " petrated. Thoſe verſes I anſwered extempore. Alſo our Muſketeers diſcharged two " volleys of ſhot for joy of my knighthood."

Loe heere with proſtrate knee I doe embrace
The gallant title of a Trojane Knight,
In Priam's court, which time ſhall ne're deface,
A grace unknowne to any Britiſh wight:
This noble knighthood ſhall Fame's trump reſound
To Odcombe's honour, maugre Envie fell
O're famous Albion throughout that iſland round,
Till that my mournfull friends ſhall ring my knell.

After repeating theſe verſes, ſtanding upon a high ſtone at the entrance of the great gate, he pronounced an Oration, which if the Reader ſhould incline to peruſe we muſt refer him to the volume whence this account is extracted (*x*). On his return to the ſhip, obſerving Mount Ida at the diſtance of two miles, and ſeeing a plowman holding a plough, he with one Mr. Francis Flyer, did the like one after another, " in order," ſays he, " that if wee live to be old men, we may ſay in our old age we had once holden the " plough in the Trojan territorie, eſpecially in that part we ſaw the citie ſtood (*y*)." With this part of his journey he declared himſelf ſo entirely ſatisfied, that he would not for 500l. but have ſeen thoſe things which were worthy obſervation at Troy; and had he not ſeen them then, he ſhould have taken a journey from England for the ſole purpoſe. We next find him at Conſtantinople, where he reſided ſome time; and during his abode there, received great civilities from Sir Paul Pinder, the Engliſh Ambaſſador, at whoſe houſe he had free acceſs and welcome whenever he pleaſed, and to whom, as uſual, he made an Oration. The time when he arrived at Conſtantinople does not appear; but on the firſt day of April, 1613 (*z*), being the day preceding Good Friday, he was there, and preſent at midnight at the Monaſtery of Franciſcan Fryers, where after maſs he ſaw a number of ſlaves whip themſelves for an hour and a half without mercy. Theſe wretches were hired by their maſters to undergo this puniſhment as an atonement for ſins confeſſed by their Lords, and were in return rewarded with their liberty (*a*). While he reſided here he was ſeized with an ague which afflicted him for three days, but by the aſſiſtance of bloodletting it was entirely removed (*b*). He continued at Conſtantinople until the 21ſt of January in the year following (*c*), when he proceeded on his journey to Jeruſalem. He embarked in very tempeſtuous weather, attended with much ſnow, and arrived at Gallipoli (*d*). On the 14th of February he went aſhore at Leſbos, and on the 18th came to Syo. On the 20th, ſailing by the Sanyan Coaſt, he diſcerned Patmos, and paſſed near Coſs, the birth-place of Hippocrates. He ſaw the tops of Ararat, ſaid to be then diſtant ninety-four leagues, on the 23d, and the next day landed at Scanderoon (*e*); whence he proceeded to Aleppo, travelling thither in four days. While he continued at Aleppo, his countryman, Bart Haggat, Conſul at that place, rode with him to the Valley of Salt mentioned in II. Samuel viii. 13 (*f*). On the 15th of March, 1613, in company with Henry Allard of Kent, he ſet out on his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, which place, after paſſing through Damaſcus on the 26th, he entered on the 12th of May, 1614. On Palm Sunday evening he lay in the Temple, in the Upper Gallery, and was rouſed out of his ſleep by the turbulent cries of the Greeks who came forth from their Quire with a very clamorous noiſe, having eleven banners of ſilk and cloth of gold carried before them, each of which had three ſtreamers, and on the top of the ſtaff a gilded croſs. A world of lamps was carried before them; men, women, and children confuſedly crying Kyrie eleeſon. The next day other nations joined with them diſplaying their banners. On the 28th he viſited Jordan (*g*), and afterwards returned to Aleppo on foot and remained there three months longer (*h*); after which he departed in a caravan into Perſia, paſſing the river Euphrates, about four days journey beyond Aleppo. Thence in two days he came to Ur, the birth-place of Abraham, and continued there four days. In four more he came to the River Tigris, which he croſſed on foot, it being then no higher than the calf of his leg. He then entered Meſopotamia, and reſided ſix days at Tauris the Metropolis, formerly called Ecbatana. In two days he came to Caſbin, and thence in twenty-three days to Spahan in Parthia, the reſidence of the Perſian King, who was then in Gurgiſtan, ranſacking the poor Chriſtians there with great hoſtility, with fire and ſword. There he remained two months, when he proceeded with a caravan into the Eaſt-Indies, and in four months and odd days arrived at Lahore (*i*) [*K*]. From Lahore he had twenty days journey to Agra, and ten more to Aſmere,

(*x*) *Ibid.* 1817.
(*y*) *Ibid.* 1819.
(*z*) *Ibid.* 1820.
(*a*) *Ibid.*
(*b*) Letter from Aſmere.
(*c*) Purchas, 1829.
(*d*) *Ibid.*
(*e*) *Ibid.*
(*f*) *Ibid.*
(*g*) *Ibid.* 1830.
(*h*) Letter from Aſmere, 11.
(*i*) *Ibid.*

[*K*] *Arrived at Lahore.*] " About the middle of " the way," ſays he, " between Spahan and Lahore, " juſt about the frontiers of Perſia and India, I met " Sir Robert Shirley and his Lady, travelling from " the Court of the Mogul (where they had been very " graciouſly received, and enriched with preſents of " great value) to the King of Perſia's Court; ſo gallantly furniſhed with all neceſſaries for their travells, " that

Aſmere, where the Mogul kept his Court. In this journey, between Jeruſalem and Aſmere, he ſpent fifteen months and odd days, travelling two thouſand ſeven hundred miles, and all the way on foot (*k*). He expended alſo in his ten months travels, between Aleppo and Aſmere, but three pounds ſterling, "yet ſays he fared reaſonable well every day, victuals "being ſo cheap in ſome countries where I travelled, that I oftentimes lived competently "for a penny ſterling a day: yet of that three pounds I was couſened of no leſs than ten "ſhillings ſterling by certain lewd Chriſtians of the Armenian nation, ſo that indeed I ſpent "but fifty ſhillings in my ten months travels (*l*)." At Aſmere he remained twelve months and ſixty days, until he had learned the Turkiſh, Moriſco or Arabian languages, ſome good knowledge of the Perſian and Indoſtan tongues, in the acquiſition of which he diſplayed very ſingular talents, and obtained ſuch a command over them as was very uſeful to him during the remainder of his journey (*m*) [*L*]. On the 16th of September, 1616, he departed from Aſmere to Agra, where he reſided ſix weeks longer (*n*). After this we find him ſeveral months with the Embaſſador, Sir Thomas Roe, living at Mandoa, the Mogul's Court, many miles up the country; during which time it appears that he met with ſeveral circumſtances calculated to give him chagrin [*M*], and began to decline both in health and ſpirits [*N*]. This became ſo evident, that when he was about to

(*k*) *Ibid.* 19.

(*l*) *Ibid.* 29.

(*m*) Terry, 69.

(*n*) Purchas, i. 599.

"that it was a great comfort unto me to ſee them in "ſuch a flouriſhing eſtate. There did he ſhew me "to my ſingular contentment, both my books neatly "kept, and hath promiſed to ſhew them, eſpecially "mine Itinerarie, to the Perſian King; and to inter-"pret unto him ſome of the principal matters in the "Turkiſh tongue, to the end I may have the more "gracious acceſs unto him after my return thither. "For through Perſia I have determined (by God's "helpe) to return to Aleppo. He adds, "both he "and his Lady uſed me with ſingular reſpect, eſpe-"cially his Lady, who beſtowed forty ſhillings upon "me in Perſian money; and they ſeemed to exult "for joy to ſee me, having promiſed me to bring me in "good grace with the Perſian King, and that they will "induce him to beſtow ſome princely benefits upon me: "this, I hope, will be partly occaſioned by my book, "for he is ſuch a jocund Prince that he will not be "meanly delighted with divers of my facetious Hie-"roglyphicks, if they are truly and genuinely ex-"pounded unto him (27)."

(27) Letter from Aſmere, p. 17.

[*L*] *Very uſeful to him during the remainder of his journey.*] He became ſo well acquainted with the Perſian language, that he obtained, without the knowledge of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, acceſs to the Great Mogul, to whom he made an Oration. "After "I had ended my ſpeech, I had ſome ſhort diſcourſe "with him in the Perſian tongue, who amongſt "other things told me, that concerning my trauell "to the Citie of Samarcand, he was not able to doe "me any good, becauſe there was no great amity "betwixt the Tartarian Princes and himſelfe, ſo that "his commendatory Letters would doe me no good. "Alſo he added, that the Tartars did ſo deadly hate "all Chriſtians, that they would certainly kill them "when they came into their country. So that he "earneſtly diſſwaded me from the iourney, if I loued "my life and well fare; at laſt, he concluded his "diſcourſe with me, by a ſumme of money, that he "threw downe from a window, thorow which he "looked out, into a ſheet tied vp by the foure cor-"ners, and hanging very neere the ground, an hun-"dred pieces of ſiluer, each worth two ſhillings ſter-"ling, which counteruailed ten pounds of our Eng-"liſh money: this buſineſſe I carried ſo ſecretly by "the helpe of my Perſian, that neither our Engliſh "Ambaſſadour, nor any other of my countrymen "(ſauing one ſpeciall, priuate, and intrinſicall friend) "had the leaſt inckling of it, till I had throughly "accompliſhed my deſigne: for I well knew that "our Ambaſſador would haue ſtopped and barraca-"doed all my proceeding therein, if he might haue "had any notice thereof, as indeed hee ſignified unto "me, after I had effected my proiect, alleaging this, "forſooth, for his reaſon, why hee would haue hin-"dred me, becauſe it would redound ſomewhat to "the diſhonnour of our nation, that one of our "countrey ſhould preſent himſelfe in that beggerly "and poore faſhion to the King, out of an inſinuat-"ing humour, to craue money of him: But I an-"ſwered our Ambaſſadour in that ſtout and re-"ſolute manner, after I had ended my buſineſſe, "that he was contented to ceaſe nibling at me, "neuer had I more need of money in all my life, "then at that time: for in truth I had but twentie "ſhillings ſterling left in my purſe, by reaſon of a "miſchance I had in one of the Turkes cities called "Emert, in the countrey of Meſopotamia, where a "miſcreant Turke ſtripped me of almoſt all my "monies, according as I wrote vnto you in a very "large letter the laſt yeare, which I ſent from the "Court of this mightie Monarch, by one of my "countrimen that went home by ſea in an Engliſh "ſhip, laden with the commodities of this India, "which letter, I hope, came to your hands long "ſince (28)." In the Indoſtan language he became ſo great a proficient, that a woman, a landreſs belonging to the Embaſſador's houſe, who had ſuch a freedom and liberty of ſpeech, that ſhe would ſcold, brawl, and rail, from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet, he one day undertook in her own language, and by eight of the clock in the morning ſo ſilenced her, that ſhe had not one word more to ſpeak (29).

(28) Printed in Purchas, vol. i. 598. See Terry, 96.

(29) Terry, 70.

[*M*] *Several circumſtances calculated to give him chagrin.*] Among others, Mr. Richard Steel, a Merchant, who in travelling to England had met our Author, informed King James of it, who replied, "Is that fool yet living?" This troubled him much, having expected that the King would have ſpoken more and better of him. At another time when he was ready to depart, the Embaſſador gave him a Letter, and in that a bill to receive 10*l.* at Aleppo. The letter was directed to the Conſul there, who was deſired to receive the bearer with curteſy, as he would find him an honeſt poor wretch. "Our Pilgrim, "ſays Mr. Terry, liked the gift well; but the lan-"guage by which he ſhould have received it did not "at all content him; telling me, *That my Lord had "even ſpoiled his curteſy in the carriage thereof; ſo "that if he had been a very fool indeed, he could have "ſaid very little leſs of him than he did, Honeſt poor "Wretch!* and furthermore he then told me, that "when he was formerly undertaking his voyage to "Venice, a perſon of honour wrote thus in his be-"half unto Sir Henry Wotton, then and there Em-"baſſador: My Lord, Good wine needs no buſh, "neither a worthy man letters commendatory, be-"cauſe whitherſoever he comes he is his own Epiſtle, "&c. *There* (ſaid he) *was ſome language on my be-"half; but now for my lord to write nothing of me by "way of commendation but honeſt poor wretch, is rather "to trouble me than to pleaſe me with his favour.*" The letter, to pleaſe him, was altered (30).

(30) Terry, 74.

[*N*] *Began to decline both in health and ſpirits.*] He began to be apprehenſive that he ſhould not live to reap the fruit of his travels. "And certainly "(ſays Mr. Terry) he was ſurprized with ſome ſuch "thoughts and fears, (for ſo he told us afterwards) "when upon a time he being at Mandoa with us, "and there ſtanding in a room againſt a ſtone pillar, "where the Ambaſſador was, and myſelf preſent "with them, upon a ſudden he fell into ſuch a "ſwoon, that we had very much ado to recover him "out of it; but at laſt, come to himſelf, he told us

to depart, the Ambaſſador deſired him to ſtay longer, but he thankfully refuſed the offer, and ſoon afterwards ſet out for Surat, about three hundred miles diſtant, and lived to arrive there. He was then in a bad ſtate of health and afflicted with a flux, which was increaſed by drinking (though moderately, being very temperate) ſome ſack, which had been brought from England. In a few days he died, in the month of December, 1617, and was buried under a little monument, like one of thoſe uſually made in our church-yards (*o*). Another Traveller, in 1626, ſays, his grave was to be known but by two poor ſtones (*p*). His papers appear to have fallen into the hands of Sir Thomas Roe, who gave a few of them to Mr. Purchas, by whom ſome parts, though very imperfectly, were inſerted in his Collection of Travels (*q*). Of our Author's character ſome traits are inſerted below [*O*]. His death deprived the wits and minor writers of much entertainment which they had promiſed themſelves on his return to England [*P*].

(o) Terry, 76.

(p) Herbert's Travels, 35.

(q) Purchas, i. 597.

" that ſome ſad thoughts had immediately before " preſented themſelves to his fancy; which, as he " conceived, put him into that diſtemper, like *Fan-* " *nius* in *Martial, Ne moriare mori*, to prevent death " by dying: for he told us that there were great ex- " pectations in England of the large accounts he " ſhould give of his travels after his return home, " and that he was now ſhortly to leave us; and he " being at preſent not very well, if he ſhould die in " the way towards Surat, whither he was now in- " tended to go (which place he had not as yet ſeen) " he might be buried in obſcurity and none of his " friends ever know what became of him, he travel- " ling now, as he uſually did, alone (31)."

(31) Terry, 75.

[*O*] *Some traits are inſerted below.*] " He was, " ſays Mr. Terry, of a very coveting eye, that could " never be ſatisfied with ſeeing, as Solomon ſpeaks, " *Eccleſ.* i. 8. *Though he had ſeen very much*; and I " am perſuaded that he took as much content in " ſeeing, as many others in the enjoying of great " and rare things. He was a man who had got the " maſtery of many hard languages (as before I ob- " ſerved) to the Latin and Greek he brought forth " of England with him; in which, if he had obtained " wiſdom to huſband and manage them, as he had " ſkill to ſpeak them, he had deſerved more fame in " his generation. But his knowledge and high at- " tainments in ſeveral languages made him not a " little ignorant of himſelf, he being ſo covetous, " ſo ambitious of praiſe, that he would hear and en- " dure more of it than he could in any meaſure " deſerve; being like a ſhip that hath too much ſail " and too little ballaſt. Yet if he had not fallen " into the ſmart hands of the wits of thoſe times he

(32) Terry, 71.

" might have paſſed better (32). He carried folly " (which the charitable call merriment) in his " very face. The ſhape of his head had no promiſ- " ing form, being like a ſugar-loaf inverted with " the little end before, as compoſed of fancy and me- " mory without any common ſenſe. Such as con- " ceived him fool, *ad duo*, and ſomething elſe, *ad* " *decem*, were utterly miſtaken, for he drave on no " deſign, caring for coin and counters alike; ſo con- " tented with what was preſent, that he accounted " thoſe men guilty of ſuperfluity who had more ſuits " and ſhirts than bodies, ſeldom putting off either

(33) Fuller, 31.

" till they were ready to go away from him (33.)"

[*P*] *On his return to England.*] Amongſt others, John Taylor the Water Poet, appears to have been one of our Author's perſecutors. In his works are ſeveral ſatirical pieces ridiculing him for his follies. It appears that at one time our Author made a formal complaint to the King againſt his antagoniſt, which is recorded by the latter in theſe words, " Maſter " Thomas Coriate (on a time) complained againſt " me to King James, deſiring his Majeſty that he " would cauſe ſome heavy puniſhment to be inflicted " upon me for abuſing him in writing, (as he ſaid I had) " to whom the King replied, that when the Lords " of his Honourable Privie Councell had leiſure and " nothing elſe to doe, then they ſhould heare and " determine the differences between Maſter Coriate " the ſcholler, and John Tayler the ſculler: which " anſwer of the King was very acceptable to Maſter " Coriate." Whereupon I made this following pe- tion to the King:

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſtie.

The humble Petition of John Tailor, your Maje- ſties poore Water Poet,

Sheweth:

Moſt mightie Monarch of this famous ile,
(Upon the knees of my ſubmiſſive minde)
I begge thou wilt be graciouſly inclin'd,
To reade theſe lines my ruſticke pen compile:
Know (Royal Sir) Tom Coriate workes the wile,
Your high diſpleaſure on my head to bring;
And well I wot, the ſot, his words can file,
In hopes my fortunes head-long downe to fling.
The King, whoſe wiſdom through the world did ring,
Did hear the cauſe of two offending harlots;
So I beſeech the (Great) great Britaine's King,
To do the like for two contending varlots.
A brace of knaves, your Majeſty implores
To heare their ſuites as Solomon heard whores (34).

(34) Wit and Mirth, 200. Taylor's Works.

See alſo " Odcomb's Complaint, or Coryate's Funeral Epicedium, or Death Song upon his late reported drowning." " The Eighth Wonder of the World, or Coryate's Eſcape from his ſuppoſed drowning." " Laugh and be Fat, or a Commentary upon the Odcombian Banket." " Maſter Thomas Coryate, to his Friends in England, ſends greeting, &c." In " The Nipping and Snipping of Abuſes," *4to.* 1614, he ſays,

A Poet needs muſt be a Poet borne,
Or elſe his art procures his greater ſcorne,
For why? if art alone made men excell,
Methinks Tom Coryate ſhould write ex'lent well:
For he was born belike in ſome croſſe yeere,
When learning was good cheap, but wit was deare (35).

(35) Taylor's Works, 249.

A Copy of Verſes, in the Somerſetſhire dialect, by our Author, is printed in " Guidott's Collection of Treatiſes concerning Bath Waters," 8*vo.* 1725.]

R.

COSIN (JOHN), a learned Biſhop of Durham in the ſeventeenth century, was the eldeſt ſon of Giles Coſin a citizen of Norwich (*a*), by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of ——— Remington of Remington-caſtle, a good and ancient family (*b*). He was born at Norwich November 30, 1594; and educated in the Free-School there, till he came to be fourteen years of age. Then he was tranſplanted into Caius-College in Cambridge, in 1610; of which he was ſucceſſively choſen Scholar, and Fellow; and where he regularly took his degrees in Arts (*c*). Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, diligence, and ingenuity, in the year 1616, when he was about twenty years of age, he had an offer, at the ſame time, both from Dr. Lancelot Andrews then Biſhop of Ely, and from Dr. Overall

(a) But originally of Foxhearth. He was a very rich man, and a perſon of great probity.

(b) See *The dead Man's real Speech.* A funeral Sermon on Biſhop Coſin, &c. by Iſ. Baſire, 8*vo.* Lond. 1673, p. 38; and *Vita Joannis Coſini, Epiſcopi Dunelmenſis. Scriptore Thoma Smitho.* Lond. 1707, 4*to.* p. 1.

(c) Dr. Smith, ib. and Dr. Baſire, p. 36, 43.

Overall Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, of a Librarian's place. But, by his late Tutor's advice, he accepted of the latter's invitation; who liked him ſo well, that, on account of his knowledge and fair writing, he made him alſo his Secretary (*d*). At the ſame time he encouraged him to ſtudy Divinity, and ſent him from time to time to keep his Exerciſes in the Univerſity (*e*). But, in 1619, he loſt his excellent patron, and with him all hopes and proſpect of advancement (*f*). However, Providence ſoon raiſed him a better Patron in Dr. Richard Neile then Biſhop of Durham, who took him for his domeſtic Chaplain; and in 1624 conferred upon him the tenth Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Durham [*A*], in which he was inſtalled on the 4th of December that ſame year (*g*). In the September following, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of the Eaſt-riding in the Church of York, vacant by the reſignation of Marmaduke Blakeſton, whoſe daughter he had married (*h*): and on the 20th of July 1626, he was collated by his patron Biſhop Neile to the rich Rectory of Branſpeth [*B*], in the Dioceſe of Durham (*i*). The ſame year, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*k*). About that time, having frequent meetings, at the Biſhop of Durham's Houſe in London, with Dr. William Laud then Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Francis White ſoon after Biſhop of Carliſle, Dr. Richard Montague, and other learned men, diſtinguiſhed by their zeal for the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England; he began to be obnoxious to the then Puritans, who looked upon all ſuch Divines as Popiſhly affected (*l*). This imputation of theirs on Mr. Coſin in particular, was ſufficiently authorized, as they imagined by his 'Collection of Private Devotions,' [*C*] publiſhed in 1627; wherein many things were thought too much favourable to Popery: but how wrong this imputation was, let his whole conduct teſtify. In 1628 he was concerned, with other members of the Church of Durham, in a proſecution againſt Peter Smart Prebendary there, for a ſeditious Sermon preached in that Cathedral [*D*]. About the ſame time, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity;

(*d*) Smith, p. 1, 2.

(*e*) Baſire, *ubi ſupra*.

(*f*) Biſhop Overall died May 7, 1619, having the year before been tranſlated to Norwich.

(*g*) Smith, and Baſire, *ubi ſupra*. See alſo Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; 4*to*. Lond. 1727, vol. i. p. 273.

(*h*) Willis, *ibid.* p. 100.

(*i*) Smith, and Baſire, as above.

(*k*) Smith, p. 4.

(*l*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *And, in* 1624, *conferred upon him the tenth prebend in the Cathedral Church of* Durham.] All the while he enjoyed it, which was about ſix and thirty years, he was very conſtant in his reſidences, both ordinary and extraordinary; during which he kept a laudable hoſpitality, according to the ſtatutes of that Church. So that Dr. Baſire teſtifies (1), that upon ſearch of the regiſter of that Cathedral, he could not find one diſpenſation for him in all the time he continued Prebendary.

(1) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 44, 45.

[*B*] *Was moreover collated by his patron, Biſhop* Neile, *to the rich Rectory of* Branſpeth.] The parochial Church of which he beautified in an extraordinary manner (2).

(2) See The Hiſt. of the Cathedral Church of Durham, by Sir William Dugdale, p. 81, at the end of his Hiſt. of St. Paul's, 2d edit. 1716, fol.

[*C*] *His Collection of Private Devotions.*] The title of it was, *A Collection of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of Prayer*. Dr. Smith informs us (3), that it was written at the command of King Charles I. who obſerving that his Queen's Proteſtant attendants were frequently reading in *the Hours of the Virgin Mary*, and other popiſh books of devotion, that were ſet, perhaps on purpoſe, about the royal apartments: leſt they ſhould thereby be tainted with ſuperſtition, and other falſe principles, he ordered a Manual of Prayers to be compoſed for their uſe, out of the holy Scriptures, and the ancient Liturgies, which was accordingly done, by Mr. Coſin. Others affirm (4), that it was written at the requeſt of the Counteſs of Denbigh, the Duke of Buckingham's ſiſter. This Lady being then ſomewhat unſettled in her religion, and warping towards Popery, theſe Devotions were drawn up to recommend the Church of England farther to her eſteem, and preſerve her in that communion. This book, though furniſhed with a great deal of good matter, was not altogether acceptable in the contexture; although the title-page ſets forth, that it was formed upon the model of a book of *private Prayers*, authorized by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1560 (5). To give the reader ſome part of it: 'After the Calendar, it begins with the 'Apoſtles Creed in twelve articles, the Lord's Prayer 'in ſeven petitions, the Ten Commandments, with 'the duties enjoined, and the ſins forbidden. Then 'follow the precepts of charity, the ſeven ſacraments, 'the three theological virtues, the three kinds of 'good works, the ſeven gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, the 'twelve fruits of the Holy Ghoſt, the ſpiritual and 'corporal works of mercy, the eight beatitudes, the 'ſeven deadly ſins, their oppoſite virtues, and the 'four laſt things. And, after ſome explanatory 'prefaces and introductions, were ſubjoined the 'forms of prayer for the firſt, third, ſixth, and ninth 'hours, and likewiſe for the *Veſpers* and *Compline*, 'formerly called the canonical hours.' Next to theſe 'was the litany, the ſeven penitential pſalms, prayers 'preparatory for receiving the Holy Euchariſt, prayers 'to be uſed in time of ſickneſs, and at the approach 'of death, &c.' Though this book was approved by Geo. Mountain, Biſhop of London, and licenſed with his own hand, yet it was ſomewhat ſurpriſing at firſt view; and ſome moderate perſons were ſhocked with it, as drawing too near the ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome: at leaſt they ſuſpected it as a preparation to further advances. The top of the frontiſpiece had the name of Jeſus, in three capital letters, I. H. S. Upon theſe there was a croſs, incircled with the ſun, ſupported by two Angels, with two devout women praying towards it. This book was ſeverely animadverted upon by Henry Burton, in his 'Examination of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of 'Prayer, &c.' and by W. Prynne, in his 'Brief Survey and Cenſure of Mr. *Cozens* cozenizing devotions.' *Ibid.* 1628.

(3) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 5, 6.

(4) Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 742.

(5) *Horarium Regia Authoritate Editum*. ann. 1560; and reprinted in 1573, *cum privilegio*, by Will. Seers.

Lond. 1628, 4*to*.

[*D*] *In* 1628 *he was concerned, with other members of the Church of* Durham, *in a proſecution againſt* Peter Smart, *&c.*] This Peter Smart, who had been School-maſter at Durham, was collated Dec. 30, 1609, to the ſixth Prebend in the Church of Durham, and removed July 6, 1614, to the fourth Prebend (6). He had alſo other preferments. Being to preach, July 7, 1628 (7), in the Cathedral Church of Durham, he took for his text Pſalm xxvi. 7. *I hate them that hold of ſuperſtitious vanities*. From which he took occaſion to make a moſt bitter invective againſt ſome of the Biſhops, charging them with no leſs than Popery and Idolatry. Among other virulent expreſſions he had theſe——p. 11. 'The Whore of Babylon's baſtardly 'brood, doting upon their mother's beauty, that 'painted harlot of the Church of Rome, have laboured 'to reſtore her all her robes and jewels again, eſpe-'cially her looking-glaſs the Maſs, in which ſhe may 'behold her bravery.——The Maſs coming in, brings 'with it an inundation of ceremonies, croſſes, and cru-'cifixes, chalices and images, copes and candleſticks, 'tapers and baſons, and a thouſand ſuch trinckets, 'which we have ſeen in this Church ſince the com-'munion-table was turned into an altar.——p. 26. I 'aſſure you the altar is an idol, a damnable idol as it 'is uſed. I ſay, they are whores and whoremongers, 'they commit ſpiritual fornication who bow their bo-'dies before that idol the altar.—&c.' For this ſermon he was queſtioned firſt at Durham, afterwards in the High-Commiſſioned-Court at London; whence he was removed, at his own deſire, to that at York, where refuſing, with great ſcorn, to recant, he was, for his obſtinacy, degraded, and by ſentence at Common

(6) Willis, as above, p. 266, 268.

(7) Dr. Naſon ſays, by miſtake, it was 1638, p. 518. But he was ſuſpended for his Sermon in 1631.

Divinity; and in 1634, February the 8th, was elected Maſter of Peter-Houſe, in the room of Dr. Matthew Wren, newly made Biſhop of Hereford. In that ſtation, he ſtrenuouſly applied himſelf to promote ſound Religion, and uſeful Learning (*m*). He ſerved the office of Vice-Chancellor for the Univerſity of Cambridge, in 1640. In the ſame year, King Charles I. to whom he was Chaplain, conferred upon him the Deanery of Peterborough; in which he was inſtalled November 7, 1640 (*n*). But this dignity he did not long enjoy, or rather he did not quietly enjoy it at all: ſince his troubles began three days after. For on the 10th of November, a petition from Peter Smart againſt him was read in the Houſe of Commons; wherein Smart complained of the Doctor's ſuperſtition, and innovations in the Church of Durham, and of his ſevere proſecution in the High-Commiſſion-Court (*o*). Whereupon, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, Dr. Coſin was ordered to be ſent for by the Serjeant at Arms, and a Committee appointed to prepare a charge againſt him (*p*). Soon after, he preſented a Petition to the Houſe, which, on the 28th following, was read, and referred to a Committe (*q*). On the 3d of December, the Serjeant had leave given him by the Commons, to take bail for Dr. Coſin; which was accordingly done, the 19th of January 1640-1, the Doctor himſelf being bound in two thouſand pounds, and his ſecurities in a thouſand pounds a-piece, for his appearance upon ſummons (*r*). Three days after, namely, January the 22d, he was, by a vote of the whole Houſe, ſequeſtered from his eccleſiaſtical Benefices; being the firſt Clergyman that was then uſed in that manner (*s*). On the 15th of March enſuing, the Commons ſent up one and twenty Articles of impeachment againſt him [*E*] to the Houſe of Lords (*); to which the

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 8, 9, 10.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 9, 11. and J. Le Neve's *Faſti*, edit. 1716, p. 241.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. P. iii. vol. i. edit. 1721, p. 41, 53; and Dr. Nalſon, &c. ed. 1682, vol. i. p. 518.

(*p*) Nalſon, *ibid.* p. 538.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 569.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 651, 728.

(*s*) Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, fol. Lond. 1714, P. ii. p. 58.

(*) Ruſhworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 188; and Nalſon, vol. i. p. 789, 790.

mon Law, ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed of his prebend and livings; whereupon he was ſupplied with 400 l. a year by ſubſcription from the Puritan party (8), which was more than all his preferments amounted to. As for Dr. Coſin, he was ſo far from being Mr. Smart's chief proſecutor (as he avers) that after he was queſtioned in the High Commiſſion at Durham, he never meddled in the matter, ſave that once he wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop of York, and the Commiſſioners, in his favour (9).——Mr. Smart's character is not repreſented to any great advantage. One author indeed (10) calls him a man 'of a grave aſpect, and 'reverend preſence.' But another, who knew him better (11), aſſures us, 'That he was an old man of 'moſt froward, fierce, and unpeaceable ſpirit, &c.' He had not preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, though Prebendary of it for ſeven years, 'till he preached that ſeditious ſermon for which he was queſtioned. And whilſt he held and enjoyed his preferment, and his health too, he ſeldom preached more than once or twice a year.

(8) Out of the peculiar contributions at London and elſewhere, gathered up for ſilenced Miniſters.

(9) This is Dr. Coſin's own account, as publiſhed in Dr. Heylyn's *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 258, &c. Compare it with that in Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. xi. p. 173.

(10) Fuller, *ibid.*

(11) Dr. Coſin, *ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] *The Commons ſent up one and twenty articles of impeachment againſt him.*] They were carried up by one Mr. Rouſe, who introduced them with the following ſpeech. 'My Lords, I am commanded by the 'Houſe of Commons, to preſent your Lordſhips a de-'claration and impeachment againſt Dr. Coſins, and 'others, upon the complaint of Mr. Peter Smart; 'which Mr. Smart was a *Proto-Martyr*, or firſt Con-'feſſor of note in the late days of perſecution. The 'whole matter is a tree, whereof the branches and 'fruit are manifeſt in the articles of this declaration.' ——Then follow theſe articles againſt Dr. Coſin. 1. That he was the firſt man that cauſed the Communion-table in the Church of Durham to be removed and ſet altar-ways, in the erecting and beautifying whereof, he (being then Treaſurer) expended two hundred pounds (12). 2. That he uſed to officiate at the weſt-ſide thereof, turning his back to the people. 3. That he uſed extraordinary bowing to it. 4. That he compelled others to do it, uſing violence to the perſons of them that refuſed ſo to do: for inſtance, once ſome omitting it, he comes out of his ſeat, down to the ſeat where they ſat, being gentlewomen, called them whores, and jades, and pagans, and the like unſeemly words, and rent ſome of their clothes. 5. That he converted divers prayers, in the Book of Common Prayers, into hymns, to be ſung in the choir, and played with the organ, contrary to the ancient cuſtom of that Church. 6. That whereas it had been formerly a cuſtom in that Church, at the end of every ſermon, to ſing a pſalm; this cuſtom, when Dr. Coſin came thither, was abrogated, and inſtead thereof, they ſung an anthem in the choir, there being no pſalm ſung either at the miniſter's going up into the pulpit, or at his coming down. 7. That the firſt Candlemas-day at night, that he had been in that Church, he cauſed three hundred wax-candles to be ſet up and lighted in the Church at once, in honour of our Lady, and placed threeſcore of them upon and about the altar. 8. That in this Church there were reliques of divers images, above which were remaining the ruins of two Seraphims, with the picture of Chriſt between them, erected in Queen Mary's time, in the time of Popery; all which, when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, were demoliſhed by virtue of a commiſſion by her to that intent granted, which ſo continued demoliſhed from that time, 'till Dr. Coſin came to that Church, who, being Treaſurer, cauſed the ſame to be repaired, and moſt glorioufly painted. 9. That all the time he was unmarried, he wore a cope of white ſattin, never officiating in any other, it being reſerved ſolely for him, no man excepting himſelf making uſe thereof, which, after marriage, he caſt off, and never after wore. 10. That there was a knife belonging to the Church, kept altogether in the veſtry, being put to none but holy uſes, as cutting the bread in the Sacrament, and the like; Dr. Coſin refuſing to cut the ſame with any other but that, thinking all others that were unconſecrated, polluted; but that, which he putting holineſs in, never termed but the conſecrated knife. 11. That in a ſermon preached in that Church, he did deliver certain words in diſgrace of the reformers of our Church; for inſtance, the words were theſe, 'The reformers of this Church, when they aboliſhed 'the Maſs, took away all good order, and, inſtead of 'a reformation, made it a deformation (13).' 12. That he ſeldom or never, in any of his ſermons, ſtiled the Miniſters of the word and Sacraments by any other name than Prieſts, nor the Communion-table by any other name than Altar. 13. That by his appointment there was a cope bought, the ſeller being a convicted Jeſuit, and afterwards employed in that Church, having upon it the picture of the inviſible and incomprehenſible Trinity. 14. That whereas it had been formerly a cuſtom in that Church, at five of the clock to have morning-prayers read, winter and ſummer: this cuſtom, when Dr. Coſin came thither, was abandoned; and inſtead thereof was uſed ſinging and playing on the organs, and ſome few prayers read, and this was called firſt-ſervice; which being ended, the people departed out of the Church, returning at nine o'clock, and having then morning-prayers read unto them, and this was called ſecond-ſervice; which innovation being miſliked, and complained of by Mr. Juſtice Hutton, was reformed. 15. That he framed a ſuperſtitious ceremony in lighting the tapers which were placed on the altars, which, for inſtance, was this: a company of boys that belonged to the Church, came in at the choir-door with torches in their hands lighted, bowing towards the altar at their firſt entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted their tapers: having done, they withdrew themſelves, bowing

(12) Mr. Fuller ſays, that it was a marble altar with Cherubins, which coſt 2000 *l.* with all the appurtenances thereof. See Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, p. 173.

(13) Dr. Nalſon informs us, that the Doctor's words were, 'That we muſt 'not think that 'when the Bi-'ſhops took a-'way the Maſs, 'they took away 'all religion.' Which he made out by producing his Sermon. Nalſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 792.

the Doctor put in his Anſwer upon oath; and ſo fully vindicated himſelf (*t*), during the five days the affair was depending before the Lords, that moſt of them acknowledged his innocence.

(*t*) Both by his own ſelf, and by the very witneſs that Smart and his ſon-in-law, produced againſt him. *Examen Hiſtoric.* p. 286.

ing ſo oft as before, not once turning their back-parts towards the altar, the organs all the time going. 16. That he counſelled ſome young Students of the Univerſity to be imitators and practiſers of his ſuperſtitious ceremonies, who, to ingratiate themſelves in his favour, did accordingly; and being afterwards reproved for the ſame, by ſome of their friends, confeſſed, that Dr. Coſin firſt induced them to that practice, and encouraged them therein. 17. That he uſed, upon communion-days, to make the ſign of the croſs with his finger, both upon the ſeats whereon they were to ſit, and the cuſhions to kneel upon, uſing ſome words when he ſo did. 18. That one ſabbath-day there was ſet up an unneceſſary company of tapers and lights in the Church, which Dr. Hunt, being then Dean, fearing they might give offence, being they were then unneceſſary, ſent his man to pull them down, who did ſo; but Dr. Coſin being thereat aggrieved, came to the fellow, and there miſcalled him in a moſt uncivil manner, and began to beat him in the public view of the congregation, to the great diſturbance of the ſame. 19. That the Dean and Chapter of that Church, whereof Dr. Coſin was one, with many others, being invited to dinner in the town of Durham, Dr. Coſin then and there ſpake words derogating from the King's prerogative: the words were theſe, 'The King hath no more power over 'the Church than the boy that rubs my horſe-heels.' 20. That there being many of the Canons of the ſaid Church preſent at that time, amongſt the reſt there was one took more notice of his words than the reſt, and acquainted one of his Fellow-Canons with them when he came home. This Canon being a friend to Dr. Coſin, told the Doctor that ſuch a man exclaimed of him, and charged him with words that he ſhould ſpeak at ſuch a time: the Doctor preſently ſends for him, and when he came into the houſe the Doctor deſires him to follow him into an inner room, who did ſo; but ſo ſoon as he came in, the Doctor ſhuts the door, and ſets both his hands upon him, calling him rogue and raſcal, and many other names, inſomuch that the man, fearing he would do him a miſchief, cried out; Mrs. Coſin coming in, endeavoured to appeaſe her huſband, and, holding his hands, the other ran away. 21. That the Doctor did ſeek many unjuſt ways to enſnare this man, that ſo he might take a juſt occaſion to put him out of his place; but none of them taking effect, he put him out by violence, having no other reaſon why he did ſo, but becauſe he had no good voice, when he had ſerved the place two years before Dr. Coſin came thither: for inſtance of which unjuſt ways to enſnare this man, Dr. Coſin hired a man and woman to pretend a deſire of matrimony, and to offer a ſum of money to this petty Canon to contract matrimony between them in a private chamber, ſo thereupon to take advantage of his revenge upon him. This plot being confeſſed by the parties, to be firſt laid by Dr. Coſin, and that they were his inſtruments (14).——Beſides the ſeveral particulars mentioned in theſe articles, Mr. Fuller informs us, that Dr. Coſin was accuſed of having bought a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man; another with a crucifix, and the image of Chriſt, with a red beard, and a blue cap. And to have made an anthem to be ſung, of the three Kings of Collen, by the names of Gaſper, Balthazar, and Melchior (15).

(14) Nalſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 789, 790; and the Diurnall Occurrences, or daily Proceedings of Parliament in 1640; and 1641, Lond. 1641, 4*to.* p. 52, *&c.*

(15) Fuller, Ch. Hiſt. *ubi ſupra.*

To theſe articles Dr. Coſin put in his anſwer, upon oath, before the Houſe of Lords, as is above related. But ſeeing afterwards the ſubſtance of them publiſhed in Mr. Fuller's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (16), he wrote from Paris a letter to Mr. Warren, and Dr. Reves, in his own vindication, dated April 6, 1658, wherein he declares, as he had done before the Lords, 1. That the Communion-table in the Church of Durham (which in the Bill of Complaint and Mr. Fuller's Hiſtory is ſaid to be the marble-altar, with Cherubims) was not ſet up by him [Dr. Coſin], but by the Dean and Chapter, (whereof Mr. Smart himſelf was one) many years before Mr. Coſin became Prebendary of that Church, or ever ſaw the country. 2. That by the public accounts which are there regiſtered, it did not appear to have coſt above the tenth part of what is pretended, appurtenances and all (17). 3. That likewiſe the copes uſed in that Church were brought in thither long before his [Dr. Coſin's] time, and when Mr. Smart, the complainant, was Prebendary there, who alſo allowed his part (as he [Dr. Coſins] was ready to prove by the Act-book) of the money that they coſt, for they coſt but little. 4. That as he never approved the picture of the Trinity, or the image of God the Father, in the figure of an old man, or otherwiſe to be made or placed any where at all; ſo he was well aſſured that there were none ſuch (nor to his knowledge or hearſay ever had been) put upon any cope that was uſed there. One there was that had the ſtory of the Paſſion embroidered upon it, but the cope that he uſed to wear, when at any time he attended the Communion-ſervice, was of plain white ſattin only, without any embroidery upon it at all. 5. That what the Bill of Complaint, called the image of Chriſt, with a blue cap, and a golden beard, (Mr. Fuller's Hiſtory ſays it was red, and that it was ſet upon one of the copes) was nothing elſe but the top of Biſhop Hatfield's tomb (ſet up in the Church, under a ſide-arch there, two hundred years before Dr. Coſin was born) being a little portraiture, not appearing to be above ten inches long, and hardly diſcernible to the eye what figure it is, for it ſtands thirty foot from the ground. 6. That by the local ſtatutes of that Church, (whereunto Mr. Smart was ſworn, as well as Dr. Coſin) the treaſurer was to give order, that proviſion ſhould every year be made of a ſufficient number of wax-lights for the ſervice of the Choir, during all the winter-time; which ſtatute he [Dr. Coſin] obſerved when he was choſen into that office, and had order from the Dean and Chapter, by capitular act, to do it: yet upon the Communion-table they that uſed to light the candles, never ſet more than *two fair candles, with a few ſmall ſizes* near to them, which they put there of purpoſe, that the people all about might have the better uſe of them for ſinging the pſalms, and reading the leſſons out of the Bibles: but *two hundred* was a greater number than they uſed all the Church over, either upon Candlemaſs-night, or any other.——7. That he never forbad (nor any body elſe that he knew) the ſinging of the (metre) pſalms in the Church, which he uſed to ſing daily there himſelf, with other company, at morning-prayer. But upon ſundays and holydays, in the choir, before the ſermon, the Creed was ſung, (and that plainly for every one to underſtand) as it is appointed in the Communion-book, and after the ſermon, was ſung a part of a pſalm, or ſome other anthem taken out of the ſcripture, and firſt ſignified to the people where they might find it. 8. That ſo far was he from making any anthem to be ſung of the three Kings of Colen, as that he made it, when he firſt ſaw it, to be torn in pieces, and he himſelf cut it out of the old ſong books belonging to the Choriſter's School, with a pen-knife that lay by, at his very firſt coming to that College. But he was ſure that no ſuch anthem had been ſung in the Choir during all his time of attendance there, nor (for ought that any of the eldeſt perſons of the Church and town could tell, or ever heard to the contrary,) for fifty or threeſcore years before, or more. 9. That there was indeed an ordinary knife, provided and laid ready among other things belonging to the adminiſtration of the Communion, for the cutting of the bread, and divers other uſes in the Church-veſtry. ——But that it was ever *conſecrated*, or ſo called, otherwiſe than as Mr. Smart, and ſome of his followers had, for their pleaſure, put that appellation upon it; he [Dr. Coſin] never heard, nor believed any body elſe had, that lived at Durham (18). The reſt of the articles mentioned above, Mr. Smart could not prove, and Dr. Coſin gave a very ſatisfactory anſwer to them, remaining upon the Rolls of Parliament. But as Mr. Fuller did not ſpecify them all, the Doctor did not think it neceſſary to repeat in this letter his anſwer to each

(16) B.xi.p.173.

(17) By this it ſeems, that the ſum mentioned in the original articles was 2000*l.* though in the printed ones there is only 200*l.* See above, note (12).

(18) This Letter is printed in Dr. Heylyn's *Examen Hiſtoricum, &c.* Appendix, p. 283, *&c.* Dr. Fuller afterwards aſked Dr. Coſin's pardon for what he had ſaid as above, relating to him. See Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

innocence. Mr. Glover, one of Smart's own Counſel, told him openly at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, 'That he was aſhamed of him, and could not in conſcience plead 'for him any longer.' Whereupon the Lords diſmiſſed the Doctor, upon his putting in bail for his appearance; but they never ſent for him again (*u*). About the ſame time, upon a motion made in the Houſe of Commons, 'that he had enticed a young Scholar to 'Popery,' he was committed to the Serjeant at Arms, to attend daily till the Houſe ſhould call him to a hearing. After fifty days impriſonment, and charges of twenty ſhillings a day, he came at length to a hearing; when he made it appear, That being Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, he had moſt ſeverely puniſhed that young Scholar (whom, upon examination, he had found guilty) by making him recant, and expelling him the Univerſity: and to this ſome of the members bore witneſs. However, the Doctor had no manner of reparation made him for his great trouble and expences (*w*). In 1642, he was concerned, with others, in ſending the Plate of Cambridge Univerſity to King Charles I. then at York; for which a furious ſtorm fell upon ſeveral members of that Univerſity, and particularly upon Dr. Coſin; who having, ſome time before (*x*), been voted unworthy to be a Head or Governor in either of the Univerſities, or to hold or enjoy any eccleſiaſtical promotion; was ejected from his Maſterſhip by a warrant from the Earl of Mancheſter, dated March 13, 1642-3. So that, as he was the firſt that was ſequeſtred, ſo was he alſo the very firſt of his Univerſity, who was turned out (*y*). Thus being deprived of all his preferments, and ſtill fearing the worſt that might follow, he thought fit to leave the kingdom, and to withdraw to Paris, in the year 1643. Being ſafely arrived to that place, he did, according to King Charles's order and direction, take under his care, and officiate as Chaplain to, ſuch of Queen Henrietta Maria's houſhold as were Proteſtants. With them, and other Engliſh exiles that were daily reſorting to Paris, he formed a congregation, that aſſembled at firſt in a private houſe, and afterwards in the Chapel of Sir Richard Brown, Embaſſador from the Court of England to that of France. Not long after, he had lodgings aſſigned him in the Louvre, with a ſmall penſion, on account of the relation he bore to Queen Henrietta (*z*). During his reſidence in this place, he ſhowed, how falſe and groundleſs was the imputation that had been thrown upon him, 'of his being Popiſhly affected.' For, notwithſtanding his great ſtraights, he remained ſteady and unmoved in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion. He kept up the Engliſh Church-Diſcipline, and the form of worſhip appointed by the Common Prayer: he reclaimed ſome that were quite gone over to Popery, and confirmed ſeveral more in the Proteſtant Profeſſion, who by their converſe with Romaniſts, were become wavering, and inclinable to entertain favorable opinions of the Popiſh Tenets (*a*). He alſo had ſeveral Controverſies and Diſputes with divers Jeſuits and Romiſh Prieſts; particularly once with the Prior of the Engliſh Benedictins at Paris [*F*]; in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much learning and ſound reaſoning, that he utterly defeated the ſuſpicions of his enemies, and much exceeded the very expectations of his friends (*b*). There were made him very great offers of Preferment [*G*], if he would have been tempted thereby, to alter his Religion; but he ſtood proof againſt them all (*c*). He compoſed, during his exile, ſeveral learned works, chiefly againſt the Roman Catholics, of which we ſhall give an account below. Though he was extremely zealous for the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, yet he kept a friendly intercourſe and correſpondence with the Proteſtant Miniſters at Charenton [*H*]; who, on their parts, expreſſed the utmoſt

(*u*) Walker, *ubi ſupra*, p. 593 and Smith, p. 10, 11; and Heylyn's *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 286.

(*w*) *Perſecutio Undecima*, p. 23. Nalſon, as above, p. 568.

(*x*) January 22, 1640—41. Nalſon, as above, p. 734.

(*y*) Walker, *ubi ſupra*, p. 152.

(*z*) Smith, p. 12, 13, 14.

(*a*) See *Examen Hiſtoricum*, *ut ſupra*, p. 293.

(*b*) Fuller, Ch. Hiſt. B. xi. p. 173.

(*c*) Walker, *ubi ſupra*, p. 60.

each of them. Upon the whole, therefore, as we cannot, on the one hand, enough wonder at the weakneſs of Dr. Coſin, for inventing and preſſing the obſervance of ſuch ceremonies and inſignificant things, as ſome of thoſe above-mentioned: ſo, on the other hand, who can be ſufficiently amazed at the confidence of P. Smart, in charging the Doctor with things which he could ſo eaſily diſprove?

[*F*] *Particularly once with the Prior of the* Engliſh *Benedictins at* Paris.] The Prior's name was ——— Robinſon. And the controverſy between him and Dr. Coſin was managed both by word and writing. The argument was, concerning *the validity of the ordination of our Prieſts*, &c. *in the Church of* England. And the Doctor had the better ſo far, that he could never get from the Prior any reply to his laſt anſwer. This conference was undertaken to fix a perſon of honour then wavering about that point. The ſum of the conference was written by Dr. Coſin to Dr. Morley, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, in two letters, bearing date June 11, and July 11, 1645 (19).

(19) Baſire, *ubi ſupra*, p. 59, 60.

[*G*] *There were made him very great offers of preferment.*] One author ſpeaks upon this point to the following purpoſe (20). Dr. Coſin 'being by the 'violence of the perſecution which was raiſed againſt 'the epiſcopal party, forced to quit his native coun-'try, and ſeek a retreat among the Papiſts in France, 'he continued a moſt unſhaken Proteſtant, and bold 'propugnator of the Reformed Religion, even to the 'hazard of his life; and when the neceſſitous condi-'tion to which he was reduced, and all the advanta-'geous offers imaginable were made him to embrace 'the Roman Communion, yet were not thoſe temp-'tations capable of removing him from his founda-'tion, inſomuch, that deſpairing of ever obliging him 'to change his religion, the Papiſts were ſo inraged 'at him, as, I have heard it from his own mouth, 'frequently to threaten him with aſſaſſination, and 'that he ſhould not eſcape piſtol or ponyard; and in 'revenge, which I have heard him aver was the moſt 'ſenſible affliction that ever befel him in his whole 'life, they inveigled his only ſon from him to become 'a Papiſt (21).' We may add this other teſtimony of Dr. Coſin's attachment to the Reformed Religion. —'Whilſt he remained in France, he was the Atlas 'of the Proteſtant Religion, ſupporting the ſame with 'his piety and learning, confirming the wavering 'therein, yea, daily adding proſelytes (not of the 'meaneſt rank) thereunto (22).'

(20) Nalſon, as above, p. 519.

(21) He was educated in grammar learning in a Jeſuit's ſchool, as were many others of our youths during the Civil War, which corrupted him. Smith, p. 13.

(22) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

[*H*] *He kept a friendly intercourſe and correſpondence with the Proteſtant Miniſters at* Charenton.] One author indeed tells us (23), that 'after getting over 'into France, he neither joined with the Church of 'French Proteſtants, at Charenton, nigh Paris, nor 'with the Papiſts,——but confined himſelf to the 'Church of old Engliſh Proteſtants therein.' But Dr. Coſin,

(23) Fuller, *ubi ſupra*.

utmoſt regard for him; and permitted him ſometimes to officiate in their congregations [*I*], according to the rites preſcribed by the book of Common-prayer (*d*). Thus having, during his ſeventeen years exile in France, behaved 'diſcreetly and prudently' even in the judgment of his enemies (*e*); he returned to his native country at the Reſtoration of King Charles II. and took poſſeſſion again of his preferments and dignities. About the end of July 1660, he came to his Deanery at Peterborough, and was the firſt that read the Common-prayer in that Cathedral, after the late times of confuſion (*f*). But here he was not ſuffered to reſt; for the King deſigned, a very little while after, to make him Dean of Durham. But reflecting on his ſufferings, and upon his conſtant attendance and ſervices beyond the ſeas, he nominated him Biſhop of that rich See (*g*). Accordingly, he was conſecrated on the 2d of December 1660 in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*h*). As ſoon as he could go down into his Dioceſe, he ſet about reforming many Abuſes that had crept in there during the late Anarchy; and by his generous and hoſpitable temper, accompanied with a kind and courteous deportment, he gained an univerſal reſpect and eſteem (*i*). But he chiefly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his very great munificence, and charity, and by a public ſpirit. For, conſidering himſelf principally as ſteward of the large revenues belonging to his See, he laid out a great ſhare of them, in repairing or rebuilding the ſeveral edifices belonging to the Biſhopric of Durham, which had either been demoliſhed, or neglected, during the civil wars. For inſtance, he repaired the caſtle at Biſhop's Aukland [*K*]; and that at Durham, which he enlarged with ſome additional buildings: and repaired the Biſhop's houſe at Darlington, then very ruinous. He alſo enriched his new Chapel at Aukland, and that in the Caſtle of Durham, with ſeveral pieces of gilt plate, books, and other coſtly ornaments, to remain to his ſucceſſors in the Biſhopric for ever: the charge of all which buildings, repairs, ornaments, &c. amounted to no leſs than twenty ſix thouſand pounds (*k*). He likewiſe built and endowed two Hoſpitals; the one at Durham for eight poor people, the other at Aukland for four; the annual revenue of the firſt being ſeventy pounds, and of the other thirty pounds: and near his Hoſpital at Durham he rebuilt the School-Houſes, to the charge of three hundred pounds. He alſo built a Library near the Caſtle of Durham; the charge whereof, and pictures wherewith he adorned it, amounted to eight hundred pounds; and gave books thereto, to the value of two thouſand pounds; as alſo an annual penſion of twenty marks for ever to a Library-keeper. The College of diſſolved Prebends at Aukland, purchaſed by Sir Arthur Haſelrigg, and by him forfeited to the King, which King Charles II. gave to Biſhop Coſin, in fee, he gave to his ſucceſſors, Biſhops of Durham for ever; the value thereof being three hundred and twenty pounds. He rebuilt the Eaſt end of the Chapel at Peterhouſe in Cambridge, which coſt three hundred and twenty pounds; and gave in books to the Library of that College, a thouſand pounds. He founded eight Scholarſhips in the ſame Univerſity, namely five in Peter-houſe, of ten pounds a year, each; and three in Gonvill and Caius College of twenty nobles a-piece *per Annum*; both which, together with a proviſion of eight pounds yearly, to the common cheſt of theſe two Colleges reſpectively, amounted to two thouſand five hundred pounds. He likewiſe made an augmentation of ſixteen pounds a year to the vicarage of St. Andrews at Aukland (*l*). The reſt of his numerous Benefactions we ſhall give an account of in the note [*L*]. In a word, this generous Biſhop, during the eleven years

(*d*) Smith, *ubi ſupra*, p. 19, 20. *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 291, 292.

(*e*) See D. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, vol. ii. ed. 1733, p. 388. Mr. Neal adds, that the Doctor was 'ſoftened in 'his principles 'by age and ſufferings.'

(*f*) See Mr. Simpſon Gunton's Hiſt. of Peterburgh, Supplement, p. 39.

(*g*) Baſire, p. 49.

(*h*) Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, &c. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1728, fol. p. 323. Dr. Sandcroft preached the Conſecration Sermon. Vid. Smith, p. 21.

(*i*) Smith, p. 21, 22, 23. In 1661, he was one of the Commiſſioners at the Savoy Conference, where he yielded to ſome moderating conceſſions. See Life of R. Baxter, fol. l. i. Part ii. p. 305.

(*k*) Dr. Smith ſays, it was only near ſixteen thouſand pounds. *Vita, ut ſupra*, p. 24, 25.

(*l*) Smith, *ubi ſupra*, p. 25.

Coſin, in oppoſition to the former part of that aſſertion, declared to all the world, that he never refuſed to join with the Proteſtants there, or any where elſe, in all things wherein they joined with the Church of England (24). And that he was conſtant in the ſame opinion, appears by a letter of his, dated from Paris, Feb. 7, 1650, to one Mr. Cordel, then at Blois, who ſeemed ſhy to communicate with the Proteſtants there, upon the ſcruple of their inorderly ordination: in which letter he has this paſſage,—'To ſpeak my mind 'freely to you, I would not wiſh any of ours abſolutely 'to refuſe communicating in theyre Church, or de-'termine it to be unlawful, for fear of a greater 'ſcandal that may thereupon ariſe, than we can tell 'how to anſwer or excuſe—(25).'

(24) In his Letter, inſerted in Heylyn's *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 283, &c.

(25) See Baſire, p. 58, 59; and note [*P*] No. 2.

[*I*] *And permitted him ſometimes to officiate in their congregations.*] Where he baptized, married, and had even ſome perſons ordained Prieſts and Deacons by Engliſh Biſhops, according to the ſeveral forms in the book of Common Prayer. With their conſent likewiſe he did, in the year 1645, 'ſolemnly, in his 'prieſtly habit, with his ſurplice, and with the office 'of burial uſed in the Church of England, inter, at 'Charenton, the body of Sir William Carnaby, Knt. 'not without the troubleſome contradiction aud 'contention of the Romiſh Curate of that pariſh (26).'

(26) Baſire, p. 58; and Smith, p. 19. See particularly *Examen Hiſtoricum*, p. 291, 292.

[*K*] *He repaired the caſtle at* Biſhop's Aukland.] This (the chief country-ſeat of the Biſhops of Durham,) was, upon the ſeizure of the Biſhop's land, beſtowed upon Sir Arthur Haſelrigg; who deſigning to make it his principal ſeat, and not liking the old-faſhioned building, reſolved to erect a new and beautiful fabric, all of one pile, according to the moſt elegant faſhion of thoſe times. To fit himſelf therefore with materials for this his new houſe, he pulled down a moſt magnificent and large chapel, built by Anthony Bek, Biſhop of Durham, in the time of King Edward I. with the ſtone whereof, and an addition of what was deficient, he erected his new fabrick in a large court, on the eaſt-ſide of the caſtle. But Biſhop Coſin, ſoon after his conſecration, taking notice that the greateſt part of the materials, uſed in that building, were taken from the above-mentioned conſecrated chapel, he not only refuſed to make uſe of it for his habitation, though it was commodiouſly contrived, and nobly built, but took it wholly down, and with the ſtone thereof built another beautiful chapel on the north ſide of that great court; and, under the middle iſle thereof, cauſed a convenient vault to be made for his own ſepulture (27).

(27) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 82.

[*L*] *The reſt of his numerous benefactions*, &c.] They were as follows. He gave to the Cathedral at Durham a fair carved Lectern, and Litany-deſk, with a large ſcalloped ſilver patten, gilt, for the uſe of the communicants there, which coſt *forty-five pounds*.—Upon the new-building of the Biſhop's Court, Exchequer, and Chancery, and towards the erecting of two Seſſions-houſes at Durham, he gave *a thouſand pounds*.

years he ſate in the See of Durham, is ſaid to have ſpent above two thouſand pounds a year, in pious and charitable uſes (*m*). For the two laſt years of his life he enjoyed but a very indifferent ſtate of Health, being very much afflicted with the ſtone. At length the *roaring pains* of that diſtemper, as he uſed to call them, together with a pectoral Dropſy, put an and to his moſt valuable life (*n*), at his houſe in Pall-Mall, Weſtminſter, on the 15th of January 1671-2, when he was ſeventy-ſeven years, one month, and ſixteeen days old (*o*). In his Will, dated December 11, 1671, he made a large and open declaration of his Faith [*M*]. About the year 1625, he married Frances daughter of Marmaduke Blakeſton, M. A. (*p*) by whom he had a ſon, whom he diſinherited on account of his embracing Popery [*N*]; and four daughters, one married to Sir ——— Burton, Bart. another to Sir ——— Burton, Bart. and the youngeſt to Dr. Denys Granville, brother to the Earl of Bath, and afterwards Dean of Durham (*q*). As for the Biſhop's body, it was for ſome time depoſited in a vault in London; and in April, 1672, conveyed to Biſhop's Aukland in the dioceſe of Durham; where on the 29th of that month, it was buried in the Chapel belonging to the Palace, under a tomb of black marble, with an inſcription [*O*] prepared by the Biſhop in his life-time (*r*). We ſhall give an account of his works in the note [*P*]. As to his perſonal qualifications; the Biſhop was tall and

(*m*) Baſire, *ubi ſupra*, p. 79, 80.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 86, 87.

(*o*) Smith, *ubi ſupra*, p. 27, 28.

(*p*) Archdeacon of the Eaſt Riding, and Prebendary of York and Durham, &c. See Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 100, 180, 269; and Baſire, as above, p 39.

(*q*) Smith, p. 26; and from private information.

(*r*) Smith, p. 28. Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 251. The Burial Service was read by Guy Carleton, Biſhop of Briſtol and Prebendary of Durham; and Dr. If. Baſire preached the funeral Sermon. Smith, *ibid.*

pounds.——Moreover, he gave towards the redemption of Chriſtian captives, at Algiers, *five hundred pounds.*——Towards the relief of the diſtreſſed loyal party in England, *eight hundred pounds.*——For repairing the banks in Howdenſhire, *a hundred marks.*——Towards the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, *fifty pounds.* By *his Will* he bequeathed to the poor of his hoſpitals at Durham and Aukland, to be diſtributed at his funeral, *ſix pounds.*—To the poor people of the country, coming to his funeral, *twenty pounds.*—To poor priſoners detained for debt, in the goals of Durham, York, Peterborough, Cambridge, and Norwich, *fifty pounds.*—To the poor people within the precincts of the Cathedral at Norwich, and within the pariſh of St. Andrew's there, in which he was born and educated in his minority, *twenty pounds.*—To the poor of Durham, Aukland, Darlington, Stockton, Gateſhead, and Branſpeth, (all in the Biſhoprick of Durham) *thirty pounds.*—To the poor in the pariſhes of Cheſter in the Street, Houghton le Spring, North-Allerton, Creike, and Howden, (all lordſhips belonging to the Biſhops of Durham) *forty pounds.*—Towards the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, when it ſhould be raiſed five yards from the ground, *a hundred pounds.*—To the Cathedral of Norwich, whereof the one half to be beſtowed on a marble-tablet, with an inſcription, in memory of Dr. John Overall, ſome-time Biſhop there, (whoſe Chaplain he had been) the reſt for providing ſome uſeful ornaments for the Altar, *forty pounds.*—Towards the re-edifying of the north and ſouth-ſides of the College-chapel at Peterhouſe, in Cambridge, ſuitable to the eaſt and weſt ends, already by him perfected, *two hundred pounds.*—Towards the new building of a Chapel at Emanuel-College, in Cambridge, *fifty pounds.*—To the children of Mr. John Heyward, late Prebendary of Litchfield, as a teſtimony of his gratitude to their deceaſed father, who, in his Lordſhip's younger years, placed him with his uncle, Biſhop Overall, *twenty pounds* a-piece.—To the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, to be employed for the uſe of the poor in that town, *a hundred pounds.*—To the poor of Durham, Branſpeth, and Biſhop's Aukland, to be diſtributed as his two daughters (the Lady Gerard, and the Lady Burton) ſhould think beſt, *a hundred pounds.*—To ſome of his domeſtick ſervants he gave *a hundred marks*, to ſome *fifty pounds*, and to the reſt half a year's wages, over and above their laſt quarter's pay (28).

(28) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 83, 84, 85; and Smith, p. 25, 26, 27.

[*M*] *In his Will——he made a large and open declaration of his Faith.*] Wherein, after repeating the ſubſtance of the Apoſtles and Nicene Creeds, he condemns and rejects whatſoever hereſies or ſchiſms, the ancient catholic and univerſal Church of Chriſt, with an unanimous conſent, had rejected and condemned; together with all the modern fautors of the ſame hereſies; ſectaries, and phanatics, who, being carried on with an evil ſpirit, do falſely give out, they are inſpired of God. As the Anabaptiſts, new Independents, and Preſbyterians of our country, a kind of men hurried away with the ſpirit of malice, diſobedience, and ſedition.——'Moreover, (adds he) I do profeſs, 'with holy aſſeveration, and from my very heart, that 'I am now, and ever have been from my youth, al-

(27) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 82.

'together free and averſe from the corruptions and 'impertinent new-fangled, or *papiſtical*, ſuperſtitions 'and doctrines,—long ſince introduced, contrary to 'the Holy Scripture, and the rules and cuſtoms of the 'ancient Fathers. But in what part of the world ſo-'ever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of 'Chriſt, and profeſſing the true Catholic Faith and 'Religion, worſhipping and calling upon God the 'Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, with one 'heart and voice, if I be now hindered actually to 'join with them, either by diſtance of countries, or 'variance amongſt men, or by any hindrance what-'ſoever; yet always in my mind and affection I join 'and unite with them: which I deſire to be chiefly 'underſtood of Proteſtants, and the beſt Reformed 'Churches, &c.' This part of his Will was written in Latin, and the latter part, containing his benefactions, in Engliſh (29).

(29) See Baſire, p. 111, &c. Smith, p. 55, &c.

[*N*] *He had a ſon, whom he diſinherited on account of his embracing Popery.*] See above, note [*G*] of this article. He was prevailed upon, not only to embrace Popery, but alſo to take Religious Orders in the Church of Rome; and though Dr. Coſin uſed all the ways imaginable, and even the authority of the French King, which, by his intereſt, he had procured, to regain him out of their power, and from their perſuaſion, yet all proved ineffectual. Whereupon he diſinherited him, allowing him only an annuity of one hundred pounds (30). He pretended to turn again, but relapſed before the Biſhop's deceaſe.

(30) Nalſon, as above, p. 519; and Smith, p. 13, 26.

[*O*] *With an inſcription.*] Which runs thus.

In non morituram memoriam.
JOHANNIS COSIN
Epiſcopi Dunelmenſis,
Qui hoc Sacellum conſtruxit,
Ornavit, & Deo conſecravit
Ann. M,DC,LXV.
In Feſto S. Petri.
Obiit XV *die Menſis Januarii*
Anno Domini, MDCLXXI.
Et hic ſepultus eſt, expectans
Felicem corporis ſui Reſurrectionem,
Ac vitam in coelis æternam.
Requieſcat in pace.

Round a marble-ſtone on the floor, are alſo theſe words engraved.

Beati mortui
Qui moriuntur in Domino,
Requieſcunt enim
A laboribus ſuis (31).

(31) Smith, *ubi ſupra*, p. 28; and J. le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana*, from 1650 to 1679, p. 171.

i. e. To the never-dying memory of John Coſin, Biſhop of Durham, who built and adorned this Chapel, and conſecrated it to God in 1665, June 29. He died the 15th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1671, and is buried here, waiting for the happy reſurrection of his body, and eternal life in heaven. Let him reſt in peace. Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours.

[*P*] *We ſhall give an account of his works*, &c.] erect,

erect, and had a grave and comely preſence. He had a ſound underſtanding, well improved with all kinds of uſeful learning. And, as for his hoſpitality, generoſity, and charity,

Beſides his *Collection of Private Devotions*, mentioned above, he publiſhed, 'A Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the 'Canon of the Holy Scripture: or, The certain and 'indubitable Books thereof, as they are received in 'the Church of England.' London, 1657, 4*to*. reprinted in 1672. This hiſtory is deduced from the time of the Jewiſh Church, to the year 1546, that is, the time when the Council of Trent corrupted, and made unwarrantable additions to, the ancient Canon of the Holy Scriptures. Conſequently it was directed againſt the Papiſts, and was written by the author during his exile at Paris. He dedicated it to Dr. M. Wren, Biſhop of Ely, then a priſoner in the Tower. Dr. P. Gunning had the care of the edition (32). ——Since the Biſhop's deceaſe the following books and tracts of his have been publiſhed. I. 'A Letter 'to Dr. Collins, concerning the Sabbath,' dated from Peterhouſe, Jan. 24, 1635 (33). In which, ſpeaking firſt of the morality of the ſabbath, he affirms, that the keeping of that particular day was not moral, neither by *nature* binding all men, nor by *precept* binding any other men but the Jews, nor them farther than Chriſt's time. But then, adds he, whether one day of ſeven, at leaſt, do not ſtill remain immutably to be kept by *Us* Chriſtians, that have God's will and example before, and by virtue of the rules of reaſon and religion, is the queſtion? And for this he decides in the affirmative. Then he proves, that the keeping of our Sunday is immutable, as being grounded upon divine inſtitution, and Apoſtolical Tradition, which he confirms by ſeveral inſtances. Next he ſhews, that the Schoolmen were the firſt who began to diſpute, or deny, this day to be of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, on purpoſe to ſet up the Pope's power, to whom, they ſaid, it belongeth, either to change or abrogate the day. Towards the end, he lays down theſe three poſitions againſt the Puritans: 1. 'The 'obſervation of the Sunday in every week is not 'commanded us by the fourth commandment, as 'they ſay it is. 2. Nor is our Sunday to be obſerved 'according to the rule of the fourth commandment, 'as they ſay it is. 3. Nor hath it the qualities and 'conditions of the Sabbath annext to it, as they ſay 'it hath.' II. There is publiſhed, A Letter from 'our author to Mr. Cordel, dated Paris, Feb. 7, '1650.' See above note [*H*]. It is printed at the end of a pamphlet, intitled, 'The Judgment of the 'Church of England, in the caſe of Lay-baptiſm, 'and of Diſſenters baptiſm (34).' III. *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica, priſca, caſta, defoecata: omnibus Chriſtianis Monarchis, Principibus, Ordinibus, oſtenſa. Anno* MDCLII. *i. e.* A Short Scheme of the ancient and pure doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England (35). Written at the requeſt of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon (36). IV. *Hiſtoria Tranſubſtantationis Papalis. Cui præmittitur, atque opponitur, tum S. Scripturæ, tum Veterum Patrum, & Reformatarum Eccleſiarum Doctrina Catholica, de Sacris Symbolis, & præſentiâ Chriſti in Sacramento Euchariſtiæ. i. e.* The Hiſtory of Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation, &c. written by the author at Paris, for the uſe of ſome of his countrymen, who were frequently attacked upon that point by the Papiſts. It was publiſhed by Dr. Durrell, at London, 1675, 8*vo*. and tranſlated into Engliſh in 1676, by Luke de Beaulieu, 8*vo* (37). There is a *Second Part* ſtill in manuſcript (38). V. 'The differences in the chief points of 'religion, between the Roman Catholics and us of 'the Church of England; together with the agree-'ments which we, for our parts, profeſs, and are 'ready to embrace, if they, for theirs, were as ready 'to accord with us in the ſame. Written to the 'Counteſs of Peterborough (39).' VI. 'Notes on 'the Book of Common-Prayer.' Publiſhed by Dr. William Nicholls, at the end of his Comment on the Book of Common-Prayer, Lond. 1710, *fol.* VII. 'Account of a Conference in Paris, between Cyril, 'Archbiſhop of Trapezond, and Dr. John Coſin.' Printed in the ſame book.——The following pieces were alſo written by Biſhop Coſin, but never printed, 1. 'An Anſwer to a Popiſh Pamphlet, pretending, 'that St. Cyprian was a Papiſt. 2. An Anſwer to 'four queries of a Roman Catholic, about the Proteſtant Religion.' 3. 'An Anſwer to a paper deli-'vered by a Popiſh Biſhop to the Lord Inchequin.' 4. '*Annales Eccleſiaſtici*, imperfect.' 5. 'An Anſwer 'to Father Robinſon's Papers, concerning the vali-'dity of the Ordinations of the Church of England.' See above, note [*F*]. 6. '*Hiſtoria Conciliorum*, im-'perfect.' 7. 'Againſt the forſakers of the Church 'of England, and their ſeducers in this time of her 'tryal.' 8. '*Chronologia Sacra*, imperfect.' 9. 'A 'Treatiſe concerning the abuſe of auricular confeſ-'ſion in the Church of Rome (40).' By all which learned works, as one obſerves (41), and his abilities, quick apprehenſion, ſolid judgment, variety of reading, &c. manifeſted therein; he hath perpetuated his name to poſterity, and ſufficiently confuted, at the ſame time, the calumnies induſtriouſly ſpread againſt him, of his being a Papiſt, or Popiſhly inclined (42); which brought on him a ſevere perſecution, followed with the plunder of all his goods, the ſequeſtration of his whole eſtate, and a ſeventeen years exile. M.

*** While the integrity, the learning, and, above all, the munificence of this eminent Prelate entitle his name to reſpect, it muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged, that he was of a ſuperſtitious turn of mind. Of this ſufficient proofs may be collected from the preceding article, though written with a very favourable pen. The ſtory related in note [*K*], ſays a valuable correſpondent, "is an inſtance of the "weakneſs and vain ſcrupulouſneſs of the Biſhop. "I ſhall grant, that it is unlawful to convert a Church "or Chapel to ſecular uſe. But the preſent caſe is "different. The Chapel had been deſtroyed, the "materials ſeparated, and part of them applied to "the building of another fabric. This was, in the "ſenſe of the law, a ſort of ſpecification; and all "that could have been demanded of Sir Arthur "Haſelrigg, and all that could be expected of the "Biſhop of Durham, was, that a Chapel, not infe-"rior to the one deſtroyed, ſhould be rebuilt. The "Biſhop did otherwiſe: he built a Chapel indeed, "but he alſo deſtroyed a houſe. This laſt, I am con-"fident, he had no authority to do; and his heirs "would have been obliged to compound with his "ſucceſſor for the waſte committed wantonly and "fooliſhly. It may alſo here be obſerved, that Dr. "Smith ſays, this Chapel had been deſtroyed by "gunpowder during the civil war; ſo that it is "probable that Haſelrigg only employed the ſtones "of the ruined Chapel, and did not deſtroy the "Chapel."

In the third volume of the Clarendon State Papers, lately publiſhed, we find a letter, written, in 1658, to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, by Dr. Coſin, which affords a farther proof that, notwithſtanding his ſuperſtition and his fondneſs for the pomp of external worſhip, he was ſteadily attached to the Proteſtant Religion. In this letter, ſpeaking of the Queen Dowager Henrietta and Lord Jermyn, he ſays, "they "hold it for a mortal ſin to give one penny towards "the maintenance of ſuch heretics as Dr. Coſin is." Again, "The Ducheſs of Richmond hath been ſick "in her chamber a whole month together, and I "have gone daily hence fifteen days to attend her "there. She promiſeth to be firm in Religion, for "which purpoſe, I wiſh the King would now and "then put a line in his Majeſty's letters to her; for "ſhe is and will be more affected with what his "Majeſty writes to her, than what all the Doctors "of the world can ſay beſides (43)."

Some few of Dr. Coſin's letters are extant, among Dr. Birch's Collections, in the Britiſh Muſeum. One of theſe letters, which contains ſeveral curious particulars concerning Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato, and Biſhop Overall, will have due notice taken of it hereafter (44).

From Mr. Granger we learn, that the Biſhop's "Scho-"laſtical Hiſtory of the Canon of the holy Scripture" is a book ſtill in eſteem (45).

It

(32) Baſire, p. 66; and Smith, p. 17.

(33) And printed in *Bibliotheca Literaria, &c.* Lond. 1723, 4*to*. No. v. p. 33, *&c.*

(34) 2d edit. Lond. 1712, 8*vo*.

(35) Printed at the end of Dr. Smith's Life of Biſhop Coſin.

(36) Smith, p. 15.

(37) *Ibid.* p. 16, 17.

(38) Baſire, p. 67.

(39) Printed at the end of *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, by Biſhop Bull.

(40) Baſire, p. 67, 68.

(41) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 294.

(42) Therefore, as Dr. Smith obſerves, *Erubeſcant jam Schiſmaticorum filii de parentum avorumque conciliis, mendaciis, & calumniis, in Coſinum*, p. 18.

(43) State Papers collected by Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 418.

(44) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 170.

(45) Biographical Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 234.

charity, they were so very conspicuous and extensive, that he is justly reckoned to have been one of the most munificent, if not the most munificent, of all the Bishops of Durham (*s*). Among many other services he did to his See, one was, the obtaining a release (in compensation of the loss that See suffered by taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries,) of the annuity, or pension, of one thousand pounds (*t*), charged upon that Bishopric, ever since Queen Elizabeth's day (*u*).

(*s*) See Basire, p. 37—103.
(*u*) See Willis, ubi *supra*, p. 228, 811. This 1000 *l.* was for keeping a garrison at Berwick, against the Scots.
(*t*) Or, eight hundred and fourscore pounds. Basire, p. 56.

It is justly observed, by the authors of the new universal, historical, and literary Dictionary, that, though Dr. Cosin was not, in his impeachment, convicted of any thing Papistical, he was found active in inventing and pressing vain and insignificant ceremonies, and that in this respect he answered to the character of Laud, being one of the Divines of his School (49).

(49) New Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 141.

Since the preceding part of this note was sent to the press, we have seen Mr. Hutchinson's "History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham;" in which there is a full account of a contest between Bishop Cosin and the people of his palatinate, concerning their right to representatives in Parliament. In Cromwell's time they had been admitted to that privilege; and it was a privilege which they were not willing to relinquish. Accordingly, the Grand Jury, at the general Quarter Sessions of the Peace, held at Durham, on the third day of October, 1666, presented a petition to the Court, in the names and on the behalf of the Freeholders of the said county, setting forth, "That they do not enjoy the privilege of sending Members to Parliament, as all other counties of the kingdom do;" and expressing their hope, that the "Justices will take the same into their serious consideration, and nominate and send up to London, with all convenient speed, such persons as they shall think fit, for the effectual prosecution of this great concernment of the country, that they may petition the Parliament to grant this just and reasonable request, that they may have Knights and Burgesses to represent them in Parliament, like all other counties in the kingdom." This petition being read, the Bishop entered his protest against it, in which he was joined by Dr. Sudbury, Dean of Durham, Dr. Basire, Thomas Cradocke, Samuel Davison, and William Blakiston, Esquires, five of the Justices then present in Court. But Sir Nicolas Cole, Bart. Henry Lambton, John Tempest, Anthony Byerley, Ralph Davison, Cuthbert Carr, Lodwicke Hall, Robert Clavering, Ralph Carr, John Morland, and Christopher Sanderson, Esquires, eleven Justices then also present in Court, did approve of the said petition, and give their assent to the same. After this, the Freeholders published the reasons on which they grounded their request that there might be Knights and Burgesses for the County Palatine of Durham. These reasons our Prelate answered at large, and contended earnestly for the accustomed rights and privileges of his Bishopric. His opposition was successful during his own life. But two years after his decease, and one year before Bishop Crew was translated from Oxford to Durham, the Gentlemen of the county renewed their efforts, and obtained an Act, in 1673, by which the county and city were enabled to send four representatives; two for the county, and two for the city (50).] K.

(50) Hutchinson's History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, vol. i. p. 539—548.

*** [COSTARD (George), A Clergyman of the Church of England, and Author of several learned works, was born about the year 1710 (*a*). He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, of which he was admitted a member in 1726, if not earlier; and on the 28th of June, 1733, he took the degree of Master of Arts (*b*). He also became a Tutor, and Fellow of his College; and, indeed, seems to have spent a great part of his life there, though the Fellows of Wadham College hold their fellowships only for a limited number of years. The same year in which he took the degree of Master of Arts, he published, in 8*vo*. 'Critical Observations on some Psalms.' The first ecclesiastical situation in which he was placed, was that of Curate of Islip in Oxfordshire (*c*). Part of a letter written by him to Mr. John Catlain, containing an account of a fiery meteor seen by him in the air, on the 14th of July, 1745, was read at the Royal Society on the 7th of November in that year, and published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 477. The following year he published, at London, in 8*vo*, 'A Letter to Martin Folkes, Esq; President of the 'Royal Society, concerning the rise and progress of Astronomy amongst the Ancients.' In this very learned letter he endeavoured to prove, that the Greeks derived but a very small portion of their astronomical knowledge from the Egyptians or Babylonians [*A*]. He says, that 'though the Egyptians and Babylonians may be allowed, by their observations of the heavens, to have laid the foundation of astronomy; yet, that, as long as it 'continued amongst them, it consisted of *observations* only, and nothing more; and that 'in this state it lay, even amongst the Greeks, for some time [*B*]; till geometry being improved

(*a*) Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 627.
(*b*) *Ibid.*
(*c*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *Derived but a very small portion of their astronomical knowledge from the Egyptians or Babylonians.*] Mr. Costard admits, that the Chaldeans were diligent observers of the heavens, and that they carefully marked every phænomenon that could come to their knowledge. But he is of opinion, that the observations on eclipses, spoken of as made by the Chaldeans, were nothing more than mere registers of what had been observed. 'That the theory of the moon's 'motions was at all known so early as this, or that 'the Chaldeans were ever capable of calculating and 'predicting an eclipse, is more,' he says, 'than can 'be made appear from any good authority now extant (1).'

(43) State Papers collected by Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 418.
(44) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 170.
(45) Biographical History of England, vol. iii. p. 234.
(1) Letter to Martin Folkes, Esq. p. 22.

The Babylonians, he remarks, confessed, that their knowledge of the heavens was brought to them from the Egyptians (2); and he says, that 'the *Pole*, the '*Gnomon*, and the *Division of the day into twelve* '*parts*,' were the only things that the Greeks 'confessedly learnt of the Babylonians (3).'

(2) *Ibid.* p. 50.
(3) *Ibid.* p. 58.

[*B*] *In this state it lay, even amongst the Greeks, for some time.*] He says, that it is from the time of Thales that we may properly date all that truly deserves the name of astronomy (4). Thales, he remarks, was the first Greek that went to Egypt for improvement; and his scholar and successor was Anaximander. In tracing the progress of astronomy among the Greeks, Mr. Costard proceeds to observe, that, 'in Pythagoras's time, the Greeks had begun 'to compare the distances of the planets, the sun, 'and moon, with each other. But, when the distance of the sun from the earth was made only three 'times, or, at most, six times the distance of the 'moon from it, it is plain that this part of astronomy was but in its very childhood. It is, farther, 'a convincing proof, that they had not as yet any 'tables

(4) *Ibid.* p. 88, 89.

'proved by them, and them alone, into a ſcience, and applied to the heavens, they became 'the true and proper authors of every thing deſerving the name of aſtronomy (*d*).'

(*d*) Letter to Martin Folkes, Eſq; p. 156.

In 1747, Mr. Coſtard publiſhed, in 8*vo*, 'Some Obſervations tending to illuſtrate 'the Book of Job [C]; and in particular the words, *I know that my Redeemer liveth*, &c.'

To

'tables for calculating the motions of the moon, or 'the diameters of the earth's ſhadow in lunar eclip-'ſes, or determining the parallaxes in ſolar ones; 'without which tables, in the judgment of the beſt 'aſtronomers, neither the times nor quantities of 'eclipſes can be inveſtigated (5).'

(5) *Ibid.* p. 122.

'That the ſyſtem, called the Pythagorean, grew 'up amongſt the diſciples of that philoſopher is highly 'probable; but that he himſelf delivered it to them, 'in the form we now have it, ſeems to be by no 'means fact (6).'—'What time the planets began to 'be obſerved, is not known; but that they were all 'diſcovered at the ſame time, is hardly probable. 'They were at firſt, no doubt, conſidered only as 'fixed ſtars; by degrees they were found to have a 'motion of their own; and, at laſt, their periods 'came to be taken notice of and ſettled. But this, 'we are aſſured by Seneca, was not ſo early as the 'time of Democritus, that is, about 500 years before 'Chriſt. Thoſe of the planets Jupiter and Mars 'ſeem, if conjecture may be allowed, to have been 'the firſt that were ſo. The ſtations and retrogreſ-'ſions indeed of Jupiter and Mars would extremely 'perplex their theories; but as their motions are ſoon 'diſcernible, and they come in oppoſition to the ſun, 'they ſeem more likely to have been obſerved than 'Saturn; whoſe retrogreſſions, though not ſo large 'as thoſe of the other two, yet the ſlowneſs of whoſe 'motion, and the weakneſs of his light, would all 'contribute to make him leſs diſtinguiſhed from the 'fixed ſtars about him. The planet Venus was 'known to Homer by the name of *Heſperus*; but 'Pythagoras, if Laertius and Pliny may be credited, 'or elſe Parmenides, was the firſt that ſaid, Phoſpho-'rus and Heſperus were the ſame, i. e. I ſuppoſe, 'diſcovered the circular motion of that planet. 'When Mercury began to be conſidered, as having 'a regular motion of his own, is uncertain; but it is 'probable not till afterwards, as he is ſo ſeldom ſeen, 'his greateſt elongation being only about 22° 46'.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 123.

'From this time, however, it is probable, their 'motions began to be obſerved, and geometry to be 'applied to the purpoſes of aſtronomy: a thing, as 'far as appears, unattempted by the Egyptians and 'Babylonians: and yet without this it could never 'be reduced to a ſcience. About the time we are 'now ſpeaking of, lived Cleoſtratus, who, according 'to Pliny, formed the ſigns of the *Zodiac*; unleſs he 'means only the conſtellations *Aries* and *Sagittary*, 'concerning which, he ſays, he compoſed a treatiſe. 'He formed the *Kids* likewiſe, according to Hyginus; 'the conſtellation *Heniochus* being probably formed 'before. By ſuch eaſy gradations did that people 'proceed, and from ſuch ſmall beginnings; 'till, in 'the time of Eudoxus, or the year before Chriſt 363, 'there might be read in the heavens the antient hiſ-'tory of their moſt illuſtrious families during the 'poetical ages. This philoſopher was an aſtronomer, 'phyſician, and lawgiver. He learned geometry of 'Archytas, and was recommended by Ageſilaus to 'Nectanebo, King of Egypt, and by him to the 'prieſts; with whom he ſtaid a year and four months, 'and wrote his *Octaeteris*, according to Laertius. 'For there it was that he learned, that the ſun finiſhed 'his courſe in 365 days and 6 hours; a thing which, 'it ſeems, was hitherto unknown to the Greeks. He 'wrote, amongſt other things, a treatiſe on the *con-'ſtellations*, which is loſt, all but a few fragments that 'are preſerved by Hipparchus on Aratus, whoſe 'ſphere, according to him, is the very ſame with 'that of Eudoxus (7).'

(7) *Ibid.* p. 126—134.

'About the year of Rome 542, or 211 before 'Chriſt, flouriſhed the great Archimedes; who, be-'ſides that he was an excellent mathematician, was, 'in the proper ſenſe of the word, as good an aſtro-'nomer. That he obſerved the *ſolſtice*, is certain 'from Hipparchus; and Macrobius tells us, that he "aſſigned the diſtance of the moon from the earth, "Mercury from the moon, Venus from Mercury, "the ſun from Venus, Mars from the ſun, Jupiter "from Mars, and Saturn from him, in Stadia; as "likewiſe the diſtance from the orbit of Saturn to "the fixed ſtars."

'About the 150th olympiad, or 175 years before 'Chriſt, flouriſhed Hipparchus, who obſerved the 'autumnal equinox, A. V. C. 592, according to 'Ptolemy; and the vernal equinox, A. V. C. 626; 'ſo that he ſeems to have continued his obſervations 'for 34 years together. Geometry having now been 'taken in to the aſſiſtance of aſtronomy, and the 'Pythagoreans having invented the 32d propoſition 'of the firſt book of Euclid, this philoſopher was 'enabled in a more correct manner to attempt the '*Parallax* of the ſun; and a noble attempt in-'deed it was. But, though it diſcovers a vaſt com-'prehenſion of thought, and the uncommon ſkill of 'the contriver, yet it ſuppoſes too great an accuracy 'of obſervation ever to be admitted into practice (8).'

(8) *Ibid.* p. 144, 145, 146.

—'He firſt began to make a *catalogue* of the *fixed 'ſtars*, a thing highly celebrated by Pliny, as a taſk 'for a God; and diſcovered the *præceſſion* of the '*Equinox*, as Ptolemy informs us. He is ſaid to have 'calculated eclipſes, both of the ſun and the moon, 'for 600 years to come.'—'And this brings us down 'to the year 140 after Chriſt, when Ptolemy ob-'ſerved the *Equinox*, and compoſed his excellent 'work; a work that conveys very extraordinary con-'ceptions of its author; but at the ſame time hardly 'permits us to imagine, that the Egyptians, his 'countrymen, or the Babylonians, ever knew the 'true ſyſtem, as the world has been ſince obliged with 'it by Copernicus. Different parts of it, indeed, lie 'ſcattered in the different writings of the Pythago-'rean philoſophers, and others; but that it was never 'reduced to one conſiſtent form, and admitted as the 'genuine one, ſeems apparent from Ptolemy's em-'bracing a worſe. If others were acquainted with 'what is now called the Pythagorean ſyſtem, it is 'certain it was loſt, or obſcured by the ſuperior au-'thority of Ptolemy's. It was this that was publicly 'taught, and privately explained and commented on. 'It was tranſlated at laſt into the Arabic language, 'and by that people ſtudied and admired. The 'knowledge of the *Almageſt* was by them looked 'upon as the *ne plus ultra* of ſcience; and though 'many of them were very diligent and accurate ob-'ſervers, yet not one of them pretended to call in 'queſtion its principles, or to prefer any other ſyſtem 'before it. In Europe, indeed, during this interval, 'aſtronomy was in a manner unknown, or entirely 'loſt. What little there was confined itſelf almoſt 'wholly to the Moors in Spain. At laſt, about the 'year 1230 after Chriſt, at the command of the 'Emperor Frederick, Ptolemy's *Almageſt* was tranſ-'lated out of Arabic into Latin.

'From this time aſtronomy may date its ſecond 'birth, being gradually improved, by the concurrent 'labours of 500 years, to the perfection it is now 'arrived at. For, about the year 1250, flouriſhed 'the famous Alphonſus, King of Caſtile, celebrated 'for his Aſtronomical Tables. He was ſucceeded, 'about the year 1507, by the incomparable Coper-'nicus, the author of the ſyſtem now admitted for 'the true one, as being moſt agreeable to the laws 'of gravitation, and the beſt obſervations. Amongſt 'theſe laſt, the principal place is due to thoſe of 'Tycho Brahé; as by the help of which the ingenious 'Kepler was enabled to lay down the true laws of 'motion that obtain among the heavenly bodies. 'No ſooner was that diſcovery made, than this ſci-'ence took very haſty ſtrides towards perfection, by 'the unwearied diligence and ſagacity of many able 'aſtronomers and mathematicians, particularly our 'own countrymen, Ward, Flamſteed, Halley, and, 'above all, Sir Iſaac Newton (9).'

(9) *Ibid.* p. 149—155.

[C] *Obſervations tending to illuſtrate the book of Job.*] Mr. Coſtard obſerves of this book, that it is 'an ex-'alted and regular piece of Eaſtern poetry, and of 'the

To which was annexed, 'The third chapter of Habakkuk, paraphraſtically tranſlated into 'Engliſh verſe.' The ſame year a curious letter written by him to the Rev. Dr. Shaw, principal of St. Edmund Hall, relative to the Chineſe chronology and aſtronomy, was read at the Royal Society, and publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 483. In this letter he took notice, that it had been the affectation of ſome nations, and particularly of the Babylonians and Egyptians, to carry up their hiſtories to ſo immoderate a height, as plainly to ſhew thoſe accounts to be fictitious, and without foundation. This alſo was the caſe with the Chineſe; and Mr. Coſtard urged a variety of arguments to prove, that the mathematical and aſtronomical knowledge of the Chineſe was inconſiderable, and that little dependance was to be placed on the pretended antiquity of their hiſtory (*e*). The following year he publiſhed, at Oxford, in 8*vo*, 'A farther Account of the Riſe and 'Progreſs of Aſtronomy among the Antients, in three Letters to Martin Folkes, Eſq.' Of theſe letters the firſt treats of the aſtronomy of the Chaldeans; the ſecond is an elaborate inquiry concerning the *conſtellations* ſpoken of in the book of Job [*D*]; and the fourth is on the Mythological aſtronomy of the antients. In theſe letters, he has diſplayed a conſiderable extent both of oriental and of Grecian literature.

(*e*) Vid. Abridgment of the Philoſ. Tranſactions, vol. x. p. 1231, &c.

His next publication, which appeared in 1750, in 8*vo*. was 'Two Diſſertations: I. 'Containing an Inquiry into the meaning of the Word *Keſitah*, mentioned in Job, ch. 'xlii. ver. 11. In which is endeavoured to be proved, that though it moſt probably there 'ſtands for the name of a coin, yet that there is no reaſon for ſuppoſing it ſtamped [*E*] 'with

'the dramatic kind. The perſons ſpeaking are 'Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar; who regularly take 'their turns in the debate, which is upon a queſtion 'no leſs important than how—" to vindicate the "ways of God to men." What methods are purſued by them, in order to this, doth not at preſent 'fall under my deſign to obſerve. 'Tis apparent, 'however, that their ſeveral anſwers to Job's pleas 'may be looked on as three diſtinct acts. Theſe 'replications and rejoinders continue to the 32d 'chapter, where Elihu begins the ſhare he takes in 'the conference. This brings us to the 38th chapter, which concludes the fourth act, when the 'Deity appears, and cloſeth the ſcene in the fifth. 'I will not ſay, that this is the firſt Tragedy that 'we know of as extant in the world, or that any 'Eaſtern productions of this nature laid the foundation of the Greek ſtage. It may not be improper 'to obſerve, however, that two rules laid down by a 'very great maſter of the art of poetry are exactly 'maintained. It is not, as was ſaid,

'—— *quinto productior actu*;

'nor is God introduced, till it becomes

'—— *dignus vindice nodus*.

'The narration at the beginning and end may be 'looked on as the Prologue and Epilogue; and the 'part aſſigned Job's wife ſeems intended for a ſhort 'and refined ſatire on thoſe that, without proper 'accompliſhments or abilities, impertinently interpoſe their judgments in points of the higheſt importance, and which it is impoſſible they ſhould 'underſtand. But if this is a proper repreſentation 'of the caſe, will it not be a farther proof of the 'lateneſs of the compoſition? Poetry, no doubt, ſuch 'as it was, muſt have been of very antient original. 'But then it ſeems to have been confined for a long 'time to ſongs, ſhort hymns, panegyricks, and the 'like; rather taught and treaſured up in the memory, 'like thoſe of the Druids, than committed to writing. 'Regular poems muſt have been owing to leiſure, 'education, and the eſtabliſhment of ſchools and 'academies (10).' He was of opinion, that the book of Job was not older than the time of the Jewiſh captivity at Babylon.

(10) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*.

[*D*] *Inquiry concerning the conſtellations ſpoken of in the book of Job.*] In this letter, among other things which he endeavours to prove, one is, that the authors of the ſeptuagint verſion did not underſtand the original, in thoſe paſſages in which the conſtellations are mentioned. He thinks it probable, that 'thoſe 'whom Ptolemy employed to tranſlate the Hebrew 'writings knew nothing of aſtronomy, or the original 'names by which the conſtellations were firſt called 'by the old Chaldean or Egyptian obſervers;' and that this led them to 'apply, with uncertainty and 'confuſion, the fabulous names given them by the 'Greeks, and which in their time had univerſally 'taken place of the other (11).'

(11) Farther Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of Aſtronomy, p. 44, 45.

[*E*] *No reaſon for ſuppoſing it ſtamped.*] In the firſt of theſe Diſſertations, Mr. Coſtard obſerves, that whoever would prove the book of Job to be older than Moſes from the *Keſitah* being mentioned in it, muſt take upon them to prove, 'that it was a coin 'out of uſe in Job's country ever ſince the time of 'that lawgiver; and muſt likewiſe aſſert, that the 'writer, in order to give his poem the air of antiquity, could not introduce the mention of ſuch a 'coin, though laid aſide, he knew, many hundreds 'of years before he was born (12).' He alſo takes notice, that Buxtorf ſays, the piece of money called the *Keſitah* was ſo named, 'becauſe it had the figure 'of a *Lamb* ſtamped upon it, and his authority hath 'been implicitly followed by many of the moderns 'without examination. But if *Keſitah* never ſignifies a Lamb, as Bochart very rightly obſerves, then 'that could not be the reaſon of the appellation, 'whatever elſe was (13).' Upon the whole, Mr. Coſtard was of opinion, 'that the word *Keſitah* moſt 'probably ſignifies a coin of ſome ſort or other, yet 'that it neither appears to have been ſtamped, nor 'can be proved to have been a Jewiſh one; that it is 'more reaſonable to think it was a piece of Canaanite money; that it had, therefore, no connection 'with the law of Moſes; nor conſequently was ſet 'aſide by it (14).'

(12) Two Diſſertations, p. 1, 2.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 17, 18.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 36.

Mr. Coſtard remarks, that 'who was the original 'author of *ſtamped* money is uncertain. But it is 'probable, it came into uſe among different people, 'at different times, according as they improved in 'arts and ſciences, trade, and commerce. In Italy, 'if we believe Macrobius, the firſt coiner of money 'was Janus. But as his age is uncertain, as well as 'upon what authority Macrobius, a later writer, 'aſſerts this, or before him Athenæus, nothing farther can be ſaid upon the ſubject. That ſilver was 'very ſcarce among the Romans, in much later times, 'ſeems evident; ſince we are told, that their money, 'before Numa, conſiſted only of bits of leather. 'This Prince is ſaid to have introduced into that 'ſtate braſs money, which, however, was not ſtamped, but delivered out by weight. Servius Tullus, according to Pliny, was the firſt among them 'that ſtamped this braſs coin, which he did, it ſeems, 'with the figure of an animal, an ox or a ſheep. 'This, according to Pliny, was the only coin they 'had till A. U. C. 485, in the Conſulſhip of Q. 'Fabius, and five years before the firſt Punic war. 'That war broke out in the year before Chriſt 261, 'and Fabius was Conſul in the year before Chriſt '265. And it was ſixty-two years later ſtill before 'they had any gold money, or the year before Chriſt '203. What impreſs they uſed upon theſe coins is

'with any figure at all; and, therefore, not with that of a lamb in particular. II. On the 'ſignification of the word *Hermes*; in which is explained the origin of the cuſtom, among 'the Greeks, of erecting ſtones called *Hermæ*; together with ſome other particulars 'relating to the mythology of that people.' Theſe diſſertations were inſcribed to his friend Dr. Hunt, then Profeſſor of the Hebrew and Arabic languages in the Univerſity of Oxford. At the concluſion of them, Mr. Coſtard ſays, 'The ſtudy of the oriental 'languages ſeems to be gaining ground in Europe every day; and provided the Greek 'and Latin are equally cultivated, we may arrive in a few years at a greater knowledge 'of the ancient world, than may be expected, or can be imagined. But without this 'foundation, I may venture to pronounce, from the little experience I have had, that all 'will be darkneſs and perplexity. It is beginning at the wrong end, which can never be 'attended with ſucceſs in any thing. It may not, perhaps, be improper to add, before I 'have done, that for ſuch reſearches as theſe I have here been ſpeaking of, few places, if 'any, in Europe, are ſo well adapted as the Univerſity of Oxford (*f*).'

(*f*) Nichols, ut *ſupra*, p. 628.

In 1752, he publiſhed, in 8*vo*, at Oxford, 'Diſſertationes II. Critico-Sacræ, quarum 'prima explicatur Ezek. xiii. 18. Altera vero, 2 Reg. x. 22.' The ſame year a tranſlation was publiſhed of the latter of theſe diſſertations, under the following title: 'A 'Diſſertation on 2 Kings x. 22, tranſlated from the Latin of Rabbi C——d, with a dedi-'cation, preface, and poſtſcript, critical and explanatory, by the tranſlator.' In the preface and dedication to this publication, it is attempted to place Mr. Coſtard in a very ludicrous light (*g*). On the 25th of January, in the year following, a letter written by Mr. Coſtard to Dr. Bevis, concerning the year of the eclipſe foretold by Thales, was read at the Royal Society, and was afterwards publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*h*); as was alſo another letter written by him to the ſame gentleman, concerning an eclipſe mentioned by Xenophon (*i*). At the cloſe of the ſame year, another letter written by Mr. Coſtard, and addreſſed to the Earl of Macclesfield, concerning the age of Homer and Heſiod, was likewiſe read at the Royal Society, and afterwards publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year 1754 (*k*). In this letter Mr. Coſtard ſtates the ages of Homer and Heſiod much lower than the ordinary computations. He endeavours to make it appear, from aſtronomical arguments, that Homer and Heſiod both probably lived about the year before Chriſt 580; which is three centuries later than the computation of Sir Iſaac Newton, and more than four later than that of Petavius. In 1755, he wrote a letter to Dr. Birch, which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum (*l*), reſpecting the meaning of the phraſe *Sphæra Barbarica* [*F*]. Some time after this, he undertook to publiſh a ſecond edition of Dr. Hyde's *Hiſtoria Religionis veterum Perſarum, eorumque Magorum*; and which was accordingly printed, under his inſpection, and with his corrections, at the Clarendon Preſs at Oxford in 4*to*. in 1760. Mr. Coſtard's extenſive learning having now recommended him to the notice of Lord Chancellor Northington, he obtained, by the favour of that nobleman, in June, 1764, the Vicarage of Twickenham, in Middleſex (*m*); in which ſituation he continued till his death. The ſame year he publiſhed, in 4*to*, 'The Uſe of 'Aſtronomy in Hiſtory and Chronology, exemplified in an Inquiry into the Fall of the 'Stone into the Ægoſpotamos, ſaid to be foretold by Anaxagoras. In which is attempted 'to be ſhewn, that Anaxagoras did not foretell the fall of that ſtone, but the ſolar eclipſe in 'the firſt year of the Peloponneſian war. That what he ſaw was a comet, at the time of 'the battle of Salamis: and that this battle was probably fought the year before Chriſt '478; or two years later than it is commonly fixed by chronologers.'

(*g*) *Id. ibid.*

(*h*) Vol. xlviii. part i. p. 17.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 155.

(*k*) Vol. xlviii. part ii. p. 441.

(*l*) Birch's MSS. No. 4440—580.

(*m*) New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8*vo*. vol. iv. p. 142. edit. 1784.

In

'uncertain; but the learned now ſeem to be agreed, 'that the practice of ſtriking heads upon them, in 'the manner that is now ſeen on thoſe called *Conſu-'lar*, did not begin till about the times of Marius 'and Sylla, or the year before Chriſt 107.

'How ſoon the Greeks became acquainted with 'the art of ſtriking money, is yet more uncertain. 'But probably not till either commerce began to 'flouriſh among them, or they had occaſion to pay 'large armies abroad. If this laſt was the caſe, that 'was not till the time of Darius Hyſtaſpes, or about 'the year before Chriſt 520.'—'The oldeſt Greek 'coin extant, according to F. Hardouin, in his '*Chronology of the Old Teſtament*, is one of Amyntas, 'the ſixth in his order of Macedonian Kings. But 'this learned Jeſuit afterwards publiſhed a gold one 'of Cyrene, which the authors of the notes in the '*Science des Medailles* take to be as old as the time of 'Cyrus.

'The firſt people that coined gold and ſilver 'money, according to Herodotus, were the Lydians. 'But what impreſs they uſed, or whether indeed any 'at all, he hath not told us. Nor can we know at 'preſent, as none of their coin that we can be cer-'tain of, is preſerved in any of the cabinets of 'Europe. The Medes their neighbours, we know, 'ſtruck theirs with the effigies of their Prince ſhoot-'ing, and kneeling with one knee on the ground. 'Theſe were called *Darics*, from the Prince that 'probably firſt coined them. Xenophon uſeth that 'name for a coin extant in Cyrus's time, and Suidas 'ſays, they were ſo called, not from Darius Hyſtaſ-'pes, but one elder than him. Perhaps Darius, the 'ſon of that Ahaſuerus, who was King of the Medes 'at the taking of Babylon by Cyrus. That the firſt 'ſtamping of money, with an effigie in Aſia, is to be 'placed ſomewhere about this time, is not impro-'bable. But that ſilver unſtamped was in uſe long 'before, is certain. At the time of the Jews capti-'vity by Nebuchadnezzar, or the year before Chriſt '616, according to my computation, Jeremiah pur-'chaſed his couſin's land for *ſeven ſhekel* and *ten che-'ſeph, or ſilverlings* (15).'

(15) *Ibid.* p. 12.

[*F*] *The meaning of the phraſe Sphæra Barbarica.*] Mr. Coſtard ſays, that the moſt obvious and natural meaning of the words *Sphæra Barbarica*, which are uſed by Julius Firmicus in his Aſtronomicon, by Scaliger in his Notes on Manilius, and by other writers, 'ſeems to be conſtellations as *delineated*, or '*deſcribed*, by other nations beſides the Greeks, to-

In 1767, he publiſhed, in one volume, 4*to*, 'The Hiſtory of Aſtronomy, with its 'application to Geography, Hiſtory, and Chronolgy; occaſionally exemplified by the 'globes.' This work was chiefly intended for the uſe of ſtudents, and contains a full and diſtinct view of the ſeveral improvements made in geography and aſtronomy. Mr. Coſtard has ſhewn, 'by a gradual deduction, at what time, and by whom, the principal diſcoveries 'have been made in geography and aſtronomy, how each diſcovery has paved the way to 'what followed, and by what eaſy ſteps, through the revolution of ſo many ages, theſe very 'uſeful ſciences have advanced towards their preſent ſtate of perfection (*n*).' The following year he publiſhed, in 4*to*, "Aſtronomical and Philological Conjectures on a Paſſage in "Homer [*G*]:" but theſe conjectures appear to be fanciful and ill-grounded. About this time a correſpondence took place, between the learned Jacob Bryant, Eſq; and Mr. Coſtard, concerning the land of Goſhen [*H*], which has been lately publiſhed by Mr. Nichols, in his "Miſcellaneous Tracts by Mr. Bowyer (*o*)." We do not find that from this period

(*n*) Monthly Review, vol. xxxviii. p. 324.

(*o*) 4*to*. 1785.

'gether with the names by which they diſtinguiſhed 'them.' But, he adds, that the phraſe may mean 'what Beroſus and his Chaldeans taught concerning 'perſons born when ſuch or ſuch a particular con-'ſtellation roſe, or what events might be expected to 'attend them throughout their life-time after (16).'

(16) Birch's MSS. No. 4440 p. 580.

[*G*] *Conjectures on a paſſage in Homer.*] The paſſage in queſtion is that in which Thetis tells Achilles, that ſhe cannot ſpeak to Jupiter in his behalf, becauſe he is gone to an Ethiopian feaſt, from which he will not return till the end of twelve days. In order to explain this, Mr. Coſtard, contrary to the general ſenſe of antiquity, endeavours to prove, that Jupiter means the ſun, and that a day ſignifies a month (17).

(17) Monthly Review, vol. xxix. p. 402, 403.

[*H*] *Concerning the land of Goſhen.*] Mr. Coſtard endeavoured to prove, that Goſhen was 'the Delta 'of the Greeks in general, at leaſt that part of it 'which was habitable in the time of Joſeph (18).' —'The particular ſpot inhabited by the Iſraelites,' he ſays, 'was called the Land of Rameſes (Gen. 'xlvii. 11.) from a city of that name which, pro-'bably, was the capitol of that diſtrict. And it was 'from that city that the Iſraelites began their march '(Exod. xii. 37.)' He adds, 'Wherever Goſhen 'is to be placed, it could not be at a very great diſ-'tance from the Red Sea, and the nearer the better; 'for the Iſraelites croſſed it in the night of the third 'day from their ſetting out from Rameſes. And 'Rameſes is expreſsly ſaid, Gen. xlvii. 6. to be in 'or belong to that diſtrict. For though Goſhen, 'from the name, ſeems as if it lay between the 'branches of the Nile, yet the territory might extend 'without it to the Eaſt, where I conjecture Rameſes 'was ſituated (19).' He thought that Rahab, Goſhen, and Delta, meant the ſame country and diſtrict; and that Zoan, Goſhen, Rahab, and Delta, were only different names given at different times to one and the ſame country. Mr. Bryant differed from Mr. Coſtard upon this ſubject. 'There is reaſon to think, ſays he, 'that not a part only, but the whole of Delta 'was habitable in the time of Joſeph: for the Caph-'torim had made their migration to Philiſtine before 'the days of Abraham; and their original eſtabliſh-'ment is ſuppoſed by moſt learned men to have been 'about Peluſium and Sethron: and if the ſea coaſts 'were inhabited, we may readily admit that the 'higher lands were ſo likewiſe, for they muſt have 'been firſt occupied. Both this ſettlement in Egypt, 'and migration from it, are mentioned by the pro-'phets. *Have I not brought up Iſrael out of the land 'of Egypt*, or Miſraim, *and the Philiſtines from Caph-'tor?* Amos ix. 7. *The Lord will ſpoil the Philiſtines, 'the remnant of the country*, or rather of the iſle, *of 'Caphtor*. Jer. xlvii. 4. The Caphtorim, we find, 'are put into oppoſition to the Miſraim; the former 'inhabited one of the iſland provinces near the ſea, 'the latter were in poſſeſſion of the other parts of 'Delta. The region of the former being unwhole-'ſome and inconvenient for its marſhy and barren 'ſoil, probably induced them to quit it very early; 'for before the time of Abraham's ſojournment in 'Canaan, they had driven the Avim from their ſet-'tlements in that country, and ſeized them to their 'own uſe. Gen. xx. xxii. 33, 34. See Bochart, I. '293. But waving this, and allowing to Delta what 'extent you pleaſe, yet Goſhen and Delta can never 'be eſteemed ſynonimous, and the ſame, without 'perplexing the Moſaic account, and making it in 'many places inconſiſtent with itſelf. The wonders 'exhibited in Egypt are ſaid to have been diſplayed 'in Rahab and in Zoan. Pharaoh confeſſedly re-'ſided in thoſe parts; and they muſt neceſſarily 'have been occupied by many of the Miſraim, and 'the Naphtuhim, as the upper regions of Egypt were 'poſſeſſed by the ſons of Pathros. Let us then, as 'Goſhen and Delta are to be eſteemed ſynonimous, 'uſe them in that manner, putting one for the other, 'as ſhall ſeem beſt to us, and attend the conſequence. 'In the plague of flies, the cities and houſes of the 'Miſraim were to be full of them, and alſo the ground 'on which they ſtood was to be covered: but, ſays 'the Lord, *I will ſever in that day the land of Go-'ſhen, in which my people dwell, that no ſwarms of flies 'ſhall be there*, Exod. viii. 21, 22. The land of 'Goſhen was to be ſevered: it is plain, therefore, 'that it was a detached province. If, inſtead of 'Goſhen, you put Rahab or Delta, every circum-'ſtance will be contradictory. The land will, with-'out any limitation, be ſaid to be affected, and at 'the ſame time not to be affected, with this curſe 'from heaven. Again, Ch. ix. ver. 24, 25, 26, we 'read of the plague of hail, where fire was mingled 'with the hail. It is ſaid to have been grievous over 'all the land of Egypt; there was none like it in all 'the land of Egypt or Miſraim ſince it became a na-'tion; and the hail ſmote throughout all the land of 'Egypt, or Miſraim, &c. only in the land of Goſhen 'there was no hail. If then the land of Goſhen was 'Rahab and Delta, there could be no hail in Delta 'and Rahab, nor in Zoan; for they are by you ſup-'poſed to be the ſame, yet they were the places of all 'others which were moſt afflicted by it. As then the 'Scripture plainly ſays, that in the land of Goſhen, 'where the children of Iſrael dwelt, none of theſe 'plagues were felt; it is manifeſt, that the land of 'Goſhen was a particular and ſeparate diſtrict; and 'never could comprehend all Rahab or Delta, of 'whatever dimenſions they may be ſuppoſed to have 'conſiſted (20).' After ſome farther arguments in ſupport of his opinion, which appear to be concluſive, Mr. Bryant adds, that the Land of Goſhen was a particular diſtrict 'at the very point of Delta, above 'Heliopolis, and called the Arabian Nome by the 'Greeks; but originally termed Cuſha and Cuſhan, 'and by the Miſraim Guſhan. Its ſituation may be 'exactly defined, as it lay at the extreme point of 'Delta, nearly between Babylon and the Pyramids, 'which latter were a ſmall matter above; which 'Cuſha was in proceſs of time called by different 'nations Caſa, Kaiſa, Geeſha: and it is demonſtra-'ble from its ſituation, that the modern Geeza is the 'very place; for it lies exactly in the ſame direction 'between the Hill of Arabia, where ſtood Babylon 'and the Pyramids before-mentioned (21).' Mr. Coſtard had partly ſupported his opinion by etymological arguments; but Mr. Bryant ſays, 'I know 'nothing more fallacious than etymological proofs: 'and I have made it a rule, never to admit them 'ſingly and unſupported; on the contrary, to make 'etymology dependent upon hiſtory, and not to ren-'der hiſtory blindly ſubſervient to etymology (22).' But though Mr. Bryant differed from Mr. Coſtard upon this ſubject, he profeſſed a due eſteem of his parts and learning, and acknowledged, that in what he had written relative to it, he had diſplayed much curious erudition (23).]

(18) Nichols's Miſcellaneous Tracts by Mr. Bowyer, p. 681.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 686.

(20) *Ibid.* p. 689, 690.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 691.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 693.

(23) *Id. ibid.*

our author printed any work for ſome years; but in 1778, he publiſhed, in 8vo, "A Letter to Nathaniel Braſſey Halhead, Eſq; containing ſome Remarks on his Preface "to the Code of Gentoo Laws." This appears to have been the laſt of his publications: it contains ſome criticiſms, which were intended to invalidate the opinion, which Mr. Halhead had conceived, concerning the great antiquity of the Gentoo laws, and ſome arguments againſt a notion which had been adopted by ſeveral writers, drawn from the obſervation of natural phænomena, that the world is far more antient, than it is repreſented to be by the Hebrew chronology. Mr. Coſtard died on the 10th of January, 1782 (p). He was a man of uncommon learning, and eminently ſkilled in Grecian and Oriental literature. But he dealt too much in conjectures; and appears to have been poſſeſſed of more erudition than judgment. His private character was amiable; and he was much reſpected in the neighbourhood in which he lived, for his humanity and benevolence. From ſome paſſages in his writings, he appears to have been ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of public freedom. He had a great veneration for the antient Greeks; of whom he ſays, that 'Tis to the happy genius of that once glorious people, and that people alone, 'that we owe all that can properly be ſtyled aſtronomy (q).' And in another place, he ſays of the Greeks, that 'their public ſpirit and love of liberty claim both our admiration 'and imitation. How far the ſciences ſuffer, where oppreſſion, ſuperſtition, and arbitrary 'power prevail, that once glorious nation affords at this day too melancholy a proof (r).' Mr. Coſtard's library, oriental manuſcripts, and philoſophical inſtruments, were ſold by auction by Mr. Samuel Paterſon, in March, 1782 (s).] T.

(p) Nichols, ut ſupra, p. 629.

(q) Letter to Martin Folkes, Eſq. p. 22.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 137.

(s) Nichols, ut ſupra.

COTES (Roger), a celebrated Mathematician and Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Cambridge in the eighteenth Century. He was the ſon of the Reverend Mr. Robert Cotes, Rector of Burbage in Leiceſterſhire, which was alſo the place of his nativity (a) [A]. He was born there July the 10th, 1682, and received his firſt education at Leiceſter ſchool, where, when he was between eleven and twelve years of age, he ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to the mathematics, which being obſerved by his uncle the Reverend Mr. John Smith, father to the worthy Dr. Robert Smith, his ſucceſſor as Plumian Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Cambridge, he gave him all imaginable encouragement, and prevailed upon his father, to ſend him for ſome time to his houſe in Lincolnſhire, that he might aſſiſt him in thoſe ſtudies, where he laid the ſolid foundation (b) of that deep and extenſive knowledge in thoſe ſciences, for which he was afterwards ſo deſervedly famous. He removed thence to London, and was ſent to St. Paul's ſchool, where under the care of Dr. Thomas Gale, and Mr. John Poſtlethwait, ſucceſſive Maſters, he made a great progreſs in claſſical learning, and yet found ſo much leiſure as to keep up a conſtant correſpondence with his uncle, not only in Mathematics, but alſo in Metaphyſics, Philoſophy, and Divinity (c). His next remove was to Cambridge, where, April 6th, 1699, at the age of ſeventeen, he was admitted Penſioner of Trinity-College in that Univerſity, and at Michaelmas 1705 was choſen Fellow of his College (d). He was at the ſame time Tutor to Anthony Earl of Harold, and the Lord Henry de Grey ſons to the then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Kent, to which moſt noble family Mr. Cotes had the honour to be related (e). In January following he was appointed Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, and Experimental Philoſophy, upon the foundation made by Thomas Plume, Doctor in Divinity, Archdeacon of Rocheſter, being the firſt that enjoyed that office, to which he was choſen for his great learning and eminent abilities (f). He took the degree of Maſter of Arts in 1706, and in 1713 he entered into Holy Orders. The ſame year, at the deſire of Dr. Richard Bentley, he publiſhed at Cambridge the ſecond edition of Sir Iſaac Newton's Mathematical Principles of Natural Philoſophy, with all the improvements which the author had made to that time, to which he prefixed a moſt excellent preface (g). This added greatly to the high reputation he had already acquired for his profound knowledge in the abſtruſeſt parts of the mathematics, amongſt the greateſt men of the age. He wrote alſo a deſcription of the great Meteor, that was ſeen on the 6th of March 1715-6, which was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (h) [B]. Theſe

(a) From the information of Dr. Robert Smith, Maſter of Trinity College in Cambridge.

(b) From the information before-mentioned.

(c) A fact often mentioned by the late Profeſſor Saunderſon.

(d) From the information of Dr. Smith.

(e) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 38.

(f) Knight's Life of Dr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, p. 432.

(g) This was the ſecond edition of that moſt valuable Work, and the Preface is conſidered as a maſterpiece in its kind.

(h) No. 369.

[A] *Which was alſo the place of his nativity.*] The little town of Burbage, or rather Burbach, lying in Sparkenhoe-hundred, in Leiceſterſhire, and at the diſtance of about ſix miles from Leiceſter; is remarkable for its once having had an Earl for its Rector (1). This noble and reverend perſon was Anthony de Grey, the eighth Earl of Kent, who was Miniſter there at the time that ancient title deſcended to him, in 1639, and to his honour be it remembered, that he did not think himſelf obliged to alter his manner of living in the leaſt. He kept a very hoſpitable houſe before, and was always glad of the company of his brethren, in which courſe he continued, excuſing his attendance in parliament, on account of his age and infirmities, which, however, he would not ſuffer to excuſe him from the duties of his function, preaching conſtantly as long as it was poſſible for him to be carried up into the pulpit (2). He was great grandfather to the late Henry, Earl, Marquis, and at length Duke of Kent, to whom, as deſcended from a daughter of Major Farmer, in the ſame county, our author, Mr. Cotes was, nearly related.

(1) Knight's Life of Dean Colet, p. 429, 430.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 299.

[B] *Which was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] This curious account is contained in a letter to Robert Dannye, D. D. Rector of Spofferth, in Yorkſhire; which though it went out of his hands in his life-time, and might be very probably tranſmitted to the Royal Society before his death, yet it was in ſome reſpect a poſthumous work, ſince it did not appear 'till after our author's deceaſe. There are two things in

These were the only fruits of his learned and laborious ſtudies, that appeared in his lifetime; but he left behind him ſeveral admirable and judicious Tracts, part of which, after his deceaſe, his learned kinſman and worthy ſucceſſor in his profeſſorſhip, Dr. Robert Smith, gave to the public, which were received with univerſal approbation [C]. He died,

in it very remarkable, the firſt is the clearneſs and conciſeneſs with which the facts are deſcribed, the other the plainneſs and perſpicuity of the manner in which he accounts for them; the reader will not be diſpleaſed to have a taſte of both (3). 'It was, ſays he, after ſeven 'before I had notice of this uncommon ſight. At firſt 'I ſaw only two or three of the triangular ſtreams to-'wards the north and north-weſt: Theſe were not of 'long duration, but were ſucceeded by others, which 'appeared, and vaniſhed again by turns, ariſing from, 'and aſcending up to places in the Heavens of very dif-'ferent altitudes above the Horizon. From the time 'I began to view them, they continued to aſcend more 'and more copiouſly, being propagated ſtill farther and 'farther from the north towards the weſt and eaſt, 'and directed always to the heads of *Gemini*, 'till at 'length when they ſeemed almoſt to meet at the point 'of convergence, they began to aſcend up towards it 'from the ſouthern parts alſo, and all round it; inſo-'much that at a quarter after ſeven we had a perfect 'canopy of rays over us: the bottom of this canopy 'did no where reach down to the horizon; for near the 'north, where it deſcended the moſt, its altitude was 'about ten or fifteen degrees, and near the ſouth 'where it deſcended the leaſt, its altitude was about 'forty degrees, It remained in this ſtate about two 'minutes, during which time we ſaw ſeveral colours, 'ſome fainter and more permanent, others brighter, 'but quickly vaniſhing. Thus in the weſt I obſerved 'the rays to be tinged for ſome conſiderable time, 'with an obſcure and heavy red; and in one of the 'brighteſt ſtreams, at another time there ſuddenly 'broke out a very vivid red, which was inſtantly 'and gradually ſucceeded by the other priſmatic co-'lours; all vaniſhing in about a ſecond of time. 'Theſe colours affected the ſenſe ſo ſtrongly, that I 'thought them to be more intenſe than thoſe of the 'brighteſt rainbow I had ever ſeen. A ſmall time be-'fore the appearance loſt its perfection, we were ſur-'prized to obſerve a ſhaking and trembling of the 'ſtreams, chiefly in their upper parts; during which 'their convergence was confounded, and the whole 'Heaven ſeemed to be in a convulſion. At the ſame 'time I could perceive waves of light towards the 'north, which moved upwards, and in their motion 'croſſed the ſtreams lying parallel to the horizon. 'Theſe waves were different from thoſe broad ones, 'which you mention, and which I alſo took notice of: 'Their breadth ſeemed to be about a degree, their 'length about ninety degrees, and I can compare them 'to nothing better, than to thoſe ſlender waves upon 'the ſurface of ſtagnant waters, which are made by 'caſting in a ſmall ſtone.——An irregular guſt of 'wind blowing upon and ſhaking the columns, was I 'ſuppoſe the cauſe of that trembling which appeared 'in the triangular ſtreams; and the cauſe alſo which 'deſtroyed that fine appearance of the canopy. The 'ſlender circular waves ſeen at the ſame time, might 'alſo be explained from the ſame cauſe. I need not 'detain you any longer by endeavouring to make out 'ſome other particulars of this unuſual appearance: 'I fear I have been already too tedious. However, 'I will not omit to mention a very eaſy contrivance by 'which the thing may be tolerably well repreſented to 'view. Take a hoop and round about it faſten ſe-'veral ſtreight ſticks parallel to each other, but all in-'clined to the plane of the hoop; hold this plane pa-'rallel to the horizon, and in that poſture move it 'with ſticks over a candle, the ſhadows of the ſticks 'upon the ceiling of your room, will converge to a 'point not directly over the candle (as they would have 'done had the ſticks been perpendicular to the plane 'of the hoop) but to the point in which a line drawn 'from the candle parallel to the ſticks, ſhall interſect 'the plane of the ceiling.'

(3) Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xxxii. No. 385. p. 66.

[C] *Were received with univerſal approbation.*] The title of this work at large runs thus. HARMONIA MENSURARUM, *ſive Analyſis & Syntheſis per rationum angulorum menſuras promotæ: accedunt alia Opuſcula Mathematica: per* Rogerum Coteſium. *Edidit et auxit* Robertus Smith, *Collegii S.* Trinitatis *apud* Cantabrigienſes *ſocius, Aſtronomiæ & Experimentalis Philoſophiæ poſt* Coteſium *profeſſor.* Cantabrigiæ 1722, 4*to*. That is The Harmony *of* Meaſures: *or* Analyſis *and* Syntheſis *advanced by the meaſures of* Ratio's *and* Angles. *To which are added other Mathematical pieces by* Roger Cotes. *Publiſhed and augmented by* Robert Smith, *Fellow of Trinity College in* Cambridge, *and ſucceſſor to the ſaid* R. Cotes, *as Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy.* This work is dedicated by the learned editor to Dr. *Richard Mead.* He next proceeds to give us, in a very elegant and affectionate Preface, a copious account of the performance itſelf; the pieces annexed to it, and of ſuch other of the author's works as are yet unpubliſhed. He tells us how much this work was admired by the judicious Profeſſor *Saunderſon*, and how dear the author of it was to the late learned Dr. Bentley, to whom he gives the higheſt, that is the juſteſt, commendations. This book conſiſts of three parts. In the firſt, called *Logometria*, the author's chief deſign is to ſhew how that ſort of problems, which are uſually reduced to the quadrature of the Hyperbola and Ellipſis, may be reduced to the meaſures of Ratio's and Angles, and afterwards be ſolved more readily by the canon of Logarithms, Sines, and Tangents. He defines the meaſures of Ratio's to be quantities of any kind, whoſe magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the Ratio's to be meaſured. In this ſenſe any canon of Logarithms is a ſyſtem of numeral meaſures of the Ratio's of the abſolute numbers to an Unit: The parts of the aſymptote of the Logiſtic line intercepted between its ordinates, are a ſyſtem of linear meaſures of the Ratio's of thoſe ordinates: The areas of an hyperbola, intercepted between its ordinates to the aſymptote, are a ſyſtem of plane meaſures of the Ratio's of thoſe ordinates: And ſince there may be infinite ſyſtems of meaſures, according as various kinds of quantities are made uſe of; ſuch as number, time, velocity, and the like; or according as the meaſures of any one ſyſtem may be all increaſed or diminiſhed in any given proportion; in ſuch variety, much confuſion may poſſibly ariſe, as to the kind and abſolute magnitudes of particular meaſures, which happen to fall under conſideration. Our author very happily removes this difficulty, by ſhewing, that the nature of the ſubject points out the meaſure of a certain immutable Ratio, for a modulus in all ſyſtems whereby to determine the kind and abſolute magnitudes of all other meaſures in each ſyſtem. The firſt propoſition is to find the meaſures of any propoſed Ratio. This he conſiders in a way ſo ſimple and general, as naturally leads to the notion and definition of a modulus; namely, that it is an invariable quantity in each ſyſtem, which bears the ſame proportion to the increment of the meaſure of any propoſed Ratio, as the increaſing term of the Ratio bears to its own increment. He then ſhews that the meaſure of any given Ratio is as the modulus of the ſyſtem from whence it is taken, and that the modulus in every ſyſtem is always equal to the meaſure of a certain determinate and immutable Ratio, which he therefore calls the Ratio modularis. He ſhews that this Ratio is expreſſed by theſe numbers 2,7182818, *&c.* to 1, or by one, to 0,3678794, *&c.* ſo that in Briggs's canon, the Logarithm of this Ratio is the modulus of that ſyſtem: In the Logiſtic line, the given ſubtangent is the modulus of that ſyſtem. In the hyperbola, the given parallellogram contained by an ordinate to the aſymptote, and the abſciſs from the center, is the modulus of that ſyſtem, and in other ſyſtems the modulus is generally ſome remarkable quantity. In the ſecond propoſition, he gives a conciſe uncommon method, for calculating Briggs's canon of Logarithms, together, with rules for finding intermediate Logarithms, and numbers, even beyond the limits of the canon. In the third propoſition, he conſtructs any ſyſtem of meaſures by a ca-

died, to the regret of the Univerſity in general, and more eſpecially of ſuch as were addicted to mathematical ſtudies, in the prime of his life, in the thirty-third year of his age, June the

non of Logarithms, not only when the meaſure of ſome one Ratio is given, but alſo without that datum, by ſeeking the modulus of the ſyſtem by the rule abovementioned. In the 4th 5th and 6th propoſitions, he ſquares the hyperbola, deſcribes the logiſtic line, and equiangular ſpiral, by a canon of Logarithms; and ſhews ſome curious uſes of theſe propoſitions in their ſcholia. Take an eaſy example of the logometrical method in the common problem for finding the denſity of the atmoſphere. Suppoſing gravity uniform, every one knows that if altitudes are taken in any arithmetical progreſſion, the denſities of the air in thoſe altitudes will be in a geometrical progreſſion, that is, the altitudes are the meaſures of the Ratio's of the denſities below, and in thoſe altitudes; and ſo the difference of any two altitudes is the meaſure of the Ratio of the denſities in theſe altitudes. Now to determine the abſolute or real magnitude of theſe meaſures, the author ſhews *à priori*, that the modulus of the ſyſtem is the altitude of the atmoſphere, when reduced every where to the ſame denſity as below. The modulus therefore is given (as bearing the ſame proportion to the altitude of the mercury in the barometer, as the ſpecific gravity of mercury does to the ſpecific gravity of air) and conſequently the whole ſyſtem is given. For ſince in all ſyſtems the meaſures of the ſame Ratio's are analogous among themſelves, the Logarithm of the Ratio of the air's denſity in any two altitudes, will be to the modulus of the canon (that is to the Logarithm of the Ratio modularis defined above) as the difference of thoſe altitudes is to the aforeſaid given altitude of the homogeneous atmoſphere. He concludes the Logometria with a general ſcholium, containing great variety of elegant conſtructions, both logometrical and trigonometrical, ſuch as give the length of curves, either geometrical or mechanical, their area's and centers of gravity, the ſolids generated from them, and the ſurfaces of theſe ſolids, together with ſeveral curious problems in Natural Philoſophy, concerning the attraction of bodies, the denſity and reſiſtance of fluids, and the trajectories of planets. Several of theſe problems have two caſes, one conſtructed by the meaſure of a Ratio, and the other by the meaſure of an angle. The great affinity and beautiful harmony of the meaſures in theſe caſes have given occaſion to the title of the book. The meaſures of angles are defined to be quantities of any kind, whoſe magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Such may be the arcs or ſectors of any circle, or any other quantities of time, velocity, or reſiſtance, analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Every ſyſtem of theſe meaſures has likewiſe its modulus, homogeneous to the meaſures in that ſyſtem, and may be computed by the trigonometrical canon of ſines and tangents, juſt as the meaſures of Ratio's by the canon of Logarithms; for the given modulus in each ſyſtem, bears the ſame proportion to the meaſure of any given angle, as the Radius of a circle bears to an arc, which ſubtends that angle, or the ſame as this conſtant number of degrees 57,29577 95130 bears to the number of degrees in the ſaid angle. Upon the whole our author expreſſes himſelf thus. 'From theſe examples it will lie 'wholly in the power of able Geometricians to form 'a judgment of our method, which if they ſhall approve, they may carry it ſtill farther, and thereby 'conſiderably extend its uſes. A vaſt field lies open, 'in which they may exert their abilities; but eſpecially if they add to Logometrics, the aſſiſtances that 'may be derived from trigonometry; for that there is 'a wonderful affinity and connection between theſe, 'I ſhall plainly make appear. I can hardly believe 'that any principles can be deviſed more general 'than theſe; as mathematics contain ſcarcely any thing 'elſe within its compaſs, than the theory of angles 'and ratio's. Neither will any one deſire a more 'commodious method, who conſiders the facility in 'theſe matters, derived to us from thoſe extenſive 'tables, as well of the logarithms of whole numbers, as 'of ſigns and tangents, which were the valuable 'effects of our predeceſſors laudable induſtry. To 'this end I have added ſome theorems both logome-'trical and trigonometrical, &c.' The reaſon which induced the author to aſſert his principles to be ſo general, will appear farther by an inſtance or two. In the problem already mentioned, he meaſures the ratio of the air's denſities in any altitudes, by the altitudes themſelves, making uſe of the altitude of an uniform atmoſphere for the modulus. So likewiſe when he conſiders the velocities acquired, and the ſpaces deſcribed, in given times, by a body projected upwards or downwards, in a reſiſting medium with any given velocity; he ſhews that the times of deſcent added to a given time, are the meaſures of ratio's to a given modulus of time; whoſe terms are the ſum and difference of the ultimate velocity and the preſent velocities that are acquired, that the times of aſcent taken from a given time are the meaſures of angles to a given modulus of time, whoſe radius is to their tangents in the ratio of the ultimate velocity to the preſent velocities; and laſtly, that the ſpaces deſcribed in deſcent or aſcent, are the meaſures of ratio's to a given modulus of ſpace, whoſe terms are the abſolute accelerating and retarding forces ariſing from gravity and reſiſtance taken together at the beginning and end of thoſe ſpaces. This general account may ſuffice to illuſtrate what I am going to ſay, that ſince the magnitudes of ratio's, as well as their terms, may be expounded by quantities of any kind, the mathematician is at liberty, upon all occaſions, to chuſe thoſe which are fitteſt for his purpoſe, and ſuch are they without doubt that are put into his hand by the conditions of the problem. He may indeed repreſent theſe quantities by an hyperbola, or any other logometrical ſyſtem, were not his purpoſe anſwered with greater ſimplicity by the very ſyſtem itſelf which occurs in each particular problem. And the ſame may be ſaid for the ſyſtems of angular meaſures, inſtead of recurring upon all occaſions to elliptical or circular areas. As to the convenience of calculating from our author's conſtructions; he ſhews that the meaſures of any ratio's or angles are always computed in the ſame uniform way, by taking from the tables the logarithm of the ratio, or the number of degrees in the angle, and then by finding a fourth proportional to three given quantities, for that will be the meaſure required. The ſimpleſt hyperbolic area may indeed be ſquared by the ſame operation taught in the author's fourth propoſition, but the ſimpleſt elliptic area requires ſomewhat more: Thoſe that are more complex in both kinds, which generally happens, require an additional trouble to reduce them to the ſimpleſt: to ſquare them by infinite ſeries is ſtill more operoſe, and does not anſwer the end of Geometry. Upon the whole therefore it may deſerve to be conſidered; for what purpoſe ſhould problems be always conſtructed by conic areas, unleſs it be to pleaſe or aſſiſt the imagination. The deſign of theoretical Geometry differs from problematical: the former conſiſts in the diſcovery and contemplation of the properties and relations of figures, for the ſake of naked truth, but the deſign of the latter is to do ſomething propoſed, and is beſt executed by the leaſt apparatus of the former. The Logometria was firſt publiſhed by the author himſelf, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. But his logometrical and trigonometrical theorems abovementioned were not publiſhed till after his deceaſe. Theſe theorems make the ſecond part of the book, and are calculated to give the fluents of fluxions reduced to 18 forms by meaſures of ratio's and angles, in ſuch a manner that any perſon may perfectly comprehend their conſtruction and uſe, though altogether unacquainted with curvilinear figures as expreſſed by equations. And this circumſtance alſo renders the ſpeedy application of them to the analyſis and conſtruction of problems extremely eaſy. Of this kind the author has given a great many choice examples both in abſtract and phyſical problems, which make up the third and laſt part of the book. The editor has publiſhed the author's own ſolution of a very difficult problem in fluxions by meaſures of ratio's and angles, and upon this foundation has conſtructed new tables of logometrical and trigo-

the 5th, 1716, and was buried in the Chapel of Trinity-College Cambridge, his memory being honoured with an inſcription by the elegant pen of the moſt learned Dr. Bentley, Maſter of that College, his conſtant friend and patron (*i*).

(*i*) See this inſcription at the end of Dr. Smith's Preface to the *Harmonia Menſurarum*.

trigonometrical theorems for the fluents of fluxions, reduced to ninety-four forms, part rational and part irrational. He has likewiſe added ſeveral notes upon the chief difficulties in the book, together with a method of compoſing ſynthetical demonſtrations of logometrical and trigonometrical conſtructions, illuſtrated by various examples.

The firſt treatiſe in the miſcellaneous works is concerning *the eſtimation of* errors *in mixt Mathematics*. It conſiſts of twenty-eight theorems, to determine the proportion among the leaſt contemporary variations of the ſides and angles of plane and ſpherical triangles, while any two of them remain invariable. An example will ſhew their great uſe in aſtronomy. The time of the day or night is frequently to be determined by the altitude of ſome ſtar. Let it then be propoſed to find the error that may ariſe in the time from any given error, in taking the altitude. By applying the 22d theorem to the triangle formed by the complement of the ſtar's altitude and declination, and by the complement of the pole's elevation, the author ſhews that the variation of the angle at the pole, and conſequently the error in time, will be as the error in the altitude directly, as the ſine complement of the pole's inverſely, and as the ſine of the ſtars azimuth from the meridian inverſely. Conſequently if the error in the altitude be given, under a given elevation of the pole; the error in time will be reciprocally as the ſine of the azimuth contained by the meridian, and the vertical which the ſtar is in. This error therefore will be the ſame, whatever be the altitude of the ſtar, in the ſame vertical, and will be leaſt when the vertical is at right angles to the meridian. But will be abſolutely the leaſt in the ſame circumſtance if the obſerver be under the equator. In which caſe, if the error in the altitude be one minute, the error in the time will be four ſeconds. If the obſerver recedes from the equator towards either pole, the error will be increaſed in the proportion of the radius to the ſine complement of the latitude: So that in the latitude of 45 degrees it will be $5\frac{2}{3}$ ſeconds, and in the latitudes of 50 and 55 it will be $6\frac{2}{9}$ and $6\frac{37}{88}$ ſeconds reſpectively. If the ſtar be in any other vertical oblique to the meridian, the error will ſtill be increaſed in the proportion of the radius to the ſine of that oblique angle. Laſtly, if the error in the altitude be either bigger or leſs than one minute, the error in time will be bigger or leſs in the ſame proportion. Much after the ſame manner may the limits of errors be computed in other caſes which ariſe from the inaccuracy of obſervations, and hence the moſt convenient opportunities for obſerving are alſo determined. The ſecond treatiſe is *concerning the differential method*. The author having written it before he had ſeen Sir Iſaac Newton's treatiſe upon that ſubject, has handled it after a manner ſomewhat different. The name of the third treatiſe is CANONOTECHNIA: or *concerning the conſtruction of Tables by differences*. It conſiſts of ten propoſitions, moſtly admirably contrived for expeditious computation of intermediate terms in any given ſeries. The laſt propoſition, which contains a general ſolution of the whole deſign, is this. 'Some of the equidiſtant 'terms being given of any ſeries, the intervals of 'which are divided into any number of equal parts, 'let it be propoſed to find the intermediate terms.' The book concludes with three ſmalls tracts concerning the *Deſcent of Bodies*, *the motion of Pendulums in the Cycloid*, and *the motion of Projectiles*, delivered in a very natural and eaſy manner. Theſe tracts, as the editor informs us, were all compoſed by Mr. Cotes, when he was very young. He wrote alſo a *Compendium* of *Arithmetic*, of the *Reſolutions* of *Equations*, of *Dioptricks*, and of the *nature* of *curves*; all which pieces the learned editor declared his intention of publiſhing. Beſides theſe which were in Latin, he compoſed a courſe of Lectures in Engliſh, which were publiſhed by Dr. Smith in 1737; ſince which time there has been a ſecond edition; the title of which we ſhall give at large for the reader's ſatisfaction.

HYDROSTATICAL *and* PNEUMATICAL LECTURES, *by* Roger Cotes, M. A. *late Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy at* Cambridge, *the ſecond Edition by* Robert Smith, D. D. *Maſter of Trinity College* Cambridge 1747, 8*vo*. The firſt edition was printed as is before obſerved in 1737, and both are inſcribed to his Royal Highneſs William Duke of Cumberland. C.

*** [When Dr. Plume founded a new Profeſſorſhip for Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, Mr. Whiſton was one of the Electors. Beſides Mr. Cotes, there was another candidate, who had been a Scholar of Dr. Harris's. As Mr. Whiſton was the only Profeſſor of Mathematics who was directly concerned in the choice, the reſt of the electors naturally paid a great regard to his judgment. At the time of election, Mr. Whiſton ſaid, that he pretended himſelf to be not much inferior to the other Candidate's Maſter, Dr. Harris; but he confeſſed *that he was but a child to Mr. Cotes* (4). The votes were unanimous for Mr. Cotes; and it ſhould be remembered, that he was then only in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

(4) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, p. 116.

In 1707, Mr. Whiſton and Mr. Cotes united together in giving a courſe of Philoſophical Experiments at Cambridge. Among other parts of the undertaking, certain hydroſtatic and pneumatic Lectures were compoſed. They were in number twenty-four, of which twelve were written by Mr. Cotes, and twelve by Mr. Whiſton. But Mr. Whiſton eſteemed his own Lectures to be ſo far inferior to thoſe of Mr. Cotes, that he could never prevail upon himſelf to reviſe and improve them for publication (5).

(5) *Ibid.* p. 118, 119.

The early death of Mr. Cotes is always ſpoken of with regret by every mathematician, and every philoſopher; ſince, if his life had been continued, he would undoubtedly have proved one of the greateſt men which this country has produced.

We cannot refuſe ourſelves the pleaſure of inſerting Dr. Bentley's elegant inſcription to the memory of Mr. Cotes.

H. S. E.
ROGERUS ROBERTI Filius COTES
Collegii hujus S. Trinitatis Socius
Aſtronomiæ et experimentalis Philoſophiæ
Profeſſor Plumianus:
Qui
Immatura Morte præreptus,
Pauca quidem Ingenii ſui Pignora reliquit,
Sed egregia, ſed admiranda,
Ex inacceſſis Matheſeos Penetralibus,
Felici Solertia tum primum eruta.
Poſt magnum illum Newtonum
Societatis hujus Spes altera
Et Decus gemellum.
Cui ad ſummam Doctrinæ Laudem
Omnes Morum Virtutumque Dotes
In Cumulum acceſſerunt;
Eo magis ſpectabiles amabileſque,
Quod in formoſo Corpore gratiores venirent.
Natus Burbagii in Agro Leiceſtrienſi
Jul. 10, 1682, obiit Jun. 5, 1716 (6).] K.

(6) New general Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 148.

COTTON (Sir ROBERT), a moſt eminent Antiquary, was born at Denton [*A*], near Connington in Huntingdonſhire, January 22, 1570 (*a*). His father was Thomas Cotton, Eſq; [*B*], the fourth of the name, and his mother Elizabeth daughter of Francis Sherley

(*a*) *Vita D. Rob. Cottoni Scriptore T. Smitho*, p. 1, col. 1.

[*A*] *Was born at Denton.*] The ancient ſeat of the Family was Connington; but Sir Robert's Grandfather being alive at the time of his Father's marriage, the young married couple went and lived at Denton (1).

(1) *Vita Cottoni, ubi ſupra*, p. 1. col. 1.

[*B*] *His Father was Thomas Cotton, Eſq; &c.*] The Cotton family has for many years flouriſhed in England,

Sherley of Stanton in the County of Leiceſter, Eſq. Where this worthy perſon laid the foundation of that great knowledge of Antiquities he afterwards acquired, or what School he was educated in, is unknown. However, when he was fit for the Univerſity, he was admitted into Trinity-College in Cambridge (*b*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1575 (*). From thence he went and lived ſome time in the country with his Father. But finding that he wanted in that retired condition ſeveral opportunities of improvement, which he could have in a more public place, he came to London; and having ſoon made himſelf known, was admitted into a Society of Antiquaries (*c*), which was compoſed of ſeveral very learned and eminent perſons [*C*]. Here, following the natural bent of his genius, he proſecuted the ſtudy of Antiquities with the utmoſt alacrity, and with uncommon ſucceſs: and, improving the favourable circumſtances that were preſented to him [*D*], he began in the eighteenth year of his age (*d*) to gather together ancient Records, Charters, and other Manuſcripts; and left at his death the choiceſt Collection of this kind that ever was ſeen in any Age or Nation. In 1599, or 1600 (*e*), he accompanied Mr. Camden to Carliſle, who acknowledges to have received from his ſingular courteſy great light in thoſe obſcure and intricate matters which he treats of in his Britannia: and, probably, then it was that Mr. Cotton brought from the Picts-Wall, ſeveral Roman Monuments ſtill to be ſeen at Connington (*f*). In the ſame year 1600 he wrote a *Brief Abſtract of the Queſtion of Precedencie between England and Spaine* (*g*), which was occaſioned by Queen Elizabeth's deſiring the thoughts of the Society of Antiquaries on that point, upon her ſending Sir Henry Nevill Embaſſador to Boulogne to treat of a peace with Archduke Albert (*h*). Having, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, rendered himſelf eminent for merit and learning, and being highly in favour with the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton; he was, at the acceſſion of King James I. to the throne of England, created a Knight (*i*). During this whole reign he was very much courted, admired, and eſteemed by the greateſt men in the nation, and conſulted, as an Oracle, by the Privy-Counſellors, and the reſt of the Miniſters, upon every difficult point relating to our Conſtitution: As, namely, about the Union of England and Scotland—the Dignity and precedency of the Knights of the Bath—the Laws of England before the Conqueſt—about embaſing the Coin—the taxes granted from time to time to our Kings, &c (*k*). In 1608, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to enquire into the State of the Navy, which had lain neglected ever ſince the death of Queen Elizabeth (*l*); and drew up a Memorial of their Proceedings, to be preſented to the King (*m*). In 1609 he wrote 'a Diſcourſe of 'the lawfulneſs of Combats to be performed in the preſence of the King, or the Con-'ſtable and Marſhal of England (*n*): and, 'An anſwer to ſuch Motives as were of-'fered by certain Military men to Prince Henry, to incite him to affect arms more than 'peace.' Compoſed at the command of that Prince (†).' For, ſeveral perſons that were about him, knowing his enterpriſing genius, were endeavouring to ſtir up in him an

(*) From the Univerſity Regiſter and ſome of the College-books.

(*b*) See Camden's Ann. *ad ann.* 1600; and Memorials, &c. publiſhed by E. Sawyer, vol. i. p. 186, &c.

(*i*) *Vita R. Cot. ubi ſupra*, p. 10. col. 2.

(*k*) Printed at Lond. 1651 and 1672.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 4. col. 2. The old College-books being loſt, the exact time of his admiſſion cannot be known.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 7, 8, 9. Life of W. Camden. Sir H. Spelman's Pref. to his Law-Terms.

(*d*) *Vita R. Cottoni, ubi ſupra*, p. 7. col. 1.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 9. Life of Camden.

(*f*) Camden's Britannia, col. 506, edit. 1720.

(*g*) It is in Cotton, Libr. Julius, C. IX. 21. See Caſley's Catal. p. 325.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 13.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 14. col. 1.

(*m*) It is in Cot. Libr. Julius, F. III.

(†) It is in Cotton. Libr. Cleopatra, F. VI. 1.

England, even long before the time of King Edward III. They took their ſurname from Cotton in the County Palatine of Cheſter; and from William de Cotton, who lived in that county, are derived all the eminent families of that name in England. From this William was deſcended, in the fourth degree, William who married Agnes daughter and heir of Walter de Redware in the county of Stafford. His ſon was John, who, 12 Henry IV. married Iſabella daughter and heir of William Falconer of Thurcaſton in the county of Leiceſter. They had Richard who married Elizabeth, ſiſter and coheir of Sir Hugh Venables, Knt. Their SECOND ſon was William, who, in the reign of Henry VI. married Mary daughter and heir of Robert Weſenham, Eſq. This William being ſlain at the battle of St. Alban's May 23, 1455, left his only ſon and heir Thomas great-great-grand-father of Sir Robert Cotton. Mary juſt now mentioned, was grand-daughter of Agnes daughter and coheir of John Brus (or Bruce) of Connington and Exton, Eſq; and by her was the Connington Eſtate brought into the Cotton family. This John Brus was lineally deſcended from Bernard ſecond ſon of Robert Brus Lord of Annandale in Scotland, and Iſabella daughter and coheir of David the ſecond Earl of Huntingdon. From this Robert and Iſabella was the Royal Family of Scotland deſcended; and by this means the Cotton-Family came to be related to the Kings of Scotland and England. On which account King James was wont to call Sir Robert Cotton *Couſin*; and Sir Robert uſed frequently to write his own name *Robert Cotton Bruce* (2).

(2) *Ibid.*

[*C*] *A Society of Antiquaries, &c.*] The firſt riſe of this Society was 1590, when ſeveral ingenious Lovers of Antiquities agreed to meet every Friday in Term-time, at Derby-Houſe, where the Herald's Office is now kept. Two Queſtions were propoſed at every meeting, which were to be handled at the next. But many of the chief Supporters of it either dying, or removing from London, it was diſcontinued for about twenty years. At laſt in 1614, it was revived by Sir James Ley Attorney of the Court of Wards, afterwerds Earl of Marlborough, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Davis his Majeſty's Attorney for Ireland, Sir Richard St. George Norroy, William Hackwell the Queen's Solicitor, Mr. Camden, Sir Henry Spelman: To whom may be added ſuch of the old Foundation as were ſtill living, *viz.* Arthur Agard, Lancelot Andrews, Henry Bourchier, Richard Broughton, Richard Carew, William Dethick, Sir John Dodderidge, ——— Doyley, William Fleetwood, Abrah. Hartwell, Michael Heneage, Joſeph Holland, Thomas Lake, Francis Leigh, ——— Oldworth, William Patten, John Stow, Thomas Talbot, Francis Thynne, James Whitlock, &c. They met at the ſame place as the former.—The firſt Society petitioned Queen Elizabeth, to be incorporated into a Society, or Academy, for the ſtudy of Antiquities and Engliſh Hiſtory: but for fear That ſhould be prejudicial to our two Univerſities, their Petition was rejected; as it was alſo in the next reign. At laſt the ſuſpicious Court of King James I. taking umbrage at their Meetings, they diſſolved themſelves of their own accord (3). What Subjects they handled, the curious Reader may ſee in Sir Robert Cotton's Life, by Dr. T. Smith, prefixed to his Catalogue of the Cottonian Library, p. ix. (See article AGARD (ARTHUR).

(3) *Vita D. Rob. Cottoni, ubi ſupra*, p. 7, 8, 9. Sir H. Spelman's Preface to Law-Terms.

[*D*] *And, improving the favourable circumſtances that were preſented to him, &c.*] For there were many ſuch MSS. diſperſed about, which had been taken out of the Libraries belonging to the Monaſteries, that were then but newly diſſolved,

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inclination to military affairs; which was not at all agreeable to the King his father's peaceable and timorous temper. But, what moſtly employed Sir Robert's thoughts were the Collections he was ordered to make relating to the Revenue of the Crown, and the 'Manner and Means how the Kings of England have from time to time ſup-'ported, and repaired their eſtates (*o*).' For King James having prodigally exhauſted his Treaſury, new Projects (as they were then called) were to be contrived to fill it up again. Accordingly, our ancient Hiſtories and Records were ſearched, to find out means and methods to repair the King's Revenue, and to diſcover the Courſes uſed by our Kings in raiſing Money (*p*). But of all the methods ſet down by Sir Robert and others, none proved ſo agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called *Baronets* [*E*]. Sir Robert Cotton, who had done great ſervice in that affair (*q*), was choſen to be one, being the twenty-ninth Baronet that was created. He was, ſoon after, employed by the ſame King, to write Animadverſions upon Buchanan's and Thuanus's Accounts of the Behaviour and Actions of Mary Queen of Scots, and to give a different turn to them from what had been done by thoſe two famous Hiſtorians (*r*). What he drew up on that ſubject is ſuppoſed to be interwoven in Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, or elſe printed at the end of Camden's Epiſtles. In 1616 the ſame King, who was always a favourer of the Papiſts, and never cared to put the laws againſt them in execution, finding the Nation uneaſy on account of their ſwarming in the Kingdom, ordered Sir Robert to examine, Whether, by the laws of the land, they ought to be put to death, or impriſoned? which Sir Robert performed with great learning (*s*), and wrote upon that occaſion, 'Twenty-four Arguments, whether it be more expedient to ſuppreſs Popiſh prac-'tices againſt the due allegiance of his Majeſty, by the ſtrict executions touching Jeſuits 'and Seminary Prieſts? or, to reſtrain them to cloſe priſons, during life, if no refor-'mation follows (*).' Probably then, likewiſe, he compoſed 'Conſiderations for the 'repreſſing of the encreaſe of Preeſts, Jeſuits, and Recuſants, without drawinge of 'blood (*t*).' He was alſo employed by the Houſe of Commons, when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, to ſhow, by a ſhort examination of the treaties between England and the Houſe of Auſtria, the Unfaithfulneſs and Inſincerity of the latter, and to prove, that in all their Tranſactions they aimed at nothing but univerſal Monarchy (*u*). In 1621, at the requeſt of the Lord Montague of Boughton, he compiled 'A Relation to prove, That the Kings of England have been pleaſed to con-'ſult with their Peeres in the Great Councell and Commons in Parliament, of Marriage, 'Peace and War [*F*].' He wrote likewiſe a Vindication of our Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, againſt the Innovations that were attempted to be brought in by the Puritans; in 'An 'Anſwer to certain Arguments raiſed from ſuppoſed Antiquity, and urged by ſome mem-'bers of the lower Houſe of Parliament, to prove that eccleſiaſtical lawes ought to be 'enacted by Temporal men (*w*).' Being a Member of the firſt Parliament of King Charles I. he joined in the Complaints of the Grievances which the Nation was then ſaid to groan under. But, however, he was always for mild remedies; and intended the King's Honour and Safety, and the Nation's Advantage [*G*], as appeared by the honeſt Advice he gave in 1627. For, being called before the King and Council, to deliver his Opinion, in point of Hiſtory and Law, upon the juncture of affairs then, he declared (*x*), 'That 'thoſe Engliſh Princes, who had moſt oppoſed [the growing Power of the Houſe of 'Auſtria,] had always the affections and hearts of their People: That this was the buſineſs 'of the preſent reign, and the deſire of the Engliſh Nation: That to carry on this de-'ſign the King muſt have Money; and no way to get money with ſpeed, aſſurance, and 'ſatisfaction but by grant of Parliament: No way to diſpoſe a Parliament to ſuitable Grants 'but by removing all Jealouſies, eſpecially thoſe relating to Religion and Liberties: And 'nothing more plauſible than for the Duke of Buckingham to be the firſt adviſer of calling 'ſuch a Parliament (*y*).' He was alſo conſulted about the Impriſonment of thoſe Gentlemen, who had refuſed to contribute to the Loan (*z*); and about a Project then ſet on foot, to enhance the value of the Coin, in order to raiſe money for the King, when he could not obtain any from his Parliaments. This Project Sir Robert oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power, and ſhowed in a Speech before the Privy-Council, Sept. 2, 1626, what a Diſhonour ſuch an Alteration would be to his Majeſty, and how great a Loſs and Prejudice to the Sub-

(*o*) Extant, *ibid.* and in *Cottoni Poſth.*

(*p*) *Vita R. Cottoni*, p. 14, 15, 16.

(*q*) *Ibid.*

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 16, 17.

(*s*) *Vita, ut ſupra*, p. 17, 18.

(*) Printed at London, among *Cottoni Poſthuma*, 1672, p. 309.

(*t*) It is in the Royal Library 18, B. xxiv. 4. See D. Caſley's Catal.

(*u*) *Vita, ut ſupra*, p. 19. It is printed among *Cottoni Poſthuma*, p. 91, under the title of *A Remonſtrance of the Treaties of Amity, &c.*

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 21. See *Cottoni Poſthuma*, p. 202, &c.

(*x*) This ſeems to be the ſubſtance of the treatiſe, intituled, 'The dan-'ger wherein 'this kingdom 'now ſtandeth, 'and the reme-'dy.' *Cottoni poſthuma*, p. 308, &c.

(*y*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Collect. vol. i. p. 467.

(*z*) See Ruſh. *ibid.* p. 422, 428. *Vita* R. Cotton, p. 23.

[*E*] *Of all the methods —— none proved ſo agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called Baronets.*] By which he could eaſily raiſe a hundred thouſand pounds; as each Baronet was to pay, at three payments, as much as would maintain for the ſpace of three years, thirty foot Soldiers, to ſerve in the Province of Ulſter in Ireland, at 8d. a day, which amounted to 1095 *l.* This Title was not unknown in our Records, for 13 Edward III. it was granted to William de la Pole, and his heirs; and mention is made of it in an Agreement between King Richard II. and ſeveral Earls, Barons, and Baronets, &c (4).

(4) *Cotton. Libr.* Nero D. VI. 16, & *Vita Cotton.* p. 16. col. 1.

[*F*] *A relation to prove, &c.*] This was printed at London in 1651: and 1672 among Cottoni Poſthuma, and in 1679, under the Title of 'The 'Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments,' fol. but it is extremely full of faults. There are good and exact Copies of it extant in manuſcript.

[*G*] *Intended the King's honour and ſafety, and the Nation's advantage.*] A certain writer obſerves, 'That he was no great friend to the Prerogative (5),' that is, he was not inclined to come into all the violent Meaſures of the Court. The Speech he delivered in the lower Houſe of Parliament aſſembled at Oxford, is printed in Cottoni poſthuma (*).

(5) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 616. edit. 1721.

(*) Page 273.

ject.

ject (a). He wrote Books upon ſeveral other ſubjects, that remain in manuſcript; namely, (b) Of Scutage—Of Encloſures, and converting arable Land into paſture—The Antiquity, authority, and office of the High-Steward and Marſhall of England—The antiquity, etymology, and privileges of Caſtles—and of Towns—Of the meaſures of Land—The Antiquity of Coats of Arms—Curious Collections—about military affairs—and Trade—Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, different from thoſe printed under his name [*H*]. He likewiſe made collections for the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Huntingdonſhire: and had formed this noble Deſign, To write an Account of the ſtate of Chriſtianity in theſe Iſlands, from the firſt reception of it here, to the Reformation. The firſt part of this deſign was executed by the learned Archbiſhop Uſher, in his book, *De Britannicarum Eccleſiarum primordiis*, compoſed probably at the requeſt of Sir Robert Cotton; who left eight Volumes of Collections for the continuation of that work (c). J. Speed's Hiſtory of England owes moſt of its value, and its ornaments, to Sir Robert Cotton. For he put in order ſome of the author's indigeſted materials, adding many curious obſervations of his own: As his fine Collection of Seals, Medals, &c. and furniſhed it with thoſe Coins and Seals wherewith it is adorned (d): and Mr. Camden acknowledges (e), to have received thoſe Coins that are in his Britannia, out of the Collection of the famous Sir Robert Cotton; who, it ſeems, intended to have written an account and explanation of them; but was unhappily hindered. To Richard Knolles, author of the Turkiſh Hiſtory, he communicated authentic Letters of the Maſters of the Knights of Rhodes; and the Diſpatches of Edward Barton, Embaſſador from Queen Elizabeth to the Porte: To Sir Walter Raleigh, Books and Materials for the ſecond Volume of his Hiſtory, never publiſhed: And the ſame to Lord Verulam, for his Hiſtory of Henry VII (f). The famous J. Selden was greatly indebted, for his learning and reputation, to the books and inſtructions of Sir Robert Cotton, as he thankfully acknowledges in more places than one (g). In ſhort, this great and worthy man was the generous Patron of all lovers of Antiquities, and his Houſe and Library were always open to ingenious and inquiſitive perſons. Incredible is the ſervice that hath been done to Learning, eſpecially to the Hiſtory of theſe three Kingdoms, by his ſecuring, as he did, his valuable Library for the uſe and ſervice of poſterity [*I*]. Witneſs the Works of Sir Henry Spelman, Sir William Dugdale, the Decem Scrip-

(a) *Vita, &c. ubi ſupra.* See the whole Speech in *Cottoni Poſthuma*, p. 285, &c.

(b) *Vita, &c.*

(c) *Ibid.* p. 24. They are in Cotton Libr. Cleopatra E.

(d) *Vita, &c.* p. 24.

(e) Britannia, under the title *Romans in Britain*, at the end.

(f) *Vita* R. Cotton, p. 24, 25.

(g) Dedicat. Analector. Britan. and of Hiſtory of Tithes.

[*H*] *Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, &c.*] In 1657 William Prynne, Eſq; publiſhed, *An exact Abridgment of the Records of the Tower of London, from the Reign of King Edward II. unto King Richard III. of all the Parliaments holden in each King's reign, and the ſeveral Acts in every Parliament*, &c. collected by Sir Robert Cotton, Kt. and Bart. Lond. fol. 1657, (reprinted again 1679).——— which the ſaid Mr. Prynne did reviſe, rectify in ſundry miſtakes, and ſupply with a Preface, marginal Notes, ſeveral omiſſions, and exact Tables. Tho', after all, it was not done by Sir Robert Cotton, but by Mr. Bowyer, Keeper of the Tower Records in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign and beginning of King James the firſt's, as Mr. Tyrrel aſſerts in the Preface to his 3d vol. of the Hiſt. of England (p. ix.)———The other works of Sir Robert Cotton, not already mentioned, are as follows, I. 'A relation of the Proceedings againſt Ambaſſadors 'who have miſcarried themſelves, and exceeded their 'Commiſſion.' II. 'That the Sovereign's perſon is 'required in the Great Councells, or Aſſemblies of the 'State, as well at the conſultations as at the con'cluſions.' III. 'The argument made by the com'mand of the Houſe of Commons (out of the Acts of 'Parliament, and authority of Law expounding the 'ſame) at a conference with the Lords, concerning 'the Liberty of the perſon of every Freeman.' IV. 'A brief Diſcourſe concerning the power of the Peeres 'and Commons of Parliament in point of Judicature.' Theſe four are printed in *Cottoni poſthuma*. V. 'A 'ſhort view of the long Life and Raigne of Henry the 'third, King of England: Written in 1614, and pre'ſented to King James I.' Printed 1627, 4*to*. and reprinted in *Cottoni poſthuma*. VI. 'Money raiſed by 'the King without Parliament from the Conqueſt untill 'this day, either by Impoſition or free Gift, taken 'out of Records, or ancient Regiſters' Printed in the *Royal Treaſury of England*, or *General Hiſtory of Taxes*, by Capt. J. Stevens, 8*vo*. There is alſo publiſhed under his name, 'A Narrative of Count 'Gondamor's Tranſactions during his Embaſſy in 'England, London 1659, 4*to*.' In the Epiſtle Dedicatory, the Publiſher, John Rowland, ſays —— 'It bears in the frontiſpiece the name of that ever'famous Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, who was 'never wont to treaſure up any thing but what was 'rare; nor can I certainly ſay, whether it were penn'd 'by Himſelf or not. I inſiſt the more upon him, be'cauſe it was my chance to be one whom he vouch'ſafed to take by the hand a little before his death, I 'being ſent to him by my Lord Privie-Seal, to 'acquaint him that by my Lord's mediation, the King 'was reconciled to him: but his Anſwer was, That 'his heart was broken, and that it was now too late: 'whereby it appears, that Princes are ſometimes 'abuſed, and miſinformed, to the ruin of the beſt 'men.'——We find, moreover, that he wrote the following things —— 'An Abſtract or memorial of 'ſuch courſes as have been uſed in military affairs both 'at land and ſea, under 35 heads (5).—Extracts about 'Commerce, imperfect (6).—Short Memoranda from '1548 to 1553 (7).—Extracts about the Rights of the 'Crown and the Parliament (8).—Hiſtorical paſſages 'taken out of Letters from the year 1551 to 1573 (9). '—And the Notes and Collections for the reign of 'King Henry VIII. in Speed's Chronicle (10).

(5) Cotton, Libr. Julius C. IV.
(6) *Ibid.* F. VI. 48.
(7) *Ibid.* Titus B. VI. 13. fol. 45.
(8) *Ibid.* F. 162.
(9) F. 177.
(10) A. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 530.

[*I*] *He ſecured his Library for the uſe and ſervice of poſterity.*] For he ordered in his will, That it ſhould not be ſold, but paſs to his Family, &c. As it was this valuable and curious Library that has rendered Sir Robert Cotton moſt famous, and is likely to perpetuate his name, it will be proper to give a larger Account of it. It conſiſts wholly of Manuſcripts; many of which being in looſe ſkins, ſmall Tracts, or very thin Volumes, when they were purchaſed, Sir Robert cauſed ſeveral of them to be bound up in one Cover. They relate chiefly to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great-Britain and Ireland, tho' the ingenious Collector refuſed nothing that was curious or valuable in any point of Learning. He lived indeed at a time when he had great opportunities of making ſuch a fine Collection: when there were many valuable Books yet remaining in private hands, which had been taken from the Monaſteries at their Diſſolution, and from our Univerſities and Colleges at their Viſitations: when ſeveral learned Antiquaries, ſuch as Joſceline, Noel, Allen, Lambarde, Bowyer, Elſinge, Camden, &c. died, who had made it their chief buſineſs to ſcrape up the ſcattered Remains of our Monaſtical Libraries; and, either by legacy or purchaſe, he became maſter of all that

Scriptores, Dr. Gale, Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Strype's Works, Rymer's *Fœdera*, ſeveral pieces put out by T. Hearne; and every Book almoſt that hath been

that he thought valuable in their ſtudies (11). This Library was placed by Sir Robert Cotton in his own Houſe at Weſtminſter, near the Houſe of Commons, and was very much augmented and enlarged by his ſon and grand-ſon, Sir Thomas and Sir John Cotton. In the reign of King William (12), an Act of Parliament was made for the better ſecuring and preſerving that Library in the name and Family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public; that it might not be ſold, or otherwiſe diſpoſed, and embezzled. Sir John, great-grand-ſon of Sir Robert Cotton, having ſold Cotton-Houſe to the late Queen Anne, to be a repoſitory for the Royal as well as the Cottonian Library, an Act was made (13) for the better ſecuring of her Majeſty's purchaſe of that Houſe; and both Houſe and Library were ſettled and veſted in Truſtees: After which the Books were removed into a more convenient Room, the former being very damp; and Cotton-houſe was ſet apart for the uſe of the King's Library-keeper, who had there the Royal and Cottonian Libraries under his care. Some years after, the Cottonian Library was removed into a houſe near Weſtminſter-Abby, purchaſed by the Crown of the Lord Aſhburnham; where a Fire happening October 23, 1731, one hundred and eleven Books were loſt, burnt, or entirely defaced, and 99 rendered imperfect (14): And it was thereupon removed to the new Dormitory, and afterwards to the old Dormitory belonging to Weſtminſter-School. M.

(11) Chamberlayne's Preſent State of Great Britain, p. 217, 218. edit. 1735.

(12) 12 William III. c. 7.

(13) 5 Anne, c. 30.

(14) Addit. to Catalog. of Cotton Library, by D. Caſley, p. 313—317.

*** [The moſt extraordinary and intereſting circumſtance in Sir Robert Cotton's Life had not come to the knowledge of our learned Predeceſſor. Indeed, it was not generally known till the year 1767, when the following papers, taken from original manuſcripts, were publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine.

" Letter from Dr. Samuel Harſnett, Archbiſhop of York, to Sir Henry Vane, Ambaſſador at the Hague, dated London, Nov. 6, 1629.

" On Saturday in the evening there were ſent Mr. " Vice-chamberlain and others to ſeal up Sir Robert " Cotton's Library, and to bring himſelf before the " Lords of his Majeſty's Council. There were found " in his cuſtody a peſtilent tractate, which he had " foſtered as his child, and had ſent it abroad into " divers hands; containing a project how a Prince " may make himſelf an abſolute tyrant. This " pernicious advice he had communicated by copies " to divers Lords, who, upon his confeſſion, are " queſtioned and reſtrained; my Lord of Somerſet " ſent it to the Biſhop of London; the Lord Clare " to the Biſhop of Wincheſter; and the Lord Bed- " ford I know not well to whom. Cotton himſelf " is in cuſtody. God ſend him well out!

" I am, &c."

" The Same, to the Same, dated Nov. 9.

" Yeſterday his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſit in " Council with all the Board, and commanded that " deviliſh project found upon Sir Robert Cotton to " be read over unto us. For my own part, I never " heard a more pernicious diabolical device, to breed " ſuſpicious, ſeditious humours amongſt the people. " His Majeſty was pleaſed to declare his royal plea- " ſure touching the Lords and others reſtrained for " communicating that project; which was, to pro- " ceed in a fair, moderate, mild, legal courſe with " them, by a bill of information preferred into the " Star-chamber, whereunto they might make their " anſwer by the help of the moſt learned Council " they could procure. And though his Majeſty " had it in his power moſt juſtly and truly to reſtrain " them till the cauſe was adjudged, yet, out of his " princely clemency, he commanded the board to " call them, and to ſignify unto them to attend their " cauſe in the Star-chamber. They were perſonally " called in before the Lords (the King being gone) " and acquainted by the keeper with his Majeſty's " gracious favour. Two never ſpoke a word, ex- " preſſing thankfulneſs for his Majeſty's ſo princely " goodneſs; two expreſſed much thankfulneſs, which " were my Lord of Bedford, and Sir Robert Cotton. " St. John and James are ſtill in priſon; and farther " than unto theſe the paper reacheth not in direct " travel, ſave to Selden, who is alſo contained in the " bill of information. I fear the nature of that con- " tagion did ſpread farther; but as yet no more ap- " peareth. I am of opinion it will fall heavy on the " parties delinquent.

" I am, Sir, &c."

" Sir Symonds D'Ewes's account of this affair, in his manuſcript Life, written by himſelf, and ſtill preſerved among the Harleian MSS. will give farther light to this very intereſting fact.

" Amongſt other books," ſays he, " which Mr. " Richard James lent out, one Mr. St. John, of " Lincoln's-Inn, a young ſtudious gentleman, bor- " rowed of him, for money, a dangerous pamphlet " that was in a written hand, by which a courſe was " laid down, how the Kings of England might op- " preſs the liberties of their ſubjects, and for ever " enſlave them and their poſterities. Mr. St. John " ſhewed the book to the Earl of Bedford, or a copy " of it; and ſo it paſſed from hand to hand, in the " year 1629, till at laſt it was lent to Sir Robert " Cotton himſelf, who ſet a young fellow he then " kept in his houſe to tranſcribe it; which plainly " proves, that Sir Robert knew not himſelf that the " written tract itſelf had originally come out of his " own library. This untruſty fellow, imitating, it " ſeems, the ſaid James, took one copy ſecretly for " himſelf, when he wrote another for Sir Robert; " and out of his own tranſcript ſold away ſeveral " copies, till at laſt one of them came into Went- " worth's hands, of the North, now Lord Deputy " of Ireland. He acquainted the Lords, and others " of the Privy-Council, with it. They ſent for the " ſaid young fellow, and examining him where he " had the written book, he confeſt Sir Robert Cot- " ton delivered it to him. Whereupon, in the be- " ginning of November, in the ſame year 1629, Sir " Robert was examined, and ſo were divers others, " one after the other, as it had been delivered from " hand to hand, till at laſt Mr. St. John himſelf was " apprehended, and, being conceived to be the author " of the book, was committed cloſe priſoner to the " Tower. Being in danger to have been queſtioned " for his life about it, upon examination upon oath, " he made a clear, full, and punctual declaration, " that he had received the ſame MS. pamphlet of " that wretched mercenary fellow James, who by " this means proved the wretched inſtrument of " ſhortening the life of Sir Robert Cotton: for he " was preſently thereupon ſued in the Star-chamber, " his Library locked up from his uſe, and two or " more of the Guards ſet to watch his houſe conti- " nually. When I went ſeveral times to viſit and " comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me, ' they had broken his heart, that had locked up his " Library from him.' I eaſily gueſſed the reaſon, " becauſe his honour and eſteem were much impaired " by this fatal accident; and his houſe, that was " formerly frequented by great and honourable per- " ſonages, as by learned men of all ſorts, remained " now upon the matter deſolate and empty. I un- " derſtood, from himſelf and others, that Dr. Neile " and Dr. Laud, two Prelates that had been ſtigma- " tized in the firſt Seſſion of Parliament, in 1628, " were his ſore enemies. He was ſo outworne, " within a few months, with anguiſh and grief, as " his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well- " coloured (ſuch as the picture I have of him ſhews) " was wholly changed into a grim blackiſh paleneſs, " near to the reſemblance and hue of a dead viſage. " I heard it certainly affirmed that the young fellow " whom Sir Robert kept in his houſe, and had em- " ployed to tranſcribe the ſaid written tractate, was " his baſtard; which ſhews God's admirable juſtice,

been ſince publiſhed, relating to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. So valuable a Perſon, we may imagine, muſt have had many Friends and Acquaintance. The

" to cauſe the ſpurious iſſue of his fatal luſt to prove " the inſtrument of his final ruin. I, at one time, " adviſed him to look into himſelf, and ſeriouſly " conſider, why God had ſent this chaſtiſement upon " him; which, it is poſſible, he did; for I heard from " Mr. Richard Holdeſworth, a great and learned " divine, that was with him in his laſt ſickneſs, a " little before he died, that he was exceeding peni- " tent, and was much confirmed in the faithful ex- " pectation of a better life (15)."

(15) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxvii. p. 335—337. New General Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 151—154. *Bibli. Top. Brit.* p. 47—50.

Thoſe of our Readers who are not already acquainted with this tranſaction, will be ſurprized that ſuch men as Sir Robert Cotton, the Earl of Bedford, and Mr. Selden, who were known to be always well affected to the liberties of the ſubject, ſhould be charged either with having written or diſſeminated a Tract, the intention of which was to ſhew how a Prince might make himſelf an abſolute tyrant. In fact, the accuſation was totally groundleſs. It was indeed aſſerted, in the Attorney General's information againſt Sir Robert Cotton, " that the diſcourſe or project was framed and contrived within five or ſix months paſt here in England;" but the truth of the caſe was, that it had been drawn up in the year 1613, by Sir Robert Dudley, commonly called Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland (16). Of this Sir Henry Foulis gave evidence upon oath, in the courſe of the proſecution; in conſequence of which, Sir Robert Cotton and the reſt of the Gentlemen were releaſed. The Tract in queſtion, which was the cauſe of ſo much trouble to Sir Robert, was entitled, " A propoſition for his Majeſty's ſervice, to " bridle the impertinency of Parliaments;" and the deſign of the author, who lived in exile at Florence, was to ingratiate himſelf with King James the firſt, and by that means to prepare the way for his return to his own country.

(16) Biographia Britannica, firſt edit. vol. iii. p. 1810.

It hath been ſaid, that Sir Robert Cotton had his Library reſtored to him, ſoon after his releaſe from confinement (17). But there is ground for believing that this was not the caſe; for in a Letter which mentions his death in 1631, it is aſſerted, that before he died, he requeſted Sir Henry Spelman to ſignify to the Lord Privy Seal, and the reſt of the Lords of the Council, that their ſo long detaining his books from him, without rendering any reaſon for the ſame, had been the cauſe of his mortal malady. Upon this meſſage, the Lord Privy Seal went to Sir Robert, to comfort him from the King, when it was too late. The Earl of Dorſet, likewiſe, within half an hour after Sir Robert's death, came to his Son, Sir Thomas Cotton, to condole with him on that occaſion; and to aſſure him from his Majeſty, that to him would be continued the love which the King had for his father. It is added in the Letter, that Sir Robert had entailed, as far as law could do it, his Library of books upon his ſon, who made no doubt of obtaining the ſame. " But, ſays the writer, for all theſe Court " Holy-waters, I, for my part, for a while ſuſpend " my belief." Hence it appears, that the Government was not only in poſſeſſion of Sir Robert Cotton's Library at the time of his deceaſe, but that it was then thought doubtful whether it would be reſtored to his poſterity. Another inſtance is related in which he came under the perſecution of the Crown. In the Paper Office, is a warrant for his commitment, ſo early as the year 1615. He was ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, that was prejudicial to the affairs of Government, and on this occaſion his Library was ſhut up. It is probable, however, that it was ſpeedily reſtored, as there can be no doubt but that the ſuſpicion entertained of him was wholly groundleſs (18). Thus to be twice unjuſtly impriſoned, twice to have his Library taken from him, and the laſt time with ſuch circumſtances as ſhortened his life, was the treatment which a man who had deſerved ſo well of his country met with, from the arbitrary Princes of the Houſe of Stuart.

(17) Gentleman's Magazine, *ubi ſupra.*

(18) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxvii. p. 388, 389. New General Biog. Dictionary, *ubi ſupra.*

That the young fellow whom Sir Robert Cotton kept in his Houſe was his baſtard, might poſſibly be the calumny of the day. As to Mr. Richard James, who likewiſe makes ſo conſiderable a figure in the preceding narration, he was born at Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, and admitted a Scholar of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford, on the 23d of Sept. 1608, being then about ſixteen years of age. On the 30th of September, 1615, he became Probationer Fellow of his College. Having entered into Holy Orders, he preached frequently, and arrived to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. Upon what occaſion we know not, he travelled abroad, and was in Ruſſia, in 1619, a tour to which country was very uncommon in thoſe days. He was eſteemed to be well verſed in moſt parts of learning, and was noted, among his acquaintance, as a good Grecian and Poet, an excellent Critic, Antiquary, and Divine. Beſide all this, he was admirably ſkilled in the Saxon and Gothic languages. As for his preaching, it was not approved of by any of the Univerſity excepting by ſome of the graver ſort. Of three Sermons, delivered by him before the Academics, one of them, concerning the obſervation of Lent, was without a text, according to the moſt ancient manner; another was againſt it, and a third beſide it; " ſhewing himſelf thereby, ſays Anthony " Wood, a humourous perſon." Selden was much beholden to him for the drudgery he did for him when he compoſed his Marmora Arundeliana, and acknowledges him, in the Preface to that Book, to be *Vir multijugæ Studiique indefatigabilis.* Mr. James's diligence and trouble were very great in ordering, diſpoſing, and ſettling Sir Robert Cotton's Library. Nothing was wanting to him, and to the encouragement of his ſtudies, but a ſinecure or a Prebend; if he had obtained either of which, the labours of Hercules would have ſeemed to be a trifle. Several Latin and Engliſh Sermons were publiſhed by him; and he was the Author of *Poemata quædam in Mort. clariſs. Viri Roberti Cottoni et Thomæ Alleni.* With theſe Poems he printed Sir Thomas More's Epiſtle to the Univerſity of Oxford, for the embracing of the Greek Tongue. He tranſlated, alſo, into Engliſh, the Octavius of Minutius Felix. Mr. James died of a Quartan Fever, at the houſe of Sir Thomas Cotton, in Weſtminſter, in the beginning of December, 1638; and, on the ſeventh of the ſame month, was buried in St. Margaret's Church. He left behind him ſeveral manuſcripts of his own compoſition, and others collected by him from various authors, all of which are written with his own hand. Theſe are now depoſited in the Bodleian Library. Among the reſt of the manuſcripts of Mr. James's compoſition, are a Ruſſian Dictionary, with the Engliſh to it; Obſervations made in his Travels through ſome parts of Wales, Scotland, on Shetland, Greenland, &c. and Obſervations on the Country, Manners, and Cuſtoms of Ruſſia, or Ruſland (19). Sir Symonds D'Ewes has given a very unfavourable character of Mr. James; having deſcribed him as an atheiſtical profane Scholar, but otherwiſe witty and moderately learned. " He had ſo ſcrewed himſelf," adds Sir Symonds, " into the good opinion of Sir Robert " Cotton, that whereas at firſt he only permitted " him the uſe of ſome of his books; at laſt, ſome " two or three years before his death, he beſtowed " the cuſtody of his whole Library on him. And he " being a needy ſharking companion, and very ex- " penſive, like old Sir Ralph Starkie when he lived, " let out, or lent out, Sir Robert Cotton's moſt pre- " cious manuſcripts for money, to any that would " be his cuſtomers; which," ſays Sir Symonds, " I " once made known to Sir Robert Cotton, before " the ſaid James's face (20)." With regard to the charge brought againſt Mr. James, of his being an atheiſtical profane Scholar, I may obſerve, that it does not comport with Wood's account of him, who expreſsly aſſerts that he was a ſevere Calviniſt. As to the other part of the accuſation, it is undoubtedly a ſtrong circumſtance in Mr. James's favour, that he continued to be truſted, protected, and ſupported, by the Cotton Family to the end of his days. This learned and laborious man fell a victim to intenſe ſtudy, and too abſtemious and mortified a courſe of living (21).

(19) *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, vol. i. col. 615—617.

(20) *Bibli. Top. Brit.* No. XV. p. 47, note.

(21) *Athenæ Oxonienſes, ubi ſupra.*

To

The chief of them in the Britiſh Dominions, were, Henry Earl of Northampton, Thomas Earl of Arundel, Archbiſhop Uſher, Henry Earl of Bath, Edward Earl of Manche-
ſter,

To return to Sir Robert Cotton; it is greatly to his honour, that he was not, like ſome eminent men of that age, ſo devoted to the prerogative of the Crown, as to be unfriendly to the rights and liberties of the ſubject. At the ſame time, when he ſpoke in favour of a redreſs of grievances, he did it with diſtinguiſhed prudence and temper. Of this he exhibited a proof in the ſpeech which was made by him in the Parliament of 1625 (22). The advice which he gave to the Lords of the Council, when, in conſequence of the diſtracted ſtate of public affairs, and the national diſcontents, he was ſummoned to deliver his opinion concerning the proper methods to be purſued for the general welfare, reflects ſo much credit on his integrity and wiſdom, that I ſhall make no apology for preſerving it in this place.

(22) Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. vi. p. 367—372.

" My Lords,

" As ſoon as the Houſe of Auſtria had incorporated itſelf into the Houſe of Spain, and, by their new diſcoveries, gotten to themſelves the wealth of the Indies; they began to affect, and have ever ſince purſued, a fifth Monarchy.

" The Emperor Charles would firſt have laid the foundation thereof in Italy, by ſurprizing Rome: but from this he was hindered by the force and reſpect of religion, Henry VIII. being made *Caput Fœderis* againſt him.

" He then attempted it in High-Germany, practiſing by faction and force, to reduce thoſe petty States to his abſolute power. In this Henry VIII. again prevented him, by tying the Lutheran Princes under his confederacy and aſſiſtance.

" His ſon, Philip II. purſued the ſame ambition in the Nether-Germany, by reduction whereof he intended to make his way further into the other. This the late Queen of England interrupted, by ſiding with the afflicted people on the one part, and making herſelf head of the Proteſtant league with the Princes on the other ſide; drawing in, as a ſecret of State, the countenance of France, to give the more reputation and aſſiſtance to them, and ſecurity to herſelf.

" Spain ſeeing his hopes thus fruitleſs by theſe Unions and Sleights, began firſt to break, if he might, the amity of France and England: but finding the common danger to be ſo faſt a tie, he raiſeth up a party in that kingdom of his own, by the which the French King was ſo diſtreſſed, that, had not the Engliſh Council and aſſiſtance relieved him, Spain had there removed that next and greateſt obſtacle of his ambition.

" His Council now tells him, from theſe examples, that the way to his great work is impaſſable, ſo long as England lies a lett in his Way; and adviſeth him that the removal of that obſtacle be the firſt of his intents. This drew on thoſe often ſecret practices againſt the perſon of the late Queen, and his open fury, in the year 1588, againſt the body of the State; for which ſhe, following the advice of a free Council, would never after admit of peace; winning thereby the hearts of a loving people, who ever found hands and money for all occaſions at home; and by keeping ſacredly her alliances abroad, ſecured her confederates, all her time, in freedom from fear of Spaniſh ſlavery; and ended her old and happy days in great glory.

" Spain then, by the wiſdom and power of that great Lady, deſpoiled ſo of his means to hurt, though not of his deſire, makes up, with her peaceful ſucceſſor of happy memory, the golden league; that (diſarming us at home by opinion of ſecurity, and giving them a power in our Council by believing their friendſhip and pretended marriage) gave them way to cheriſh amongſt us a party of their own; and bereft of power abroad, to lead in jealouſy, and ſow a diviſion between us and our confederates; by which, we ſee, they have ſwallowed up the fortune of our Maſter's brother, with the reſt of the Imperial States, diſtreſſed the King of Denmark by that quarrel, diverted Sweden's aſſiſtance by the wars with the Pole, and moving of him now with the offers of the Daniſh crown; and now, whether from that plot, or our fatality, it hath caſt ſuch a bone between France and us, as hath gotten themſelves, by our quarrel of religion, a faſt confederate, and us a dangerous enemy: So that now we are left no other aſſurance againſt their malice and ambition, but the Netherlands; where the tye of mutual ſafety is weakened by daily diſcontents, bred and fed between us from ſome ill-affected to both our ſecurities: ſo that, from the doubtfulneſs of friendſhip, as we now ſtand, we may rather expect, through our own domeſtic faction, if they grow too furious, they will ſooner follow the example of Rome in her growing; (that held it equally ſafe, honourable, and more eaſy, *dare regem*, than *ſubjugare Provinciam*) conſidering the power they have in their hands, than give any friendly aſſiſtance to ſerve the preſent condition of our State. You may ſee therefore in what terms we ſtand abroad; and, I fear, at home, in no better.

" There muſt be, to withſtand a foreign invaſion, a proportion both of ſea and land-forces; for to give an enemy an eaſy paſſage, and a port to relieve him in, is no leſs than to hazard all at one ſtake. And it is to be conſidered, that no march by land can be of that ſpeed to make head againſt the landing of an enemy, nor no ſuch prevention as to be maſter of the ſea. To this point of neceſſary defence there can be no leſs than 240,000*l.*

" For the land-forces; if it were for an offenſive war, the men of leſs livelihood were the beſt ſpared, and were uſed formerly to make ſuch war, *purgamento Reipublicæ*, if we made no further purchaſe by it: but, for ſafety of a Common-Wealth, the wiſdom of all times did never intruſt the public cauſe to any other than ſuch as had a portion in the public adventure. And this we ſaw in the year 1588, when the care of the Queen and Council did make the body of that large army no other than of Trained-bands, which, with the auxiliaries of the whole realm, amounted to no leſs than 34,000 men. Neither were any of thoſe drawn out of their countries, and proper habitations, before the end of May, that they might be no long aggrievance to the public; ſuch diſcontentments being ever to us a more fatal enemy than any foreign force.

" The careful diſtribution and direction of the ſea and land-forces, being more fitting for a Council of war, than a private man to adviſe of, I paſs over; yet ſhall ever be willing and ready, when I ſhall be called, humbly to offer up ſuch obſervations, as I have formerly gathered by the like occaſions of this realm.

" There are two things requiſite to make up this preparation, money and affections; for they cannot properly be ſevered. It was well and wiſely ſaid by that great and grave Counſellor, Lord Burleigh, in the like caſe, to the late Queen, *Win their hearts, and you may have their hands and purſes.* And I find of late, that diffidence having been a defect in the one, it hath unhappily produced the ſame in the other.

" In gathering of money for this preſent need, there are required three things, ſpeed, aſſurance, and ſatisfaction: and the way to gather, as others in the like caſes have done, muſt be by that path, which hath been formerly called *Via Regia*, being more ſecure and ſpeedy; for, by unknown and untroden ways, it is both rough and tedious, and ſeldom ſucceedeth well. The laſt way, although it took place as it were by ſupply at firſt, and received no general denial; yet, ſince, it hath drawn many to conſider with themſelves and others of the conſequence; and is now conceived a preſſure on their liberties, and againſt law. I much fear, if now again it be offered, either in the ſame face, or by Privy-ſeal, that it will be refuſed wholly. Neither find I that the reſtraint of thoſe recuſants hath produced any other effect, than a ſtiff reſolution in them and others to forbear. Beſides, though it went at firſt with ſome aſſurance, yet, when we conſider the commiſſions, and other forms incident to ſuch like ſervices; as alſo how long

it

ſter, Henry Lord Boughton, James Montague Biſhop of Wincheſter, Sir John Dodderidge, Sir John Davis, David Powell, Hugh Holland, Arthur Agard Deputy Chamberlain

it hung in hand, and how many delays there were, we may eaſily ſee that ſuch a ſum, granted by Parliament, is far ſooner and more eaſily gathered.

" If any will make the urgency of times an inevitable neceſſity for enforcing the levy, whether, in general, by exciſe or impoſition; or, in particular, upon ſome ſelect perſons, which is the cuſtom of ſome countries; and ſo conclude it, for the public State, *ſuprema Lege*, he muſt look for this to be told him: that if neceſſity muſt conclude always for gathering money in the moſt ſpeedy way, (which cannot be fitter than by Parliament) the conſequence may be, that the humours of the heedleſs multitude, who are full of jealouſy and diſtruſt, and ſo unlike to comply to any unuſual courſe of levy, will not ſubmit but by force; which if uſed, the effect is fearful, and hath been fatal to the State: whereas that by Parliament reſteth principally on the regal perſon, who may, with eaſe and ſafety, mould them to fit his deſire, by a gracious yielding to their juſt petitions.

" If a Parliament then be the moſt ſpeedy, aſſured, and ſafe way, it is fit to conceive what is the beſt way to act and work it to the preſent need.

" Firſt, if the time of the uſual ſummons, reputed to be 40 days, be too large for the preſent neceſſity, it may be ſhortened, ſince it is againſt no poſitive law; ſo that care be had that there may be one county day, after the Sheriff hath received the writ, before the time of ſitting.

" If then the ſum to be levied be once agreed on, then, for the advance of time, there may be, in the body of the grant, an aſſignment made to the Knights of every county reſpectively; who, under ſuch aſſurance, may ſafely give ſecurity proportionable to the receipts, to ſuch as ſhall, in preſent, advance to the public ſervice any ſums of money.

" The laſt and weightieſt conſideration (if a Parliament be thought fit) is, how to remove or compoſe the differences between the King and ſubject in their mutual demands. What I have learned amongſt the better ſort of the multitude, I will freely declare, that your Lordſhips may be the more enabled to remove thoſe diſtruſts, that either concern religion, public ſafety of the King and State, or the juſt liberties of the Common-Wealth.

" For religion, a matter that lies neareſt to their conſcience, they are led by this ground of jealouſy to think ſome practiſe againſt it.

" Firſt, for that the Spaniſh match, which was broken by the grateful induſtry of my Lord of Buckingham, out of his religious care, as he there declares, that the articles there demanded might lead in ſome ſuch ſufferance as might endanger the quiet, if not the ſtate of the Reformed Religion here: yet there have (when he was a principal actor in the conditions with France) as hard, if not worſe, (to the preſervation of our religion) paſſed than thoſe with Spain: and the ſuſpicion is ſtrengthened by the ſtrict obſervance of this agreement, in that point, there concluded.

" It is no leſs an argument of doubt to them of his affections; in that his mother and others, and many of his ſervants of near employment about him, are ſo affected.

" They talk much of his advancing men papiſtically devoted; ſome placed in the camp, of neareſt ſervice and chief command; and that the Recuſants have gotten, theſe late years, by his power, more courage and aſſurance than before. If, to clear theſe doubts, (which perhaps are worſe in fancy than in truth) he took a good courſe, it might much advance the public ſervice, againſt thoſe ſqueamiſh humours that have more violent paſſion than ſettled judgment, and are not the leaſt of the oppoſite number in the Common-Wealth.

" The next is, the late misfortunes and loſſes of men, munition, and honour in our late Undertakings abroad; which the more temperate ſpirits impute to want of counſel, and the more ſublime wits to practice.

" They begin with the *Palatinate*, and by the fault of the loſs there, or the improved credit of Gondomar; diſtruſting him for the ſtaying of ſupplies to Sir Horace Vere, when Colonel Cecil was caſt on that employment; by which the King of Spain became maſter of the late King's childrens inheritance.

" And when Count Mansfield had a royal ſupply of forces, to aſſiſt the Princes of our part, for the the recovery thereof, either plot or error defeated the enterprize from us, to Spain's great advantage.

" That Sir Robert Manſel's expedition to Algier's ſhould purchaſe only the ſecurity and guard of the Spaniſh coaſts: to ſpend ſo many hundred thouſand pounds in the Cadiz voyage, againſt the advice of Parliaments, only to warn the King of Spain to be in a readineſs, and ſo to weaken ourſelves, is taken for a ſign of ill-affection in him amongſt the multitude.

" The ſpending of ſo much munition, victuals, and money, in the Lord Willoughby's journey, is conceived an unthrifty error in the director of it; to diſarm ourſelves in fruitleſs voyages; nay, to ſome over-curious, ſeems a plot of danger, to turn the quarrel of Spain, our antient enemy, that the Parliament petitioned and gave ſupply to ſupport, upon our ally of France; and ſoon after, a new and happy tie gave much talk, that we were not ſo doubtful of Spain as many wiſh; ſince it was held, not long ago, a fundamental rule of their ſecurity and ours, by the old Lord Burleigh, that nothing can prevent an univerſal Spaniſh monarchy, but a faſtneſs of thoſe two Princes whoſe amity gave countenance and courage to the Netherlands and German Princes, to make head againſt his ambition. And we ſee, by this diſunion, a fearful defeat hath happened to Denmark and that party, to the great advantage of the Auſtrian family.

" And thus far of the waſte of public treaſure in fruitleſs expeditions: an important cauſe to hinder any new ſupply in Parliament. Another fear that may diſturb the ſmooth and ſpeedy paſſage of the King's deſires in Parliament, is the late waſte of the King's livelihood; whereby is like, as in former times, to ariſe this jealouſy and fear, that when he hath not of his own to ſupport his ordinary charge, (for which the lands of the Crown were ſettled unalterably, and called *ſacrum Patrimonium Principis*) that then he muſt of neceſſity reſt upon thoſe aſſiſtances of the people, which ever were collected and conſigned, only, for the Common-Wealth. From hence it is like there will be no great labour or ſtiffneſs to induce his Majeſty to an act of reſumption; ſince ſuch deſires of the State have found an eaſy way in the will of all the Princes from Henry III. to the laſt. But that which is like to paſs deeper into their diſputes and care, is the late preſſures they ſuppoſe to have been done upon the public liberty and freedom of the ſubject; in commanding their goods without aſſent of Parliament; confining their perſons without ſpecial cauſe declared; and that made good againſt them by the judges lately; and pretending a writ to command their attendance in a foreign war: all which they are likely to enforce, as repugnant to many poſitive laws and cuſtomary immunities of this Common-Wealth.

" And theſe dangerous diſtruſts are not a little improved by this un-exampled courſe, as they conceive, of retaining an inland army in winter ſeaſon; when former times of greateſt fear, as that of 1588, produced no ſuch; and makes them, in their diſtracted fears, to conjecture, idly, it was raiſed wholly to ſubject their fortunes to the will of power, more than of law; and ſo make good ſome further breaches upon their liberties and freedoms at home, rather than defend us from any force abroad.

" How far ſuch jealouſies, if they meet with an unuſual diſorder of lawleſs ſoldiers, or an apt diſtemper of the looſe and giddy multitude, may eaſily turn them away, upon any occaſion in the State that they can ſide withal, to a glorious pretence of religion and public ſafety; when their true intent will be only rapine of the rich, and ruin of all, is worthy your provident and preventing care!

" I have thus far delivered, with that freedom you pleaſed to admit, ſuch difficulties as I have taken

lain of the Exchequer, Roger Doddeſworth, Richard Carew, William Burton, Sir James Ware, &c. And in foreign parts, Janus Gruterus, Francis Sweertius, Andrew Ducheſne, John Bourdelot, Peter Puteanus, Nicholas Fabricius Peireſkius, &c(*h*). Sir Robert Cotton having lived reſpected and eſteemed both at home and abroad, died of a fever, in his houſe at Weſtminſter, May 6, 1631, aged ſixty years, three months, and fifteen days; and was buried in the ſouth Chancel of Connington-Church. He married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Brocas of Thedingworth in the county of Leiceſter, Eſq; by whom he left one only ſon, Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart.

(*h*) *Vita R. Cottoni, ut ſupra*, p. xxvi. xxvii.

up amongſt the multitude, as may arreſt, if not remove, impediments to any ſpeedy ſupply in Parliament at this time: how to facilitate which may better become the care of your Lordſhips judgments, than my ignorance. Onely I could wiſh, that, to remove away a perſonal diſtaſte of my Lord of Buckingham amongſt the people, he might be pleaſed, if there be a neceſſity of Parliament, to appear a firſt adviſer thereunto; and what ſatisfaction it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty, of grace, to give at ſuch time to his people, (which I wiſh to be grounded by precedent of his beſt and moſt fortunate progenitors, and which, I conceive, will largely ſatisfy the deſires and hopes of all) if it may appear in ſome ſort to be drawn down from him to the people, by the zealous care and induſtry that my Lord of Buckingham hath of the public unity and content; by which there is no doubt that he may remain, not only ſecure from any further quarrel with them, but merit an happy memory amongſt them of a zealous patriot: for to expiate the paſſion of the people, at ſuch a time, with ſacrifice of any of his Majeſty's ſervants, I have ever found it (as in Edward II. Richard II. and Henry VI.) no leſs fatal to the Maſter, than the Miniſter in the End (23)."

(23) *Ibid.* p. 330—338.

The conſequence of this advice was, that the King and Council were induced to believe that the calling of a Parliament was the beſt method which could be adopted for promoting the general good of the nation.

In the collection of curious diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, are printed nine ſhort Diſſertations, by Sir Robert Cotton, on various ſubjects relative to Engliſh Antiquities.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to inform our Readers, that in 1753 the Cottonian Library was removed to the Britiſh Muſeum, and now conſtitutes a moſt uſeful and important part of that noble repoſitory. The merit of Sir Robert Cotton, in forming his collection, is well repreſented in the Preface to the Harleian Catalogue. "Bodley's great contemporay, Sir Robert Cotton, had been equally diligent in collecting ancient Manuſcripts. The ſtudy of Antiquities, particularly thoſe of this kingdom, had engaged his attention, though he always ſhewed a high regard for every part of philological learning, in all which he was extremely converſant. He had obſerved with regret, that the hiſtory, laws, and conſtitution of Britain, were in general very inſufficiently underſtood; and being fully convinced, that the preſervation of ſuch monuments of antiquity, and other documents, as were conducive to render the knowledge of them, and their deductions from their primary ſtate, more accurate and univerſal, would neceſſarily redound to the advantage of the public, he had, in an expenſive and indefatigable labour of upwards of forty years, accumulated thoſe numerous and ineſtimable treaſures which compoſe the Cottonian Library, and now remain an indiſputable teſtimony of his benevolent diſpoſition towards his native country. But, happily, theſe Patrons of Literature lived in an age peculiarly favourable to the completion of their reſpective purpoſes, and more eſpecially to thoſe of the latter. The late general diſſolution of religious houſes had diſperſed an infinite number of curious manuſcripts. Many of theſe were ſecured by the nobility and gentry; but no inconſiderable number falling into the hands of peaſants, mechanics, and other perſons ignorant of their importance, and totally inattentive to their preſervation, were eaſily to be purchaſed. From this ſource Sir Robert Cotton had ſupplied his Library with a multitude of rare Manuſcripts; and to them Mr. Camden, Mr. Lambard, Dr. Dee, and Sir Chriſtopher Hatton had kindly contributed their Stores (24)."

(24) New general Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 155. note.

That the name of Sir Robert Cotton muſt always be mentioned with honour; and that his memory cannot fail of exciting the warmeſt ſentiments of gratitude, while the ſmalleſt regard for learning ſubſiſts among us, is the teſtimony of Dr. Samuel Johnſon (25).] K.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 148.

*** [COTTON (CHARLES), an ingenious Writer, and eminent for his talents in Burleſque Poetry, was the ſon of Charles Cotton, Eſq; of Beresford [*A*], in Staffordſhire, and was born on the 28th of April, 1630 (*a*). He was educated at the Univerſity of Cambridge [*B*]; and Mr. Granger ſays, that 'he was eſteemed one of the ornaments of that Univerſity (*b*).' He is ſaid afterwards to have travelled into France, and other foreign countries (*c*). But the place of his reſidence, during the greater part of his life,

(*a*) Life of Char. Cotton, Eſq; prefixed to the ſecond part of Sir John Hawkins's edition of the Compl. Angler, p. 5. ed. 1784.

(*b*) Biog. Hiſt. of England, vol. iv. p. 50. 2d. edit.

(*c*) Biog. Dram.

[*A*] *Son of Charles Cotton, Eſq; of Beresford.*] Of this Gentleman, who was the ſon of Sir George Cotton, Knt. the following character is given by Lord Clarendon: 'Charles Cotton was a Gentleman 'born to a competent fortune, and ſo qualified in his 'perſon, and education, that for many years he continued the greateſt ornament of the town, in the 'eſteem of thoſe who had been beſt bred. His natural parts were very great, his wit flowing in all the 'parts of converſation; the ſuperſtructure of learning not raiſed to a conſiderable height; but having paſſed ſome years in Cambridge, and then in France, 'and converſing always with learned men, his expreſſions were ever proper and ſignificant, and gave 'great luſtre to his diſcourſe upon any argument; ſo 'that he was thought by thoſe who were not intimate 'with him, to have been much better acquainted 'with books than he was. He had all thoſe qualities which in youth raiſe men to the reputation of 'being fine Gentlemen; ſuch a pleaſantneſs and 'gaiety of humour, ſuch a ſweetneſs and gentleneſs 'of nature, and ſuch a civility and delightfulneſs in 'converſation, that no man in the court, or out of 'it, appeared a more accompliſhed perſon; all theſe 'extraordinary qualifications being ſupported by as 'extraordinary a clearneſs of courage, and fearleſſneſs of ſpirit, of which he gave too often manifeſtation. Some unhappy ſuits in law, and waſte of his 'fortune in thoſe ſuits, made ſome impreſſion upon 'his mind; which being improved by domeſtic afflictions, and thoſe indulgencies to himſelf, which 'naturally attend thoſe afflictions, rendered his age 'leſs reverenced than his youth had been; and gave 'his beſt friends cauſe to have wiſhed, that he had 'not lived ſo long (1).'

(1) Continuation of the Life of Lord Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 32. edit. 8vo. 1759.

[*B*] *Educated at the Univerſity of Cambridge.*] Sir John Hawkins ſays, that 'he had for his Tutor 'Mr. Ralph Rawſon, once a Fellow of Brazen-noſe 'College, Oxford, but who had been ejected from his 'Fellowſhip by the Parliament viſitors, in 1648. 'This perſon he has gratefully celebrated in a tranſlation of an Ode of Johannes Secundus (2).' The ſame writer alſo obſerves, that at 'the Univerſity he 'improved his knowledge of the Greek and Roman 'Claſſics, and became a perfect maſter of the French 'and Italian languages (3).'

(2) Life, *ut ſupra*, p. 5.

(3) *Ibid.*

was at the family ſeat at Beresford. In 1656, he married Iſabella, daughter of Sir Thomas Hutchinſon, Knt. of Owthorp, in the county of Nottingham (*d*). This Lady was a diſtant relation; and at the time of his marriage he was twenty-ſix years of age. He had not engaged in any profeſſion, and was wholly dependent upon his father. But by the death of his father, about two years after, he became poſſeſſed of the family eſtate; though this was probably much encumbered. In 1663, he publiſhed "the Moral Philoſophy of the "Stoics," tranſlated from the French of Monſ. de Vaix, Preſident of the Parliament of Provence (*e*). He is ſaid to have made this tranſlation in compliance to the will of his father [*C*]. In the year 1665, he tranſlated from the French the Horace of Corneille. The plot of the original piece is taken from the ſtory of the Horatii and Curiatii. It is ſaid by the author of the *Biographia Dramatica* (*f*) to be a very good tranſlation of this Tragedy; but it was not at firſt intended for publication, being only written for the amuſement of his ſiſter. It was, however, printed at London, in 4*to*. in 1671, and dedicated to his ſiſter, Mrs. Stanhope Hutchinſon, the Lady for whoſe uſe it was originally written. The year before, he had publiſhed, in folio, and dedicated to Archbiſhop Sheldon, a tranſlation of the "Hiſtory of the Life of the Duke d'Eſpernon (*g*)." It was at this period of his life, when his affairs ſeem to have been much embarraſſed, and he had received a Captain's commiſſion in the army, that he went over into Ireland; and he has recorded ſome of his adventures in a Burleſque Poem, in three Cantos, called a "Voyage "to Ireland [*D*]." In 1674, he publiſhed "the Fair one of Tunis," a Novel, tranſlated from the French; and alſo a tranſlation of "the Commentaries of Blaiſe de Montluc, "Marſhal of France." The following year he publiſhed, in 8*vo*. 'the Planter's Manual, 'being Inſtructions for cultivating all ſorts of fruit-trees (*h*).' In 1678, he publiſhed at London, in 8*vo*, his moſt celebrated performance, under the following title: 'Scarronides, 'or Virgil Traveſtie; a Mock Poem, on the firſt and fourth Books of Virgil's Æneis, in 'Engliſh Burleſque.' This has paſſed through many editions. The *eighth* was publiſhed in 1700, and the *fifteenth* in 1771. It has been remarked, that though the title of this piece ſeems to imply, that 'his poem was in imitation of Scarron, who has tranſlated eight 'books of Virgil in the ſame manner, yet they, who will compare both theſe pieces, will 'poſſibly find, that he has not only exceeded the French, but all thoſe who have made 'any attempts in that kind of poetry, the incomparable author of Hudibras excepted (*i*).' There is, undoubtedly, a great degree of humour in the *Virgil Traveſtie* of Cotton; but it muſt at the ſame time be confeſſed, that there is too much indelicay and indecency. He likewiſe publiſhed, in 12*mo*, 'Burleſque upon Burleſque; or the Scoffer ſcoffed; being 'ſome of Lucian's Dialogues newly put into Engliſh Fuſtian.' Theſe dialogues have been much read, the eighth edition having been printed in 1771. In point of merit, they may be ranked with his *Virgil Traveſtie*; they have the ſame humour, and the ſame licentiouſneſs.

(*d*) Hawkins, *ut ſupra*.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) Vol. ii. p. 156.

(*g*) Hawkins, *ut ſupra*.

(*h*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 302.

At what time Mr. Cotton loſt his firſt wife, we meet with no account; but it appears that his ſecond marriage was with the Counteſs Dowager of Ardglas, who poſſeſſed a jointure of fifteen hundred pounds a year, and who ſurvived him (*k*). One of his favourite recreations was angling [*E*], which occaſioned a very intimate friendſhip between him and Mr. Iſaac Walton, whom he called his father. His houſe, as he informs us himſelf, was ſituated "upon the margin of one of the fineſt rivers (*l*) for trouts and grayling in "England (*m*)." Here he alſo built a little fiſhing-houſe dedicated to anglers, over the door of which the initial letters of his own name, and Iſaac Walton's, were placed together in a cypher. This edifice is ſtill ſtanding, and has been lately thus deſcribed. 'It is of 'ſtone, and the room on the inſide a cube of about fifteen feet: it is paved with black and 'white marble. In the middle is a ſquare black marble table, ſupported by two ſtone 'feet. The room is wainſcotted, with curious mouldings that divide the panels up to 'the cieling: in the larger panels are repreſented in painting ſome of the moſt pleaſant of 'the adjacent ſcenes, with perſons fiſhing; and in the ſmaller, the various ſorts of tackle 'and implements uſed in angling. In the farther corner, on the left, is a fire-place, with 'a chimney; and on the right, a large beaufet, with folding-doors, whereon are the portraits of Mr. Cotton, with a boy-ſervant, and Walton, in the dreſs of the time: under-

(*k*) Hawkins, *ut ſupra*, p. 15.

(*l*) The river Dove, which divides the counties of Derby and Stafford.

(*m*) Complete Angler, P. ii. p. 7.

[*C*] *In compliance to the will of his father.*] Sir John Hawkins ſays, that 'his father, being a man 'of bright parts, gave him themes and authors 'whereon to exerciſe his judgment and learning, even 'to the time of his entering into the ſtate of matri-'mony; the firſt fruit of which exerciſes was, as it 'ſeems, his Elegy on the gallant Lord Derby (4).'

(4) *Ibid.* p. 6.

[*D*] *A Burleſque Poem, &c. called "a Voyage to Ireland."*] 'In this poem he relates, with ſingular 'pleaſantry, that at Cheſter, coming out of church, 'he was taken notice of by the Mayor of the city for 'his rich garb, and particularly a gold belt that he 'then wore, and by him invited home to ſupper, and 'very hoſpitably entertained (5).'

(5) *Ibid.* p. 9.

[*E*] *One of his favourite recreations was angling.*] In one of his poems are the following lines:

'O my beloved nymph! fair Dove,
'Princeſs of rivers, how I love
'Upon thy flow'ry banks to lie,
'And view thy ſilver ſtream,
'When gilded by a ſummer's beam!
'And in it all thy wanton fry
'Playing at liberty,
'And with my angle upon them,
'The All of Treachery
'I ever learn'd, to practiſe and to try (6).'

(6) Poems, p. 136.

"neath

'neath is a cupboard, on the door whereof the figures of a trout, and alſo of a grayling, 'are well pourtrayed (*n*).' When four editions had been publiſhed of Walton's Complete Angler, Mr. Cotton wrote "Inſtructions how to angle for a Trout or Grayling, in a clear "ſtream." Theſe have ever ſince been publiſhed as a ſecond part of Walton's book [*F*], and have been obſerved to be "a judicious Supplement" to that work (*o*).

(*n*) Notes to the Compl. Angler, 21. edit. 1784.

(*o*) Hawkins, *ut ſupra*.

In 1681, Mr. Cotton publiſhed a poem, called, "the Wonders of the Peak;" which is a performance of little merit; but in 1685, he publiſhed, in three volumes, 8*vo*, an excellent tranſlation of Montaigne's Eſſays [*G*], which has ſince paſſed through ſeveral editions. He is ſuppoſed to have died in the year 1687, in the pariſh of St. James's, Weſtminſter. He appears to have died inſolvent, as Elizabeth Bludworth, his principal creditor, adminiſtered to his effects, his widow and children having previouſly renounced the adminiſtration (*p*). After his death, in 1689, a collection of his "Poems on ſeveral occaſions" was publiſhed in one volume, octavo. This collection conſiſts of tranſlations, imitations of Horace, ſongs [*H*], ſonnets, and epigrams, ſome humorous and ſarcaſtic pieces, and a few of a more ſerious nature [*I*]. A volume in 12*mo*. has been ſeveral times printed (*q*), entitled, "the Genuine Poetical Works of Charles Cotton, Eſq;" but this does not contain half the poetical productions of Mr. Cotton; it including only his Virgil Traveſtie, his Burleſque of Lucian, and the Wonders of the Peak; and not comprehending any of the poems in the collection publiſhed in 1689. Beſides the pieces already mentioned, he tranſlated "Memoirs of the Sieur De Pontis," which were publiſhed by his ſon, Mr. Beresford Cotton, in 1694 (*r*).

(*p*) *Ibid.*

(*q*) The ſixth edit. was publiſhed in 1771.

(*r*) Hawkins, *ut ſupra*.

He was a man of conſiderable abilities, and appears to have been an elegant ſcholar, and much diſtinguiſhed by his polite and engaging manners. But many of his productions are too licentious in their tendency, and the imprudence of his conduct brought him into a variety of difficulties. Mr. Granger ſays, that 'he was ſociable, hoſpitable, and generous; 'but as he was far from being an oeconomiſt, he, in the latter part of his life, was much

[*F*] *Publiſhed a ſecond part of Walton's book.*] Sir John Hawkins obſerves, that 'the ſecond part of the 'Complete Angler is apparently an imitation of 'the firſt. It is a courſe of dialogues between the 'author, ſhadowed under the name of Piſcator, and 'a traveller, the very perſon diſtinguiſhed in the 'firſt part by the name of Venator, and whom Walton 'of a hunter has made an angler; in which, beſides 'the inſtructions there given, and the beautiful 'ſcenery of a wild and romantic country therein diſ-'played, the urbanity, courteſy, and hoſpitality of a 'well-bred country Gentleman, are repreſented to 'great advantage (7).'

(7) Life, *ut ſupra*, p. 10.

[*G*] *An excellent tranſlation of Montaigne's Eſſays.*] This is ſo good a tranſlation, that it has been thought to be fully equal to the original, and ſome have even ſuppoſed it to be ſuperior (8). He dedicated it to George Saville, Marquis of Halifax; and that Nobleman expreſſed his eſteem for the tranſlator, and admiration of the performance, in the following letter:

(8) Life, *ut ſupra*, p. 12.

'Sir,

'I have too long delayed my thanks to you for 'giving me ſuch an obliging evidence of your re-'membrance: that alone would have been a welcome 'preſent, but when joined with the book in the world, 'I am the beſt entertained with, it raiſeth a ſtrong 'deſire in me to be better known, where I am ſure 'to be ſo much pleaſed. I have till now thought wit 'could not be tranſlated, and do ſtill retain ſo much 'of that opinion, that I believe it impoſſible, except 'by one whoſe genius cometh up to that of the 'author. You have ſo kept the original ſtrength of 'his thought, that it almoſt tempts a man to believe 'the tranſmigration of ſouls; and that he being uſed 'to hills is come into the moorlands to reward us 'here in England, for doing him more right than his 'country will afford him. He hath by your means 'mended his firſt edition: to tranſplant and make 'him ours, is not only a valuable acquiſition to us, 'but a juſt cenſure of the critical impertinence of 'thoſe French ſcribblers, who have taken pains to 'make little cavils and exceptions, to leſſen the re-'putation of this great man, whom nature hath made 'too big to confine himſelf to the exactneſs of a 'ſtudied ſtile. He let his mind have its full flight, 'and ſheweth, by a generous kind of negligence, 'that he did not write for praiſe, but to give to the 'world a true picture of himſelf and of mankind. 'He ſcorned affected periods, or to pleaſe the miſta-'ken reader with an empty chime of words. He 'hath no affectation to ſet himſelf out, and depend-'eth wholly upon the natural force of what is his 'own, and the excellent application of what he 'borroweth.

'You ſee, Sir, that I have kindneſs enough for 'Monſieur de Montaigne to be your rival, but no 'body can now pretend to be in equal competition 'with you. I do willingly yield, which is no ſmall 'matter for a man to do to a more proſperous lover; 'and if you will repay this piece of juſtice with an-'other, pray believe, that he, who can tranſlate ſuch 'an author without doing him wrong, muſt not only 'make me glad, but proud of being his

'Moſt humble ſervant,

HALIFAX (9).'

(9) Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 303, 304.

[*H*] *Songs.*] Among his bacchanalian Songs, is one that is well known, and of which the following is the firſt ſtanza:

'Come let's mind our drinking,
'Away with this thinking;
'It ne'er, that I heard of, did any one good;
'Prevents not diſaſter,
'But brings it on faſter,
'Miſchance is by mirth and by courage
'withſtood (10).'

(10) Poems, p. 74.

[*I*] *A few of a more ſerious nature.*] From one of theſe, called *the Retirement*, written in irregular ſtanzas, and addreſſed to Mr. Iſaac Walton, we ſhall ſelect the following lines:

'O ſolitude, the ſoul's beſt friend,
'That man acquainted with himſelf doſt make,
'And all his Maker's Wonders to intend;
'With thee I here converſe at will,
'And would be glad to do ſo ſtill;
'For it is thou alone that keep'ſt the ſoul awake.

'How calm and quiet a delight
'It is alone
'To read, and meditate, and write,
'By none offended, nor offending none;
'To walk, ride, ſit, or ſleep at one's own eaſe,
'And pleaſing a man's ſelf, none other to diſ-
'pleaſe (11).'

(11) *Ibid.* p. 135.

'involved in debt, and perpetually harraſſed with duns [*K*], attornies, and bailiffs (*s*).' It is ſaid, that a report is current in the neighbourhood in which he lived, that by ſome ſarcaſtic lines in his *Virgil Traveſtie*, wherein he had made mention of a ſingular ruff, worn by a grandmother, or, as ſome ſay, an aunt of his, who lived in the Peak, he ſo exceedingly offended the old Lady, that ſhe revoked a clauſe in her will, whereby ſhe had bequeathed to him an eſtate of four or five hundred pounds a year (*t*): but this ſtory ſeems not to be well-grounded [*L*]. He had ſeveral children by his firſt Lady, but none by his ſecond. His ſon, Beresford Cotton, had a company given him in a regiment of foot, raiſed by the Earl of Derby, for the Service of King William; and one of his daughters was married to Dr. George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury (*u*).'] T.

(*s*) Biog. Hiſt. of England, vol. iv. p. 51.

(*t*) Vid. Life, *ut ſupra*, p. 153 and Biog. Dram. vol. i. p. 100.

(*u*) Hawkins, *ut ſupra*.

[*K*] *Involved in debt, and perpetually harraſſed with duns*, &c.] In the ſecond Canto of his *Voyage to Ireland in Burleſque*, are the following lines, as a part of the account which he gave of himſelf to the Mayor of Cheſter:

'I anſwer'd, my country was fam'd Staffordſhire;
'That in deeds, bills, and bonds, I was ever writ
'ſquire;
'That of land, I had both ſorts, ſome good, and
'ſome evil,
'But that a great part on't was pawn'd to the
'Devil (12).'

(12) *Ibid.* p. 186.

In his *Epiſtle to Sir Clifford Clifton*, ſpeaking of himſelf, are alſo the following lines:

'He always wants money, which makes him
'want eaſe,
'And he's always beſieg'd, tho' himſelf of the peace,
'By an army of duns, who batter with ſcandals,
'And are foemen more fierce than the Goths or
'the Vandals (13).'

(13) *Ibid.* p. 329.

[*L*] *This ſtory ſeems not to be well grounded.*] The lines referred to muſt be the following:

'And then there is a fair great ruff,
'Made of a pure and coſtly ſtuff,
'To wear about her highneſs' neck,
'Like Mrs. Cockaney's in the Peak (14).'

(14) Virgil Traveſtie, p. 53. edit. 1700.

But we do not find that he had either aunt, or grandmother, whoſe name was Cockaney. In the collection of his Poems, publiſhed after his death, we meet with an Epitaph on "his dear aunt, Mrs. Anne "Stanhope," whom he ſpeaks of as the beſt of kindred, and of friends, and the beſt of women (15).]

(15) Poems, p. 352.

COVEL (JOHN), a very learned Divine, in the ſeventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth Century, was born at Horningſhearth in Suffolk, in the Year 1638 (*a*) being the ſon of William Covel of that place (*b*). He was educated in Grammar-learning at St. Edmund's Bury, under Mr. Stephens; and on the 31ſt of March 1654, in the ſixteenth year of his age, admitted into Chriſt's College in Cambridge, of which he was afterwards choſen Fellow (*c*). In the year 1657, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Maſter in 1661 (*d*). Afterwards entering into Holy Orders, he had the advantage of going, in 1670, as Chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey (*e*), Ambaſſador from King Charles II. to the Ottoman Porte; where he ſerved, in that quality, both him, and his ſucceſſor, Sir John Finch, for the ſpace of ſeven years (*f*). Some time after his return to England he was created Doctor in Divinity, namely in 1679 (*g*); and the ſame year was choſen Lady Margaret's Preacher in the Univerſity of Cambridge (*h*). On the 5th of March 1680, he had inſtitution to the Sine-cure-Rectory of Littlebury in Eſſex, to which he was preſented by Dr. Gunning Biſhop of Ely (*i*): and, on the 9th of November 1687, he was inſtalled into the Chancellorſhip of York, conferred upon him by the King, during the vacancy of that See (*k*). On the 7th of July 1688 he was elected Maſter of Chriſt's College (*l*), in which ſtation he behaved as a good and prudent Governor. He was alſo Rector of Kegworth in Leiceſterſhire (*m*). In the year 1708, he ſerved the office of Vice-chancellor in the Univerſity of Cambridge (*n*). At length, after having led a kind of itinerant life, [as he himſelf informs us (*o*),] at York, in Holland, and elſewhere; he arrived at his long Journey's end, on the 19th of December 1722, in the 85th year of his age; and was buried in the Chapel of Chriſt's College, where there is an Epitaph to his memory [*A*]. He gave a Benefaction of Three pounds a year to the poor of the pariſh of Littlebury above-mentioned (*p*). Having, during his ſeven years reſidence at Conſtantinople, had an opportunity of informing himſelf well of the ancient and preſent ſtate of the Greek Church, and collected ſeveral curious obſervations and notices relating thereto; he digeſted them, during the remainder of his Life, into a curious and uſeful Book, publiſhed not long before his deceaſe. It is intituled, 'Some Account of the preſent Greek Church, with Re-'flections on their preſent Doctrine and Diſcipline; particularly in the Euchariſt, and the 'reſt of their ſeven pretended Sacraments, compared with Jac. Goar's Notes upon the

(*a*) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below.

(*b*) From Memoirs communicated to us.

(*c*) From the College-Regiſter.

(*d*) From the Univerſity Reg.

(*e*) Sir Dan. Harvey was appointed Ambaſſador to Conſtantinople in Aug. 1668. The Hiſtorian's Guide, 8vo. edit. 1688, p. 72.

(*f*) See ſome Account of the preſent Greek Church, &c. by J. Covel, D.D. Camb. 1722, fol. in the Dedicat. p. 3; and Pref. p. 1.

(*g*) From the Univerſity Regiſt.

(*h*) See Catalogue of Preachers at Cambridge, prefixed to the Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon, republiſhed by T. Baker, B.D. Lond. 1708, 8vo.

(*i*) *Repertorium Eccleſ.* &c. by R. Newcourt, vol. ii. p. 394.

(*k*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; vol. i. p. 81. See *ibid.* p. 59.

(*l*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, edit. 1716, fol. p. 432.

(*m*) Br. Willis, *ibid.*

(*n*) J. Le Neve, *ubi ſupra*, p. 409.

(*o*) Dedication to Account of the preſent Greek Church, as above.

(*p*) Hiſt. and Antiq. of Eſſex, by N. Salmon, p. 134.

[*A*] *Where there is an Epitaph to his memory*] As follows.

Lector,

Hic Sepultas habes, beatam Reſurrectionem expectantis, Reliquias venerabilis & eruditiſſimi Viri Johannis Covel, S. T. P. nuper hujus Collegij Cuſtodis ſive Magiſtri, nec non Eccleſ. Cathedr. Eborac. Cancellarij.

Obiit Dec. XIX. A°. D. MDCCXXII.
Ætat. LXXXV.

i. e. Here lye buried, in hopes of a bleſſed Reſurrection, the remains of that venerable and moſt learned man John Covel, D.D. late Maſter of this College, and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of York.

He died December 19, 1722, in the 85th Year of his Age.

Greek

'Greek Ritual, or ΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ.' Cambridge MDCCXXII. fol. [*B*]. As for the Author's

[B] *Some account of the preſent Greek Church*, &c.] The chief occaſion of that work, was the great Controverſy which for ſeveral years was hotly debated in the laſt Century, by two of the moſt eminent Divines of France, Monſieur *Arnauld* Doctor of the Sorbonne, on the ſide of the Papiſts; and Monſ. *Claude* Miniſter of Charenton, in behalf of the Proteſtants. The former, not being content to ſay, That the Church in all ages believed Tranſubſtantiation, did alſo poſitively affirm, That all the Eaſtern Churches do at this very day believe it, in the ſame ſenſe as it was defined by the Council of Trent. Mr. Claude, in his anſwer to him, brought moſt authentic proofs of the contrary. Whereupon Arnauld ſet all the Miſſionaries of the Eaſt on work to procure Teſtimonies for him: Which, by bribes and other indirect means, they obtained in ſuch numbers, that there was, ſoon after, a large Quarto in French printed at Paris, full of the names of Patriarchs, Biſhops, and Doctors of thoſe Churches, who all approved the Roman Doctrine (1). But Monſ. Claude having had moſt certain Information, by means of a French Gentleman at Colchis, that ſome of thoſe Teſtimonies were mere Fictions; and others quite otherwiſe than they were told; he ſent ſome Queries into the Eaſt, and deſired the Engliſh Clergymen reſiding there, to enquire of the Greeks, and other Eaſtern Chriſtians of the beſt note, who had no correſpondence with the Romaniſts, nor were Emiſſaries of the Court of Rome, or retainers to them: 'Whether Tranſubſtantiation (μετουσίωσις) *i. e.* the real 'and natural change of the whole ſubſtance of the 'Bread into the ſame numerical ſubſtance as the 'body of Chriſt which is in heaven, be an article of 'Faith amongſt them, and the contrary be accounted 'heretical and impious,' &c (2). This ſet therefore Dr. Covel upon examining thoroughly into that point. But, after all, he declares, that the Greeks, and Eaſterlings, are ſo far from being learned and well verſed in that Controverſy, that he never met with one amongſt them, who ever pretended fully to underſtand, much leſs ever offered to clear that matter. 'I have, ſays he, here and there met with an Eaſt-'erling brought up in the College *de propaganda* '*fide* at Rome, or elſewhere in Italy, who would 'ſometimes venture at a Solution to ſome difficulties 'about tranſubſtantiation; but it was ever done only 'by ſome ſcraps of the common evaſions and jargon 'of the Schools, and never with any ſatisfactory or ſo-'lid reaſon. But from a native Greek, or Eaſterling, 'who was never out of his country, (though he was 'there a man of ſome dignity) I never could meet 'with any tolerable reaſoning or anſwer towards the 'clearing of the point. Many of my acquaintance 'would avoid any ſet diſcourſe about theſe matters. 'Some few who had picked up any ſcattered notions 'in the Eaſt, or elſewhere, from the Romiſh emiſ-'ſaries, would offer them very imperfectly, and as ill 'apply them. But as for the bulk of their Clergy '(the far greateſt part of their Prelates and topping 'Miniſters) I do poſitively aſſert, that they are in ge-'neral profoundly ignorant in theſe points; and not 'one of a thouſand amongſt the ordinary Prieſts knows 'any thing of the matter. They have no books to 'read, but their Hours of Prayer, and common 'Church Offices, which are very numerous; and in 'Country-Churches you will rarely find any of theſe, 'except their common Euchologium, their ordinary 'Prayers and Liturgies: and theſe, like parrots, they 'commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and 'uſe them very imperfectly with ſtrange variety and 'confuſion (3).' Afterwards he obſerves, 'That 'we need not wonder at the want of Learning among 'the Greeks, and other Eaſterlings, ſince they have 'no Academies or Schools for inſtructing Students in 'any points of Philoſophy, Divinity, Mathematics, 'or any other part of the polite Literature of 'Europe (4).' Upon the whole therefore, we may eaſily judge, how incompetent Judges ſuch ignorant perſons are in that and other religious matters; and how little their teſtimonies are to be depended upon. Nor can it be really believed, that their Subſcriptions 'contained in them the real Faith or Sentiments of the 'whole Eaſtern Church, or the poſitive, firm, and 'clear belief of every particular Subſcriber (5).'

In order to trace this point to its fountain and original Head, and to place it in a true light, our Author wrote the *Account of the preſent Greek Church*, now before us. He divides the whole into *two Books*, whereof the *Firſt* contains *five* chapters, and the *Second* but two. In the 1ſt Chapter, 'he gives his private thoughts 'concerning the Chriſtian Communion in general;' And ſhews, how ſolemn, but withal how ſimple and plain, the celebration of the Euchariſt was in the Primitive Church. In the 2d Chapter, he explains, 'How the familiar and primitive way, of breaking 'bread, and drinking wine together like brethren, 'joined with plain and known Forms of Prayer and 'Thankſgiving, in a devout remembrance of Chriſt, 'hath been loaded and clogged with amuſing Rites and 'empty Ceremonies.' And here he repreſents in figures the chief Ceremonies uſed by the Greeks at the adminiſtration of the Euchariſt; and gives an Engliſh tranſlation of their form of celebrating it, from St. Chryſoſtome's Liturgy, printed in their Euchologium, or Prayer-Book. The 3d Chapter contains 'ſome 'Notes upon that Liturgy, which is attributed to 'St. Chryſoſtome.' In the 4th he gives his conjecture, 'How the plain and familiar way of the firſt 'adminiſtration of the Euchariſt came to be turned 'into the preſent Greeks practice of conſecrating, and 'partaking of, only a *few little bits and mites of* '*bread*, [μερίδες or portions] and of giving to the 'Laity only *a little Spoonful of wine*.' The 5th Chapter contains 'ſome Obſervations concerning the 'firſt riſe of that new doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, 'and the endeavours uſed to propagate it over the 'whole Chriſtian world.' Under which he ſhews, That it was not introduced into the Greek Church, till after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks; that is, till after the Year of Chriſt 1453.——The 1ſt Chapter of the *Second* book treats of 'the Greeks 'ſeven Myſteries or Sacraments:' namely, 1. Confirmation; 2. Prieſthood; 3. Orders; 4. Matrimony; 5. Penance; 6. Auricular Confeſſion; and 7. Extreme Unction. The 2d and laſt Chapter, is, 'Con-'cerning Images, and the worſhip of Saints.'——The author intermixes throughout curious accounts of the Jewiſh and Mahometan cuſtoms and Ceremonies. He tells us for inſtance, that 'all over Turkey where 'he happened to travel, the common bread is not 'much unlike our thicker ſort of Pancakes, being very 'ſoft, and ſeldom above a day old; ſo as you may 'wind it round your finger. This flat loaf, or rather 'cake, is round, and about the breadth of one of our 'plates, and about an inch thick at moſt. When we 'eat at an ordinary man's houſe, (be it Turk, Greek, 'Armenian, Jew, &c.) the maſter, or chief of the 'family, or ſome friend by his appointment, takes 'as many of theſe loaves, or cakes, as he thinks ſufficient for the preſent company, and with his hands '*breaks*, or rather pulls them into pieces of moderate 'bigneſs, and ſtrews them all upon the table, or what-'ever elſe they eat upon.'——'Moreover, the 'common food in Turkey, be it boiled or roaſted, is 'never cooked in whole joints, but in ſmall morſels; 'ſo that there is no uſe of knives at the table, but 'every one takes a bit of the bread, and dipping it in 'the diſh, he takes up with it a morſel of meat between his thumb and his two fore fingers, and ſo puts 'all into his mouth together. If theſe morſels be 'boiled (as they often are with their *Churbaw*, or 'Potage) they firſt eat the potage with a wooden ſpoon, 'or ſop it up with bits of the bread, and then take up 'the more ſolid morſels remaining, and eat them (6).' The concluſion of the whole work is written with ſuch an excellent Spirit, that we cannot forbear laying it before the Reader—'I have ſincerely and impartially, and I hope candidly, ſet down *only my own* '*private thoughts*, and I would not willingly be judged '*an abſolute ſlave to any party*, but as I really am, *a* '*compaſſionate lover of every good Chriſtian who heartily deſires to ſerve our God in Spirit and in truth*. I 'muſt verily think with myſelf that thoſe great 'Churches, which perfectly differ from us, *have in* '*many*

(1) Preface to ſome Account of the Greek Ch. p. 11.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 2. 5, &c.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 6, 7.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 8.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 20.

(6) Account of the preſent Greek Church, &c. p. 1.

Author's Character; we are informed, that he was 'a perſon noted for polite and curious 'Learning, ſingular humanity, and knowledge of the World (*q*).'

(*q*) T. Baker, *ubi ſupra*.

'*many things, left their firſt Love, and have hewn out* '*unto themſelves many broken ciſterns that can hold no* '*water*. But God forbid that I ſhould raſhly return 'upon them their extravagant *anathema's*, or peremp- 'torily *damn them*, that is, *deliver them unto Satan and* '*adjudge them all to Hell-fire*, as they ſerve *us*; *who am* '*I* (poor, private, obſcure creature) *that I ſhould* '*judge another's ſervant?* For my part I will leave 'them *to the righteous Judge of all the world, before* '*whoſe Judgment-Seat we ſhall all one day* ſtand.'

The Author having made uſe of ſeveral curious (and before, unknown) Manuſcripts, he took care, for the Reader's ſatisfaction, to depoſite them in the late Earl of Oxford's Library, at Wimpole near Cambridge.

M.

COVERDALE (MILES), Biſhop of Exeter in the reign of Edward VI. and author of ſeveral Tracts [*A*], was born in Yorkſhire, in the reign of Henry VII [*B*], and, being educated in the Romiſh religion, became an Auguſtin Monk. Afterwards, embracing the Reformation, he entered into Holy Orders (*a*) [*C*]. He aſſiſted William Tindal in the Engliſh Verſion of the Bible, publiſhed in 1537, and afterwards reviſed and corrected the edition of it in a larger volume, with notes, in 1540 (*b*). On the 14th of Aug. (*c*) 1551, he ſucceeded Dr. John Harman in the See of Exeter, being promoted *propter ſingularem ſacrarum literarum doctrinam, moreſque probatiſſimos* (*d*), i. e. 'on account of his 'extraordinary knowledge in Divinity, and his unblemiſhed character (*e*).' The Patent for conferring this biſhoprick on him, though a married man, is dated Auguſt 14, 1551, at Weſtminſter (*f*). Upon the change of religion in Queen Mary's reign, Biſhop Coverdale was ejected from his See, and thrown into priſon; out of which he was releaſed at the earneſt requeſt of the King of Denmark, and, as a very great favour, permitted to go into baniſhment. Soon after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion to the throne, he returned from his exile, but refuſed to be reſtored to his biſhoprick. He died, in a good old age, at London, and lies buried in the Church of St. Bartholomew-Exchange (*g*) [*D*].

(*a*) Baleus, *de Script. Brit. Cent.* 9. n. 61.
(*b*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 183.
(*c*) Godwin, *ubi infra*, ſays the 20th.
(*d*) 1 Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 1.
(*e*) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 680.
(*f*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. vol. xv. p. 283.
(*g*) Godwin, *de Præſul. Angl. inter epiſc. Exon. an.* 1551.

[*A*] *He was author of ſeveral Tracts.*] He wrote I. *The Chriſtian Rule or ſtate of all the worlde from the higheſt to the loweſt: and how every man ſhulde lyve to pleaſe god in hys callynge.* II. *The Chriſten ſtate of Matrymonye, wherein huſbandes and wyfes maye lerne to keepe houſe together with loue. The Originall of holy wedloke: whan, where, how, and of whom it was inſtituted and ordeyned: what it is: how it ought to procede: what be the occaſions, frute, and commodities thereof: contrarywyſe how ſhamefull and horrible a thinge whoredome and aduoutry* * *is: how one ought alſo to choſe hym a mete and convenient ſpouſe to kepe and increace the mutual loue, trouth and dewtye of wedloke: and how married folkes ſhulde bring up theyer chyldren in the feare of god.* III. *A Chriſten Exhortation to cuſtomable Swearers. What a ryghte and lawfull othe is: whan, and before whome it oughte to be.* IV. *The maner of ſayenge grace, or gywyng thankes to god, after the doctrine of holy ſcrypture.* IV. *The old Fayth: an evident probacion out of the holy ſcrypture, that the Chriſten Faith (which is the ryghte, true, olde, and undoubted fayth) hath endured ſens the beginnyng of the worlde. Herein haſt thou alſo a ſhort ſumme of the whole Byble, and a probacion, that al vertuous men have pleaſed god, and wer ſaved through the Chriſten fayth.* Theſe four pieces are printed together in a ſmall *duodecimo*, and a black letter, *an.* 1547. V. *A faythfull and true Pronoſtication upon the year* M.CCCC. xlix. *and perpetualy after to the worldes ende, gathered out of the prophecies and ſcryptures of god, by the experience and practiſe of his workes, very comfortable for all Chriſten hertes; devided into ſeven chapters.* VI. *A Spirituall Almanacke, wherein every Chriſten man and woman may ſee what they ought daylye to do, or leaue undone. Not after the doctrine of the Papiſtes, not after the lernynge of Ptolomy, or other heythen Aſtronomers, but out of the very true and wholſome doctryne of god our almighty heavenly father, ſhewed unto us in his worde by his prophetes, apoſtles, but ſpecyaly by his dere ſonne Jeſus Chriſt: and is to be kept not onely this newe yeare, but contynually unto the daye of the lorde's comyng agayne.* Theſe two were printed in a thin *duodecimo*, and a black letter, at London by Richard Kele, 'dwellynge at the longe ſhoppe in the Poultry 'under ſaynt Myldreds church, *cum privelegio ad im-* '*primendum ſolum*.' Bale aſcribes ſome other pieces to our author; particularly, *A Confutation of John Standiſh*, a tract on the *Lord's Supper*, *A Concordance to the New Teſtament*, *A Chriſtian Catechiſm*; and ſome *tranſlations* from Bullinger, Luther, Oſiander, Johannes Campenſis, and Eraſmus (1).

(*) Adultery.

(1) Baleus, *de Script. Brit. Cent.* 9. n. 61.

[*B*] *Born in the reign of Henry* VII.] This I infer from his dying an old man in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. For, ſuppoſing him to have died about the ſeventieth year of his age, and not many years (as is moſt probable) after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion in 1558, the year of his birth will fall ſomewhere between 1490 and 1500. But Henry VII. began his reign in 1485, and died in 1509.

[*C*] *Went into holy Orders.*] Bale tells us (2), he was one of the firſt, who, upon the revival of the Church of England, together with Dr. Robert Barns, taught the purity of the Goſpel, and dedicated himſelf wholly to the ſervice of the reformed religion. *Ex primis unus erat, qui renaſcente Anglorum eccleſia, cum Roberto Barnſo, ſuæ profeſſionis doctore, Chriſtum pure docuit. Alii partim, hic ſe totum dedidit ad propagandam evangelii regni Dei Gloriam.*

(2) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *Lyes buried in the Church of St. Bartholomew-Exchange.*] Upon his Grave-ſtone is the following Inſcription (3):

(3) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 377.

Hic tandem requiemque ferens finemque laborum
Oſſa Coverdali mortua tumbus habet:
Exoniæ qui præſul erat digniſſimus olim,
Inſignis vitæ vir probitate ſuæ.
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit et unum,
Indignum paſſus ſæpius exilium.
Sic tandem variis jactatus caſibus iſte
Excipitur gremio, terra benigna, tuo.

I have been obliged to make ſome alterations in this Epitaph, which ſeems to have been faultily tranſcribed in my author: for in the third line he has put *Oxoniæ* for *Exoniæ*; in the ſixth, *indigni* for *indignum*; in the ſeventh, *jactabam* for *jactatus*, and *iſta* for *iſte*; and in the laſt line *excepitur* for *excipitur*, and *ſuo* for *tuo*.

B.

*** [The following farther particulars relative to Biſhop Coverdale, have obligingly been communicated by Mr. Brooke, Somerſet Herald, from a manuſcript in his poſſeſſion.

" He (Coverdale) was Almoner to Queen Cathe- " rine Parr, the laſt wife of King Henry the Eighth, " a Lady who much favoured the reformed religion; " and as ſuch, officiated at her funeral in September " 1548, in the Chapel at Sundeley-Caſtle in Glou- " ceſterſhire, the ſeat of her third huſband, Thomas, " Lord

" Lord Seymour of Sudley; and took that opportu-
" nity of declaring his ſentiments on religion in the
" ſermon he preached, which, my author ſays, was
" very good and godlie, and in one place thereof he
" toke occaſion to declare unto the people howe that
" there ſhulde none there thinke, ſeye nor ſpread
" abrode, that the offeringe which was there don,
" was don anye thing to proffytt the deade, but for
" the poore onlye; and alſo the lights which were
" caried and ſtode abowte the corps, were for the
" honnour of the parſon, and for none other entente
" nor purpoſe; and ſo wente thorowghe with his
" Sermonde, and made a godlye Prayer, &c."

Our Predeceſſor ought to have mentioned the reaſon of Dr. Coverdale's refuſing to be reſtored to his Biſhopric, which was his attachment to the principles of the Puritans. He had aſſiſted at the conſecration of Queen Elizabeth's firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury; but, becauſe he could not comply with the ceremonies and habits, he was neglected, and for a time had no preferment of any kind. However, when he was become both old and poor, Grindal, Biſhop of London, gave him the ſmall living of St. Magnus, at the Bridge foot. Here he preached quietly about two years; but not coming up to the terms of conformity then required, he was obliged to relinquiſh his pariſh a little before his death. He was very much admired by the Puritans, who flocked to him in great numbers, while he officiated at St. Magnus's Church, which he did without the habits. When he was deprived of his living, his followers were obliged to ſend to his houſe on Saturdays, to know where they might hear him the next day. At this the Government took umbrage; ſo that the good old man was under the neceſſity of telling his friends, that he durſt not inform them any more of his preaching, for fear of offending his ſuperiors (4).

Dr. Richardſon, in his noble edition of Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ, ſays that Coverdale died on the 20th of May, 1565 (5); but Mr. Neal aſſerts, that his death happened on the 20th of May, 1567, when he was eighty one years of age (6).] K.

(4) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 185. 229, 230, 8*vo.* edit.
(5) P. 417, note p.
(6) Neal, *ubi ſupra*, p. 185.

*** [COURAYER (PETER FRANCIS), a learned Divine of the Church of Rome, who was long reſident in England, was born at Vernon, in Normandy, in the year 1681 (*a*). Being brought up and educated for the Church, he became Canon regular and Librarian of the Abbey of St. Genevieve. This muſt have been a ſituation extremely favourable to the proſecution of his ſtudies, as the Library of which he had the care is a very conſiderable one [*A*]. Among other theological inquiries, he engaged in one, which was productive of very important conſequences reſpecting his future life. Having been employed in reading Abbé Renaudot's *Memoire ſur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois*, inſerted in Abbé Gould's *La veritable Croyance de l'Egliſe Catholique*, he was induced to enter into a farther examination of that ſubject (*b*). Accordingly he drew up a memoir upon it, for his own ſatisfaction only, but which grew inſenſibly into a treatiſe; and at the inſtance of ſome friends to whom it was communicated, he was at length prevailed with to conſent to its publication [*B*]. He, therefore, made the uſual application for permiſſion to print it; and obtained the approbation of Monſ. Arnaudin [*C*], the Royal Licenſer of the Preſs. Some perſons, however, afterwards found means to prevail on the Chancellor to refuſe to affix the Seal to the approbation of the Licenſer. Terms were propoſed to Father Courayer, to which he could not accede, and he gave up all thoughts of publiſhing (*c*). Some of his friends, however, being in poſſeſſion of a copy, reſolved to print it; and this obliged him to acquieſce in the publication. When he firſt wrote his Treatiſe, all his materials were taken from printed authorities, and he had no acquaintance or correſpondence in England. But ſundry difficulties, which occurred to him in the courſe of

(*a*) Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 84.
(*b*) Obſervations in a Journey to Paris, by Way of Flanders, in 1776, vol. ii. p. 154.
(*c*) *Ibid*, p. 156, 157.

[*A*] *The Library of which he had the care is a very conſiderable one.*] It is repreſented as large and curious; and a late traveller, ſpeaking of the building, ſays, 'This Library is a grand room in the form of a 'croſs, about three hundred feet in length and 'breadth, with a dome finely painted in the center. 'Toward the end of one of the arms of the croſs, a 'door opens into a range of apartments, which are 'furniſhed with antiquities and natural curioſities. 'The collection of minerals and foſſils is very conſiderable (1).'

(1) Obſervations in a Journey to Paris by Way of Flanders, in 1776, vol. ii. p. 19.

[*B*] *Prevailed with to conſent to its publication.*] In the Preface to his *Diſſertation on the Validity of the Engliſh Ordinations*, he ſays, 'If the writings of the 'Engliſh, in favour of their Miniſtry, were better 'known, I ſhould not have troubled the public with 'a book, which it would have then but little need of; 'yet I hope that I ſhall be indulged in ſome meaſure 'in favour of a queſtion ſo important, and ſo little 'examined among us, as this I now propoſe to treat 'of. The thing in queſtion is no leſs, than to know 'if the Church of England *formerly ſo illuſtrious*, and 'even now alſo ſo recommendable for the brightneſs 'of her Prelates, and the erudition of her Clergy, be 'without a ſucceſſion, *without an hierarchy*, without 'a miniſtry. A great many of our divines maintain 'this, and the Engliſh divines deny it (2).'

(2) P. 3, 4.

[*C*] *Obtained the approbation of Monſ. Arnaudin.*] It is publiſhed in the ſecond volume of the *Relation Hiſtorique et Apologetique des Sentimens et de la Conduite du P. le Courayer*; and the following is a tranſlation of it. 'I have read, by order of my Lord Chancel-'lor, a Manuſcript which has for its title *Diſſertation 'ſur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois et ſur la 'Succeſſion des Eveques de l'Egliſe Anglicane*. This 'Diſſertation, of which the matter is as curious as it 'is intereſting, is written with regularity and with 'preciſion. The arguments, made uſe of by the 'learned author, are ſo perſuaſive, and ſo convinc-'ing, that they may juſtly be conſidered as amount-'ing to full demonſtration. Such is the force of 'theſe arguments, that I am perſuaded the Abbé 'Renaudot would himſelf have been convinced by 'them, if death had not taken him from us. That 'great man, who was ſo converſant in every branch 'of literature, always did himſelf the honour to be 'overcome by the truth, and that he would have 'found in this performance. I have ſubſcribed it ſo 'much the more willingly, becauſe the opinion which 'is maintained in it, reſpecting the ordination of the 'Biſhops of England, is the ſame with that of the 'illuſtrious Monſ. Boſſuet, Biſhop of Meaux, whoſe 'juſt taſte in good theology, profound ſcience, and 'extenſive erudition, are known throughout the 'whole Chriſtian world. There is nothing in this 'Diſſertation contrary to the faith of the Church; 'and I am even convinced, that the doctrine con-'tained in this learned and ſolid work, may greatly 'contribute to promote a re-union between the 'Church of England and the Church of Rome, 'which would be a moſt happy event. It would be 'a juſt ſubject of extreme joy to ſee re-entered into 'its boſom a Church, which hath been the mother of 'ſo many conſiderable ſaints, and which yet poſſeſſes 'ſo many learned Biſhops, and ſo great a number of 'fine geniuſſes, who cultivate polite literature and 'the ſciences with diligence and with ſucceſs.

'*Paris*, *Oct.* 1, 1721.

D'ARNAUDIN.'

his

his inquiries, ſuggeſted to him the propriety of writing to England, in order to obtain clearer information on ſome points; and knowing that a correſpondence had been carried on between Dr. Wake, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dr. Dupin, on the project of re-uniting the Churches of England and France, he took the liberty, although entirely unknown to that prelate, to deſire his information reſpecting ſome particulars. The Archbiſhop anſwered his inquiries with great readineſs, candour [*D*], and politeneſs; and many letters paſſed between them on this occaſion. His application to the Archbiſhop appears to have been made upon the very firſt apprehenſion of any difficulty reſpecting his publication: for his Grace's firſt letter to him was dated September 16, 1721. Father Courayer's book was at length publiſhed in 1723, in two volumes, ſmall 8*vo*, under the following title: "Diſſertation ſur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois, et ſur la Suc-" ceſſion des Eveſques de l'Egliſe Anglicane: avec les preuves juſtificatives des faits " avancez dans cet ouvrage." It was printed at Nancy [*E*], though it was ſtated in the title to have been printed at Bruſſels. It was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, by the Rev. Mr. Daniel Williams, and publiſhed at London, in one volume, 8*vo*. under the following title: "A Defence of the Validity of the Engliſh Ordinations [*F*], and of the Suc-" ceſſion of the Biſhops in the Church of England: together with proofs juſtifying the " facts advanced in this treatiſe." Father Courayer's work was immediately attacked by ſeveral Popiſh writers, particularly by Father Le Quien, and Father Hardouin. But in 1726, he publiſhed, in four volumes, 12*mo*. "Defenſe de la Diſſertation ſur la Validité " des Ordinations des Anglois, contre les differentes Réponſes qui y ont été faites. Avec " les Preuves juſtificatives des faits avancez dans cet Ouvrage. Par l'Auteur de la Diſſer-" tation." An Engliſh tranſlation of this alſo was afterwards publiſhed at London, in two volumes, 8*vo*. under the following title: "A Defence of the Diſſertation on the " Validity of the Engliſh Ordinations, againſt the ſeveral Anſwers made to it [*G*], with " proper Vouchers for the Facts advanced in that Work."

But

[*D*] *The Archbiſhop anſwered his Inquiries with great readineſs, candour, &c.*] Father Courayer thus expreſſed himſelf concerning the manner in which Archbiſhop Wake anſwered his Inquiries: 'I owe eſpecially to my Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury this 'honourable teſtimony, that he has ſpared no pains, 'nor no applications, in order to procure for me the 'means of elucidating theſe facts; and that which is 'infinitely more eſtimable, of having manifeſted in 'his own reſearches ſo great a love of truth, and 'ſhewn himſelf ſo deſtitute of all prejudices in favour 'of his own party, that I cannot too much applaud 'his impartiality, his knowledge, and his humanity (3).'

(3) Obſervations, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p 159.

[*E*] *Was printed at Nancy.*] Of this we are informed by himſelf. He ſays, *Quoi qu'imprimée à Nanci ſur l' approbation du Sieur D'Arnaudin et la permiſſion tacite du magiſtrat, le libraire crut devoir degviſer le lieu de l' impreſſion, et la fit paroître ſous le nom de Bruxelles* (4).

(4) Relation hiſtorique et apologetique, tom. i. p. 9.

[*F*] *A Defence of the Validity of the Engliſh Ordinations*] In the Preface to the Tranſlation of this Work, Mr. Williams ſays, 'What the Reader is 'here to expect is, a juſt and rational vindication of 'our Church, from the ridiculous ſtory of a ludicrous conſecration of our Biſhops in Queen Elizabeth's time, at the Nag's-Head in Cheapſide: a 'calumny, firſt invented to ſupport a weak cauſe, and 'continued by perſons as weak and injudicious as the 'firſt inventors of it. The ſucceſſion of our Biſhops 'in general is demonſtrated, and the validity of our 'ordinal is alſo vindicated, with a great deal of 'learning, as well as judgment. The powers of a 'national Church are aſſerted; and it is fully proved, 'that in the alterations made by our Church, ſhe did 'not act in the buſineſs of ordinations inconſiſtently 'with thoſe powers (5).'

(5) Pref. p. 9.

In a letter to Mr. Williams, Father Courayer expreſſed his acknowledgments to that Gentleman for the fidelity of his tranſlation of his work; and he added, 'If my work be reliſhed in England, I doubt 'not, but that I ſhall be partly indebted for it to the 'goodneſs of your tranſlation. In making me ſpeak 'your language, you procure me the approbation of 'a knowing and a learned nation; and you in a 'manner naturalize me among a people eſteemed by 'all the learned men in Europe. This is an obligation which I ſhall be ſcarcely able ſufficiently to 'acknowledge, and which I can only repay by a 'deſire ſo ſee an end put to the ſchiſm and diviſion. 'I wiſh the ſeeds of peace and re-union, which I have 'ſown in this treatiſe, may in time grow up to the 'advantage of your Church, and the joy of ours. 'The return of the Church of England to Catholic 'unity, would quickly draw after it that of all the 'Proteſtant Churches, who ſeem to be more ſenſible 'than ever, of the deficiency of their Government, 'and the exceſſes of their firſt reformers (6).'

(6) Letter from Father Courayer to Mr. Williams, prefixed to the ſecond edition of the Defence of the Engliſh Ordinations, p. 18, 20.

It appears, however, that when Father Courayer wrote the above letter, he had ſeen only ſome ſheets of the tranſlation in manuſcript; and he afterwards complained, that in the impreſſion the manuſcript was caſtrated; though this is ſtated to have been contrary to the intention of the Tranſlator (7).

(7) Pref. to the Defence of the Diſſertation on the Validity of the Engliſh Ordinations, p. 14.

Of the method in which Father Courayer executed his work, ſome idea may be formed from the following extract from his Preface: 'In order to treat this 'ſubject more methodically, I ſhall firſt ſet forth the 'changes that happened in the Church of England, 'with regard to the ſucceſſion of their Biſhops, and 'their ordination. I ſhall afterwards prove, that 'notwithſtanding the changes introduced by Edward 'the VIth. in the Ordinal, there was nothing eſſential omitted in Parker's conſecration, who is the 'ſource and origin of the Engliſh Miniſtry, as it 'ſubſiſts at this day. I ſhall in the chapters that follow prove the truth of Barlow's conſecration, upon 'which that of Parker depends: and I ſhall endeavour to refute all the arguments brought againſt it. 'In fine, in diſcuſſing ſome general difficulties propoſed againſt the validity of the new ordinations, 'I ſhall lay down principles and maxims which may 'ſerve, not only to eſtabliſh the Engliſh ordinations, 'but alſo to examine other facts that might happen 'of the ſame kind. I ſhall moreover carefully examine, what authority a national Church can challenge, in what concerns the adminiſtration of Sacraments: and I hope to make it very evident, that 'the Church of England has not exceeded the 'bounds of her power in thoſe alterations ſhe thought 'fit to make in her rites (8).'

(8) P. 6, 7.

In another part of this Preface, Courayer likewiſe makes an obſervation reſpecting the Church of England, which the generality of Proteſtants will hardly conſider as a compliment to it, though the good Father certainly intended it for ſuch. 'Of all 'the Churches which have broken the unity,' ſays he, 'the Church of England has kept neareſt to us. 'She has retained moſt of our cuſtoms and ceremonies (9).'

(9) *Ibid.* p. 4.

[*G*] *A Defence of the Diſſertation on the Validity of the Engliſh Ordinations, &c.*] Beſides what he had ſaid

But Father Courayer was not only attacked by thoſe writers who publiſhed books againſt him. He was likewiſe cenſured both by the mandates and by the aſſemblies of ſeveral Biſhops, and particularly by Cardinal de Noailles, Archbiſhop of Paris [*H*], and the

ſaid in general in defence of the Engliſh ordinations, Father Courayer had given great offence to many zealous Catholics by what he had ſaid reſpecting Tranſubſtantiation, and the ſentiments of the Clergy of the Church of England concerning the doctrine of the real preſence. It was maintained by Courayer's opponents, that the Engliſh Clergy did not acknowledge the Euchariſt to be a Sacrifice, as the Catholics did; that the offering of ſacrifice was the chief function of the Chriſtian prieſthood; that the ritual of King Edward VI. made no mention of the ſacrifice, nor of the power given to the Prieſt to offer it; and that, of conſequence, all ordinations made conformably to that ritual were null and void. Father Courayer, on the contrary, contended, that particular churches were in poſſeſſion of a right to draw up their own form for the adminiſtration of the Sacraments; and though this form ſhould not agree with others, except only as to the ſubſtance, yet no body ought, for that reaſon, to conclude either this or that form to be invalid. He affirmed, that this was an avowed and eſtabliſhed principle of the Gallican Church. 'It 'is a known maxim in France,' ſaid he, 'and a fun-'damental principle of our laws and liberties, that 'every Church is miſtreſs of her own diſcipline, and 'even that the authority of a general Council can-'not oblige her to give them up; and that notwith-'ſtanding ſuch decrees, ſhe ought to maintain her 'own uſages. It is upon this principle that we have 'ever oppoſed, in France, the reception of the de-'crees of the Council of Trent upon the ſubject of 'diſcipline, though as to the matter of doctrine, this 'Council is received as a general council (10).' It followed, he ſaid, 'that the Church of England, as 'well as any other, might compoſe her own prayers, 'regulate her own liturgy, and direct the manner of 'the adminiſtration of her own Sacraments accord-'ing to her own mind; and, in a word, make what 'changes ſhe thought fit, provided they were com-'patible with the eſſential parts of the inſtitutions, 'which are common to all Churches, and practiſed 'in all ages (11).' He maintained farther, that the omiſſion of the form, in the Engliſh ordinal, relative to the "power to ſacrifice," could not prejudice the Engliſh prieſthood, 'becauſe they made no difficulty 'to own the ſacrifice in the ſame ſenſe with moſt of 'the antient Fathers, and of our moſt judicious con-'troverſial writers; that is to ſay, *a Repreſentative 'and Commemorative Sacrifice*, which is not different 'from that of the croſs, and which bears the name, 'becauſe it is the image and memorial of it, and be-'cauſe the ſame victim is offered (12).' He alſo affirmed, that "Jeſus Chriſt became preſent by the "conſecration of the Engliſh, as really as by that of "the Catholics (13)." In this laſt poſition there are many, who have but little faith in prieſtly claims, who will very readily concur in ſentiment with the learned Father.

(10) Defence of the Validity of the Engliſh Ordinations, p. 174.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 182.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 247.

(13) Defence of the Diſſertation, vol. ii. p. 133.

Courayer likewiſe endeavoured to prove, that it was never required, that the forms of Sacraments ſhould diſtinctly expreſs their principal function or chief effect; that the antient forms of ſacerdotal ordination frequently omit mentioning the ſacrifice; that nothing eſſential was omitted in the ritual of King Edward the Sixth; that though Jeſus Chriſt be really preſent under the ſymbols of the Euchariſt, the Fathers and Divines draw the idea of the ſacrifice in the Euchariſt, not from that preſence, but from the repreſentation and remembrance of his death; and that even though the preſence be ſuppoſed neceſſary, that which the Engliſh Church admits would be ſufficient for a Spiritual Sacrifice, as is that of the Catholic Church; that the ſtory of Archbiſhop Parker being ordained at a Tavern is fabulous in all its circumſtances; that there was no want of conſecrated Biſhops at that time for the conſecration of Parker; that there is as much certainty of his being ordained at Lambeth as there can be of any hiſtorical fact; and that there has been no interruption in the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of the Church of England, nor of their ordination.

[*H*] *Particularly by Cardinal de Noailles, Archbiſhop of Paris.*] In a mandate iſſued by the Cardinal, and dated at Paris, Aug. 18, 1727, his eminence obſerves, that ſickneſs having prevented him from examining Father Courayer's books himſelf, he had enjoined ſeveral able Theologians to peruſe them with all poſſible attention; and upon their report it was found, that 'in many places they contained 'doctrine, or expreſſions, contrary to what the Church 'taught, as to the ſacrifice of the maſs, the real pre-'ſence, the prieſthood, the form of the Sacraments, 'and the notions they inſtil as to the rites and cere-'monies of the Church, its authority, the Pope's 'ſupremacy, and other important points.' The Cardinal adds, 'We do not pronounce upon the 'ground of the queſtion about the validity of the or-'dinations of the Engliſh, and the ſucceſſion of their 'Biſhops, which is the Author's ſcope in his works; 'but we will only tell him, that a Catholic Theolo-'gian ought to ſpeak with more reſpect of the com-'mon practice of the Church, to propoſe to her with 'modeſty his doubts and reflections, to wait her de-'ciſion with a ſubmiſſive diſpoſition, and not to pre-'ſcribe laws to her in a preſumptuous manner, nor 'to call ignorance and prejudice whatever is contrary 'to his opinion.

'We are willing to believe, as he has aſſured us, 'that he propoſed to himſelf no other view, than to 'facilitate the re-union of the Engliſh to the Catho-'lic Church and its head; but his deſire to favour 'thoſe whom he had a mind to reclaim, ought not 'to carry him ſo far as to juſtify errors, expreſſions, 'and abuſes, which every Catholic ought to reject, 'and the Church will never approve.

'What would we not do for bringing back to the 'faith of their anceſtors, and to the Catholic unity, 'a people ſo conſiderable, and a nation formerly ſo 'ſubmiſſive to the Holy See, that has brought forth 'ſo many great men, and Holy Biſhops, and for 'whoſe ſalvation we could wiſh, in the ſenſe of St. 'Paul, to become an *anathema?* But God forbid, 'that for ſo great a good we ſhould ſuffer the ſenti-'ments of the Church to be diſguiſed, or errors, 'which ſhe condemns, to be approved (*).'

(*) Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. xiv. p. 37, 38.

The Cardinal added farther, that having heard the report, and the advice of the Theologians, appointed by him to examine Father Courayer's books, 'after 'a mature conſideration, and the invocation of God's 'holy name, we condemn the ſaid writings, as con-'taining a doctrine falſe, erroneous, ſcandalous, in-'jurious to the Church and the Holy See, favouring 'ſchiſm and hereſy, and even contrary in many 'points to the Catholic Doctrine.' And he prohibited, 'under the known penalties, all the people of 'his dioceſe from reading the ſaid books.'

The French Court having alſo referred Courayer's books to the examination of ſeveral Biſhops and Divines, they declared, that he had 'advanced a great 'many propoſitions equally contrary to the points of 'the doctrine, in relation to ſeveral eſſential articles 'of religion and diſcipline, as well as to the autho-'rity of the Church and the Pope's ſupremacy, which 'had induced them to condemn them as reſpectively 'falſe, raſh, captious, ill-ſounding, ſcandalous, in-'jurious to the Church and the Holy See, favouring 'ſchiſm and hereſy, erroneous, already condemned 'by the holy Council of Trent, and heretical.' This cenſure having been preſented to the French King, an Arret of the Council of State was iſſued three days after, by which it was declared, that Father Courayer's books ſhould be ſuppreſſed; and it was required, that 'all perſons, who had the ſame books, 'ſhould deliver them to the Regiſter-Office of the 'Lieutenant-General of the Police, upon ſevere 'penalties (†).'

(†) Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. xiv. p. 37, 38, 39, 40.

the Biſhop of Marſeilles (*d*). During the time that he underwent this ſpecies of perſecution, he retired from Paris into the country, but was recalled by his ſuperior to reſide at the Priory of Hennemonte, four leagues from Paris. Here he received a diploma for the degree (*) of Doctor in Divinity from the Univerſity of Oxford, which was dated Aug. 28, 1727; and from hence he returned his thanks to the Univerſity, in an elegant Latin letter, dated Dec. 1, the ſame year; both of which he afterwards printed (*e*). But though his book had procured this honourable teſtimonial of his merit from an Engliſh Univerſity [*I*], the animoſity which it had excited againſt him in France did not abate. The enemies of Father Courayer were not ſatisfied with publiſhing cenſures, and iſſuing epiſcopal mandates againſt him, but proceeded to meaſures for compelling him to recant what he had written, and to ſign ſuch ſubmiſſions as were inconſiſtent with the dictates of his conſcience. In this critical ſtate of things, he reſolved to quit his native country, and to ſeek an aſylum in England. He was the more inclined to embrace this reſolution, in conſequence of the warm and friendly invitations which he had received from Archbiſhop Wake, who had conceived a great regard for him. After having ſpent four months very diſagreeably at Hennemonte, he obtained leave to remove to Senlis; but, inſtead of going thither, he took the road to Calais in the common ſtage-coach, and from thence got ſafely over to Dover. "I arrived peaceably," ſays he, "in England, without "any other inconveniencies, than thoſe which are naturally attendant on a long journey "in winter, and which were ſomewhat encreaſed by my being detained three days at "Calais by contrary winds (*f*)." This ſtay at Calais, he obſerves, would have been a very unfavourable circumſtance for him, if any ſuſpicion had been formed of his deſign to quit France; but he had conducted the meaſures for his departure with ſo much ſecrecy and prudence, that his enemies were wholly ignorant of his intentions; and had, therefore, taken no ſteps to prevent his ſecuring a retreat in England. He arrived in London on the 24th of January, 1728 (*g*).

He was well received in England: the Marquis of Blandford made him a preſent of fifty pounds (*h*); and he obtained a penſion of one hundred pounds a year from the Court. In 1729, he publiſhed, at Amſterdam, in two volumes, 12*mo*, "Relation Hiſtorique et "Apologetique des Sentimens et de la Conduite du P. le Courayer, Chanoine Regulier "de Ste. Geneviéve: avec les Preuves Juſtificatives des Faits avancez dans l'Ouvrage "[*K*]." In this work he entered into a farther juſtification of his ſentiments and of his conduct,

(d) *Relation Hiſtorique et Apologetique des Sentimens et de la Conduite du P. le Courayer*, tom. i. p. 86, 147, &c.

(*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 83.

(e) In the ſecond vol. of his *Relation Hiſtorique et Apologetique*, &c.

(f) *Relation Hiſtorique et Apologetique, ubi ſupra*, p. 312.

(g) Obſervations in a Journey to Paris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 31.

(h) *Id. ibid.*

(f) *Id. ibid.*

(m) *Id. ibid.*

(n) *Ib.* p. 34,

(o) Nichols, *ſupra.*

The enemies of Father Courayer having given out that he had been converted by Cardinal de Noailles, and that he had, in conſequence, made a recantation of his errors, he wrote a letter to his eminence upon that ſubject before he quitted France, in which he ſays, 'I ought, my Lord, for my own ſake, and for 'the ſake of the public, to diſown a pretended ſubmiſſion, more diſgraceful to me than all the imaginary hereſies, which they ſeek out in my writings 'without finding them.' In the ſame letter, ſpeaking of his determination to leave his native country, Father Courayer ſays, 'By adherence to the Catholic 'Church in a foreign land, I will convince all Europe, 'that nothing but the reaſon of a juſt defence, and 'the neceſſity of freeing myſelf from an unjuſt vexation, could force me to take a ſtep ſo contrary to 'my inclinations. Being always ready to reſume 'my former condition, as ſoon as I have a reaſonable 'aſſurance, that there is no longer any deſign of 'undoing me, and that I ſhall be at full liberty to 'go about my juſtification, I ſhall be the firſt in longing for a State which I leave with the greateſt uneaſineſs. I ſhall carry every where a love of unity, 'a fondneſs for my profeſſion, and a reſpect for thoſe 'very perſons who condemn me unjuſtly.

'Being free enough to own the abuſes that prevail 'in the Church, and not to ſubmit to that multitude 'of opinions with which our Creed is enlarged, by a 'continual creation of new articles of faith, I ſhall 'never depart from a due ſubmiſſion to thoſe Catholic truths which have been tranſmitted to us by our 'fathers, and to the uſages conſecrated by the practice of the Church. But I ſhall neither be ſo ſuperſtitious as to place a vain confidence in them, nor 'ſo fond of our obſervances and ceremonies, as to 'believe that a Church cannot change them, without 'renouncing religion, and the glorious title of 'Church of Jeſus Chriſt.

'It is with ſuch diſpoſitions, my Lord, that I leave 'France, and that a foreign kingdom ſhall ſee the 'ſpectacle of a man calumniated and perſecuted, for 'being ſo bold as to aſſert the falſity of a romance, 'transformed into a hiſtory by our prejudices; and 'becauſe, notwithſtanding his adherence to the Catholic doctrines, he cannot ſubmit to the unintelligible jargon of our ſchools (*).'

(*) *Ibid.* p. 42, 48, 49.

Though this letter was written by Father Courayer before he quitted France, it was probably not delivered to the Cardinal till after he had left the kingdom.

[*I*] *Honourable teſtimonial of his merit from an Engliſh Univerſity.*] Voltaire was of opinion, that the Engliſh nation paid no regard to the ſubject of Father Courayer's book. Speaking of one of his opponents, Father Le Quien, he ſays, 'He was a 'Dominican, and a man of great learning. He 'applied himſelf greatly to the ſtudy of the Eaſtern 'Churches, and that of England. He in particular 'wrote againſt Courayer upon the validity of the 'ordinations of the Engliſh Biſhops. But the Engliſh pay no more regard to theſe diſputes than the 'Turks do to diſſertations upon the Greek Church '(14).' With reſpect to a great part of the Engliſh nation, Voltaire was certainly right. They regarded the ſubject of the controverſy as a matter of not the leaſt conſequence. But that there were many of the Engliſh Clergy, as well as others, who conſidered Father Courayer as having rendered an eſſential ſervice to the Church of England by his publication, is manifeſt from the degree that was conferred on him by the Univerſity of Oxford, the penſion that was granted him, and the favourable reception that he met with in England. The number of thoſe who would think highly of the importance of the ſubject of Courayer's book, are, however, probably much leſſened, ſince the time that his work firſt made its appearance.

(14) Age of Lewis XIV. vol. ii. p. 371, 372. Eng. Tranſla. ed. 8*vo*. 1752.

[*K*] *Relation Hiſtorique et Apologetique des ſentimens, &c.*] In this work Father Courayer makes ſome general obſervations relative to his religious ſentiments: 'Born,' ſays he, 'a Chriſtian and a Catholic, 'I have always endeavoured to inſtruct myſelf in 'religion, with the ſame zeal and the ſame freedom, 'that I ſhould have believed myſelf under an obligation to do, if I had taken a part in any other 'affair which I had conceived to be of the utmoſt import-

conduct, and ſhewed the neceſſity that he was under of quitting France, from the virulence and power of his enemies. In 1733, he was at Oxford, and was preſent in the Theatre at the Public Act that year, and made a ſpeech there upon the occaſion, which was afterwards printed both in Latin and Engliſh (*i*). In 1736, he publiſhed at London, in two volumes, folio, a Tranſlation, in French, of Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent; with notes critical, hiſtorical, and theological. He dedicated this work to Queen Caroline, and ſpeaks of it as having been undertaken by her command; and he expreſſes, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his gratitude to her Majeſty for her patronage, and for the liberality which ſhe had manifeſted towards him [*L*]. A liſt of ſubſcribers is prefixed, in which are found the names of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cumberland, the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, the Princeſſes Amelia and Caroline, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, then Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, Sir Robert Walpole, and many of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction. By the ſale of this work he is ſaid to have gained fifteen hundred pounds; and the Queen alſo raiſed his penſion to two hundred pounds *per Annum* (*k*). He gave ſixteen hundred pounds to Lord Feverſham, for an annuity of one hundred pounds *per Annum*, which he enjoyed forty years (*l*). By theſe means he came into very eaſy circumſtances, which were rendered ſtill more ſo by the reception which his agreeable and inſtructive converſation procured him, among perſons of rank and fortune, with many of whom it was his cuſtom to live for ſeveral months at a time. He wrote ſome other works in French, beſides thoſe that have been mentioned (*m*); and, in particular, he tranſlated into that language Sleidan's Hiſtory of the Reformation. His exile from his own country was probably no diminution of his happineſs upon the whole; for he appears to have paſſed his time in England very agreeably, and he lived to an uncommon age. Even in his latter years, he was diſtinguiſhed for the chearfulneſs of his temper, and the ſprightlineſs of his converſation. He died in Downing-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, after two days illneſs, on the 17th of October, 1776, at the age of ninety-five. Agreeably to his own deſire, he was buried in the Cloiſter of Weſtminſter-Abbey, by Dr. Bell, Chaplain to the Princeſs Amelia (*n*). In his Will, which was dated Feb. 3, 1774, he declared, "That he died a "Member of the Catholic Church, but without approving of many of the opinions and "ſuperſtitions which have been introduced into the Romiſh Church, and taught in their "ſchools and ſeminaries, and which they have inſiſted on as articles of faith, though to "him they appeared to be not only not founded in truth, but alſo to be highly improba-"ble (*o*)." It is ſaid, that ſoon after he came to England, he went to a Prieſt, of the Romiſh Church, for confeſſion, and acquainted him who he was. The Prieſt would not

(*i*) Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 834.

(*k*) Obſervations, *ubi ſupra*, p. 314.

(*l*) *Id. ibid.*

(*m*) *Id. ibid.*

(*n*) *Ib.* p. 34, 36.

(*o*) Nichols, *ut ſupra.*

'importance. Convinced of the exiſtence of a God, 'to whom we are indebted for our being, and who 'merits on that account our adoration and our gra-'titude; and perſuaded that we are created for ano-'ther life; I have never regarded but with horror 'that indifference, with which the greater part of 'mankind live reſpecting a point, the deciſion of 'which is of ſo much conſequence to our tranquility. 'From the worſhip of God, and the hope of another 'life, it was eaſy to paſs to the approbation of Chriſ-'tianity, which more than any other religion hath 'illuſtrated theſe truths, and furniſhed us with the 'means of employing them for our ſanctification. 'The more I have ſtudied the Goſpel, the more 'worthy it has appeared to me of approbation, and 'the more worthy of being adhered to. Nothing is 'ſo pure as the worſhip that it propoſes, nothing ſo 'exact as the rules that it preſcribes, nothing ſo holy 'as the life that it enjoins, nothing ſo noble as the 'recompenſe that it leads us to hope for, nothing is 'ſo proper to render men and ſocieties happy; ſince 'that in ſubduing the paſſions to reaſon and to reli-'gion, it takes away even the ſource of our miſeries 'in taking away that of our diſorders. It ſuppoſes 'all natural truths, and deſtroys none. It reforms 'all vices, and conducts us to the practice of all 'virtues. It re-eſtabliſhes in the minds of men thoſe 'ideas of juſtice, of charity, of temperance, of mo-'deſty, and of piety, which the author of nature had 'formed in us, and which ſin had deſtroyed. Nothing 'is ſo true as that which is ſaid by St. Paul, that 'Jeſus Chriſt hath made all things new, and, by a 'kind of ſecond creation, hath rendered us again 'capable of righteouſneſs and true holineſs. The 'Goſpel is a new miſſion, in which religion is no 'more confined within the limits of a people or of a 'province; and in which all men, having the ſame 'Creator, are recalled, without diſtinction, to the 'ſame laws, and to the ſame hopes. It is a new 'worſhip, in which we are taught, that there is no 'other which is agreeable to him, but that which is 'in ſpirit and in truth. It is a new morality, which 'does not confine itſelf to the repreſſing thoſe out-'ward actions which are ſinful; but which teaches 'us to dry up the ſource of evil actions, in condemn-'ing even evil thoughts and deſires. It operates 'upon us by new hopes, and new fears; and it is no 'more the expectation of temporal good, or the fear 'of temporal evil, by which we are excited to prac-'tiſe virtue, and to avoid vice. Whatever is con-'fined to the preſent life only appears unworthy of 'us: and man, better inſtructed in the grandeur of 'his origin, and of his end, cheriſhes no thoughts 'but thoſe which relate to eternity, for which he 'perceives that his ſoul was deſtined (15).'

[*L*] *His gratitude to her Majeſty for her patronage, and for the liberality, &c.*] He ſays in this dedication, 'Exiled into your Majeſty's dominions by thoſe 'enemies which the love of truth alone procured me, 'and the defence of a Church which you have ever 'honoured with your eſteem and protection, your 'goodneſs has been my aſylum in diſgrace, ſuſtained 'me under my afflictions, relieved my neceſſities, and 'ſupplied all my wants; oft-times preventing and 'exceeding my occaſions; while, to crown the gran-'deur of your beneficence, you have ſcarcely ſuffered 'me to thank you for thoſe favours, which you 'deemed inconſiderable, though the weight of them 'overwhelmed me. Delighted with the conſciouſ-'neſs of well-doing, more than with all the elogies 'that naturally attend your benevolence, you refuſe 'to admit even the juſteſt acknowledgments; and to 'ſave thoſe you ſuccour, as far as poſſible, the pub-'liſhing their misfortunes, by the recital of your 'grace and clemency, you ſeek only the divine ſatis-'faction of ſolacing the unhappy, without bartering 'your liberality for applauſe (16).'

(15) *Relation Hiſtorique et Apologetique, tom.* i. p. 431, 432, 433.

(16) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*, p. 84.

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venture to take his confeſſion, becauſe he was excommunicated; but adviſed him to conſult his ſuperior of St. Genevieve. Whether he made any ſuch application, or what was the reſult, we are not informed: but it is certain, that, when in London, he made it his practice to go to maſs; and, when in the country at Ealing, he conſtantly attended the ſervice of the pariſh Church, declaring, at all times, that he had great ſatisfaction in the prayers of the Church of England (*p*). In diſcourſing on religious ſubjects he was reſerved and cautious, avoiding controverſy as much as poſſible. He left 500*l.* to the pariſh of St. Martin, and gave, in his life-time, his books to the library there, which was founded by Archbiſhop Teniſon, and of which they make even at this day a conſiderable part. He bequeathed 200*l.* to the pariſh of St. Margaret, Weſtminſter, and a handſome ſum of money to the poor of Vernon, in Normandy; and, after many legacies to his friends in England [*M*], the remainder to two nephews of his name at Vernon (*q*). During his life-time, he was occaſionally generous to ſome of his relations in France; and in England, was very liberal to the poor [*N*]. He had two ſiſters who were nuns; and lately had a brother living at Paris, in the profeſſion of the law, to whom he gave a handſome gold ſnuff-box, which had been preſented to him by Queen Caroline (*r*).

(*p*) Obſervations, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 35.

(*q*) Nichols, *ut ſupra*.

(*r*) Obſervations, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 32, 35.

In 1787 was publiſhed, in 8*vo*. by the Rev. William Bell, D.D. Prebendary of Weſtminſter, "Declaration de mes derniers ſentimens ſur les differens dogmes de la Religion. Par "feu Pierre François le Courayer, Docteur en Theologie, &c." An Engliſh tranſlation of this has been ſince publiſhed. The original manuſcript, which was given by Father Courayer to the Princeſs Amelia, who had a great eſteem for him, was written in 1767, which was about nine years before his death. The Princeſs Amelia left this manuſcript by Will to Dr. Bell; who publiſhed it, as being of opinion, that the laſt ſentiments of a writer of Dr. Courayer's reputation, and whoſe ſituation was ſo peculiar, were calculated to excite the attention of the learned, and of thoſe who were zealouſly attached to the intereſts of religion: and, indeed, it appears to have been the wiſh of the Author himſelf that it ſhould be publiſhed, though not till after his death. The whole of this piece of Father Courayer's is too long to be here inſerted; but we ſhall make ſome extracts from it, that our readers may be enabled to form the more accurate judgment of his theological opinions.

His *Declaration* begins in the following manner: "On the point of appearing before "God, both to fulfil the duty of ſincerity, and to furniſh all, into whoſe hands this writing "may fall, with a teſtimony which every perſon living owes to truth; urged moreover by "my conſcience, to declare my thoughts on the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and the differ-"ences which divide Chriſtian ſocieties; I proceed to do it with that ſimplicity which "becomes integrity, and from which the near approach of death will not ſuffer me to "deviate."

It is obſervable, that Dr. Courayer's ſentiments, reſpecting the doctrine of the Trinity, were not conformable to thoſe which are generally reputed orthodox. "I believe," ſays he, "not only that there is a God; but, moreover, that there is but one. I deteſt the "error of two principles, maintained by ſo many antient heretics; and while I aſcribe to "God the glory of all good, I believe that I can only have recourſe to the will of man, "for the diſcovery of the original of moral evil."—"The doctrine of the Unity of God, "ſo true, and ſo evident, has ſerved for a pretext to many, to try to inſpire an averſion to "Chriſtianity, as if it affected this truth by the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarna-

[*M*] *After many legacies to his friends in England.*] He ſeemed ſolicitous to bequeath ſomething to all by whom he had at any time been benefited; and, among others, he left legacies even to his waſherwoman, and his barber. This appears from his will, as preſerved in the Prerogative Office, Doctor's Commons. There are ſeveral codicils to his will; and the Gentleman firſt appointed his executor, John Palairet, Eſq; died before himſelf.

[*N*] *In England, was very liberal to the poor.*] In an "Account of Dr. Courayer," prefixed to the Engliſh tranſlation of his "Declaration of his laſt "ſentiments on the different doctrines of Religion," it is obſerved, that, by degrees, "he got into very "affluent circumſtances, and was in the receipt of "very much more money yearly, than his frugal "mode of living required. He did not, however, "hoard up the overplus of his annual income, or "ſuffer his ſtudious ſavings to accumulate. His "dreſs, though always remarkably neat, was not "coſtly, not even when he appeared in the habit of "a layman, and wore a ſword, which he ſometimes "did, it is ſaid, very aukwardly. He kept no houſe, "he was in no one article of living expenſive, and "the indigent partook very freely in his good for-"tune. Poor priſoners were favourite objects of his "charitable diſpoſition, and ſhared very liberally in "his bounty. From the firſt payment of his pen-"ſion, it was certainly his cuſtom, and the writer is "well aſſured, that it was not unuſual for him, to "pay from fifty to eighty pounds a year, at a time, "for their benefit. It is well known, and well at-"teſted, that he was wont to reſtrict his expenditure "on himſelf, to a very moderate weekly ſum; and "all that he could poſſibly ſave out of his own al-"lotment, with the remainder of his income, never "forgetting his charities, he religiouſly appropriated, "to ſupply the neceſſities, and to add to the com-"forts, of two nun-ſiſters, and an elder brother, "whom he left behind him in France (17)."

(17) Account of Dr. Courayer, p. 29, 30, 31.

In the ſame account, ſome particulars are mentioned of his reception when he firſt arrived in England. "On his landing at Greenwich, Lord Vi-"count Percival, afterwards Earl of Egmont, ſent "his coach with ſix horſes to convey him to his "houſe, which he deſired the Doctor to conſider, and "to uſe, as his own; after dinner his Lordſhip made "him a handſome preſent. Next day, Dr. Wake, "then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had him to dine "at his Palace at Lambeth, and made him a like "preſent. Biſhop Hare, Biſhop Sherlock, and ſe-"veral other prelates, treated him with ſimilar "generoſity (18)."

(18) *Ibid.* p. 34.

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" tion. The writings of ſome of the Fathers, and the wretched philoſophy of the ſchools, " may, in fact, have given ground to ſome people to draw ſuch a conſequence: but there is " nothing in the goſpel which does not tend, on the contrary, to confirm us more and " more in the knowledge and worſhip of One God; and nothing is leſs oppoſite to this " truth, than the doctrines which are thought to deſtroy it effectually."

" Of all the modes of explaining the doctrine of the Trinity, I know of none more " contrary to the true doctrine of Chriſtianity, than that which ſuppoſes in the Deity the " exiſtence of three diſtinct natures, or ſubſtances, whether collateral, or ſubordinate. " This is, according to my apprehenſion, to re-eſtabliſh Polytheiſm, under the pretence of " explaining a myſtery. The Unity of God is the foundation of the goſpel; and every " thing that may in any way affect this truth is dangerous. As Jeſus Chriſt and his " apoſtles have laboured, on the one hand, to reclaim the Gentiles from the belief and " from the worſhip of many Gods, and have ſuppoſed, on the other hand, that the Jews " thought ſoundly in the article of the Deity, in which they never diſtinguiſhed different " ſubſtances; it ſeems to me a departure from the ſimplicity of the goſpel, and a volun- " tary inclination to corrupt the idea of a clear truth, by ſingular explications, which it " becomes neceſſary to abuſe at leaſt, in order to combat.

" I believe, therefore, that there is but only one God; that his Spirit is not a ſubſtance " diſtinct from him; and that Jeſus Chriſt, to whom divinity was very intimately united, " is his Son in virtue of that union. This is all the Trinity that I find in the Goſpel; " and I cannot conceive that any other Trinity can accord with the Unity of God. I " know that many ancient writers have had recourſe to the multiplications of ſubſtances, " to give us an idea of this myſtery; and others have imagined other ſyſtems, more philo- " ſophical than evangelical, that have leſs ſerved to clear up this matter than to obſcure it. " But I diſtinguiſh theſe ſyſtems from that of the Goſpel: and, in as much as I find this " laſt worthy of reſpect, it therefore appears to me little eſſential to adopt notions which " often have much obſcurity, and ſometimes are even involved in contradiction.

" The Incarnation has nothing any more contrary to the doctrine of the Unity of God, " than the Trinity. Accordingly, it is extremely remarkable, that neither Jeſus Chriſt " nor his apoſtles have ever repreſented to us theſe myſteries as including incomprehenſi- " ble things, and which it was impoſſible to reconcile to reaſon. God, willing to draw " men from their errors, and to purify them from their ſins, filled Jeſus Chriſt with his " wiſdom, inveſted him with his power, communicated to him his authority, and gave him
(t) Joel iii. 34. " his Spirit (*t*), not by meaſure, as to the prophets, but united himſelf ſo intimately with him, " that Jeſus Chriſt appeared in the form of God (*u*); that he was made Lord and Chriſt (*v*); (u) Phil. ii. 6. (v) Acts ii. 36.
(w) Acts v. 31. " Prince and Saviour (*w*); that he was filled with wiſdom and with grace (*x*); that all the fullneſs (x) Luke ii. 40.
" of the Godhead reſided corporeally in him (*y*); and that he received the glory, the honour, (y) Coloſſ. ii. 9.
" the virtue, the ſtrength, and the bleſſing, of his Father (*z*); who, by the participation (z) Apoc. v. 12.
" which he gave him of his power and authority, made him enter, at the ſame time, into " a participation of his glory, in ſuch a manner, that he who honours the Son honours
(a) Jo. v. 23. " the Father who ſent him (*a*). Thus God, referring always every thing to himſelf, and " not terminating in Jeſus Chriſt, who is no otherwiſe regarded than as the organ and the " inſtrument of the mercy of his Father, is always God *alone*, who is the object of our " adorations; and there is nothing that ſhocks us in conceiving, that he can communicate " himſelf to a man as fully, and as intimately, as he judges it neceſſary for his own glory,
(b) French Orig. p. 1—7. Engl. Tranſl. p. 9—20. " and for the ſalvation of mankind (*b*)."

" When one has once acknowledged the truth and the holineſs of the Goſpel, all this " doctrine concerning the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt appears to me ſo ſimple, that I cannot " conceive how it was poſſible to corrupt it by ſo many explications, which are good for " nothing, but to make Chriſtianity appear leſs reaſonable, and full of contradictions. In " conſequence of a continual deſire to find new myſteries, an infinitude of imaginations " have been conſecrated; and it is ſtill more lamentable, that theſe imaginations are be- " come a part of religion, by the authority of ſome, and by the acquieſcence of others; " ſo that a man paſſes for an unbeliever, or an irreligious perſon, if he does not ſubſcribe " to the predominant ſyſtem, and if he happens to have too much underſtanding to ſubmit " to received prejudices, or too much fortitude to be overawed by violence.

" It is not ſo much the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, as his doctrine, that is the object of " the Chriſtian religion; and though we ought to honour the Son as we honour the " Father, becauſe he had his miſſion, and was cloathed with his authority, it is, however, " to God *only* that Jeſus Chriſt reclaims our attention; and he aſſumes no other conſe- " quence to recommend himſelf to the Jews, than as having been ſanctified by his Father, " to come and announce his doctrine, and to inſtruct us in truths unknown to the Gentiles, " and very much altered by the Jews."

Dr. Courayer alſo makes ſome obſervations relative to the apocryphal books, and to inſpiration; and he diſapproves of the deciſion of the Council of Trent, concerning the apocryphal writings. " It is," ſays he, " incumbent upon us, to endeavour to diſcriminate " the true Scriptures, from thoſe which are falſely given as genuine. Now we have no " other rule for this diſcrimination, but tradition. If it be uniform, and come to us from

" the fountain-head, there would be irreligion and temerity in rejecting it; but if it be
" divided, there is little reaſon in a diſpoſition to obtrude books, as divine, upon an autho-
" rity which, in every other caſe, would not be ſufficient to warrant our receiving as certain,
" facts, concerning which there was ſimilar diverſity. The Council of Trent ought not,
" therefore, to have run the hazard of declaring the deutero-canonical or apocryphal
" books, of the ſame authority as the canonical, ſince there was not for them the ſame
" concurrence, or the ſame uniformity of teſtimonies. For this Council had not received
" new light concerning theſe *apocryphal* writings; and ſince the Jews, who tranſmitted
" them to us, on tranſmitting them, had apprized us of the diſcrimination to be made; it
" was ſinning againſt all the canons of criticiſm, to give to theſe books an authority which
" was not granted to them by thoſe from whom we had them, and from whom only we
" have received our intelligence.

" With regard to thoſe *books* which a conſtant tradition has tranſmitted to us, from
" hand to hand, as containing truly 'The word of God,' it is our duty to reſpect, and
" receive them, as the rule of our faith, and of our manners, becauſe we ought to regard
" the Doctrines and the Precepts which are contained in them, as coming from the in-
" ſpiration of God himſelf; for it is properly to theſe two points only, that the inſpiration
" extends. There is no need of inſpiration, to report what is ſeen or heard, or even what
" is taken from records and from authentic monuments, on which all public faith is found-
" ed; and it would be juſt as unreaſonable to refuſe our aſſent to ſuch information, as it
" would be to reject what we learn from revelation. The moſt incredulous have no more
" doubt about the exiſtence of Alexander and Cæſar, than Chriſtians have concerning
" that of Jeſus Chriſt; although it is not ſuppoſed that there was any inſpiration in the
" hiſtorians who have given us the hiſtory of theſe two conquerors. Inſpiration adds
" nothing to the certainty of facts, and does not appear any way neceſſary to eſtabliſh
" them. I even fear whether the having recourſe to it in order to procure credit, has
" not been a motive that has forced the incredulous upon their attempts to ſhew, with a
" view of diſcrediting the contents of Scripture, that we have had recourſe to inſpiration,
" only becauſe all other evidence is wanting to give credibility to what is recorded there.
" Farther, to ſuppoſe inſpiration for things to which it is not requiſite, is to admit of mira-
" cles without neceſſity, and thus to multiply difficulties, and to furniſh objections to unbe-
" lievers, who reject even neceſſary miracles. The prophets were certainly inſpired,
" becauſe they could not have predicted future things but by inſpiration. The Evange-
" lical Doctrine muſt likewiſe have been inſpired, becauſe the Apoſtles have received it
" from Jeſus Chriſt, who had it from his Father himſelf. But St. John, without having
" recourſe to inſpiration, gives us as true the facts which he reports to us, only becauſe he
" ſaw and heard them. 'That which we have ſeen and heard, declare we unto you, &c (*b*).'
" and St. Luke does not exact belief to the things which he relates, but becauſe he had
" taken them from the mouths of thoſe who had ſeen all from the beginning, 'Even as
" they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witneſſes and miniſters
(*c*) Luke i. 2. " of the word (*c*).' If they had believed that inſpiration had been neceſſary to conciliate
" belief to the facts which they recorded, they would not have heſitated to tell us, that
" they had derived their information and knowledge from God himſelf. But as they
" appeal to no other vouchers for their truth beſides their own teſtimony, and that of thoſe
" who had followed and heard Jeſus Chriſt from the beginning, it is evident, that they
" did not extend inſpiration to thoſe kinds of facts, and that they reſerved it for the
(*d*) Eng. Tranſ. P. 43—49. " Doctrine (*d*)."

(*b*) 1ſt Epiſt. of John, chap. i. ver. 3.

Father Courayer conſidered epiſcopal government as appointed by Chriſt himſelf; and he thought that the deciſions of the Church, or of general Councils, ſhould be ſubmitted to in matters of diſcipline. But he did not admit the infallibility of the Church in points of doctrine. " We cannot wander," ſays he, " by ſubmitting to faith when it is found-
" ed on the word of God, which is infallible. But the infallibility that is aſcribed to the
" Church, is not eſtabliſhed on a foundation ſo ſolid as that on which it is acknowledged
" that Scripture reſts. Inaſmuch as the Church in her deciſions conforms herſelf to the
" word of God, and to apoſtolic doctrines, ſhe can only pretend to her infallibility, not
" in virtue of her judgment, but in conſequence of this conformity. But if the deciſions
" of the Church go beyond this rule, they cannot have the ſame certainty, becauſe they
" are no longer regulated by the ſame authority, which only can aſſure them of the ſame
" infallibility. Although in the Chriſtian ſociety there be no authority ſuperior to her
" own to reform her judgments, this is not a reaſon for believing her to be abſolutely
" infallible, ſince a ſuperior tribunal has nothing in reſpect of fallibility to diſtinguiſh it
" from inferior tribunals, but the impoſſibility of having its deciſions ſuperſeded, becauſe
" there is not any *paramount* authority that has the right to reform them, whatever need
" they may ſtand in of reformation. It is, therefore, rather an indefectibility than an in-
" fallibility that ought to be recognized in the church, where, although errors may ſome-
" times inſinuate themſelves, it is ſufficient that ſhe preſerves always the fundamental
" truths, which are the eſſence of Chriſtianity, and the practice of the duties of morality,
" to aſſure the ſalvation of thoſe who perſevere in being her members.

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" The Pope is ſtill leſs infallible than the Church. There is nothing that diſtinguiſhes " him from other biſhops but the pre-eminence of his ſee, and a more extenſive juriſdic- " tion, which has nothing in common with infallibility. It is in him an abuſive preten- " ſion, to affect abſolutely to ſubject to himſelf all the particular churches, and to believe " that he can, at his pleaſure, preſcribe to them other doctrines than thoſe which were " taught by Jeſus Chriſt and the apoſtles, and to impoſe upon them arbitrary laws, ſo far " as in caſes of their non-obſervance of them, to aſſume an authority to himſelf of cut- " ting them off, without any ceremony, from the communion of the reſt of the Church. " He may, in truth, refuſe to communicate with thoſe whom he believes to be in error, " or to want the ſubmiſſion due to lawful rules. But this ſuſpenſion of communion does " not exclude them from the body of the Church itſelf; and, if it be he who ſeparates " from them without reaſon, then it is he who is guilty of the ſchiſm, and not they; for, " though he be the head of the Chriſtian Churches, we are not obliged to obey him, but " ſo far as he abides by truth and righteouſneſs, and does not, for things indifferent, break " the bonds of unity and peace (*e*)."

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 54–58.

Of *Baptiſm*, Father Courayer expreſſes himſelf in the following manner: " By Bap- " tiſm," ſays he, " we engage ourſelves to a profeſſion of following the doctrine of Jeſus " Chriſt, and God is engaged on his part, to hold us juſtified from our ſins, provided " that, faithful to the engagement we have contracted with him, we regulate afterwards " our conduct by the laws which he has preſcribed to us, and which all tend to render us " happy, by the right regulation of our paſſions, and the practice of virtue. To believe, " that, without obſerving theſe conditions, Baptiſm, or any other external obſervance can " ſanctify us, is to be a Jew under the name of a Chriſtian; and by changing the cere- " mony, we have not made our condition more advantageous, nor our hopes more ſolid, " or leſs preſumptuous. That efficacy which Chriſtian divines aſcribe to their obſervances, " in preference to thoſe of the Moſaic law, is without foundation; if we ſuppoſe that it " is in their nature, and independent of our own internal diſpoſitions, which ought to " accompany the practice. Neither the one, nor the other, have any virtue, but what " they derive from the inſtitution, and always in a dependency on the diſpoſitions of thoſe " who embrace the practice. Under this view, all is equal, and if there be any differ- " ence, it is not in the nature of the obſervances that we are to look for it, but in the " favour of Jeſus Chriſt, who manifeſts himſelf more abundantly under the Goſpel, than " under the Law. The Baptiſm of Infants is of great antiquity in the Church. It is " even, perhaps, the antiquity of this practice, that gave riſe to the idea of original ſin, " taken in the ſenſe of the Theologians, for a guilt that drags all mankind who die with- " out baptiſm, to damnation. This belief once eſtabliſhed, has contributed indirectly to " make the Baptiſm of Infants be judged neceſſary to their ſalvation; for if they had been " conſidered as entirely pure and innocent, why, as Tertullian ſays, ſhould we be ſo " anxious to apply baptiſm for the remiſſion of their ſins? *Ut quid feſtinat innocens ætas* " *ad remiſſionem peccatorum.* I do not ſee, however, that Jeſus Chriſt, or his apoſtles, " have preſcribed for them this baptiſm, which he ſeems only to have eſtabliſhed to re- " claim adults to repentance, and to the reception of the Goſpel, and in order to purify " them thereby, from the ſins of which they had been guilty before. I do not in fact " find any thing in Scripture, that obliges us to extend to infants the neceſſity of Baptiſm. " It does not even appear, after the practice was introduced, that it was judged as it is now, " of this neceſſity, ſince it was very common then, to defer the reception of this ſacra- " ment to an advanced age, and even till death. By ſpeaking in this manner, it is not " my intention, to cenſure a practice ſo ancient, and ſo general, as that of baptiſing in- " fants; but I would not for all this, conſider it as an error in thoſe, who believe Baptiſm " to be neceſſary to Adults only: for though I believe, as St. Paul teaches, that it was " 'by the firſt man that ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin (*f*),' I can hardly " conceive, that by this ſin we muſt underſtand a perſonal guilt in every infant, in con- " ſequence of which, before he can uſe his will and his liberty, he deſerves to be puniſhed " as a voluntary criminal, ſo as to be rendered not only ſubject to miſeries and infirmities, " but moreover liable to eternal damnation."

(*f*) Rom. v. 12.

Dr. Courayer afterwards ſtates his ſentiments reſpecting the *Euchariſt*, *Confeſſion*, *Images*, and *Relicks*: " Every part of the Chriſtian doctrine," ſays he, " has had its alterations, " and that part of it which reſpects the Euchariſt has undergone as many at leaſt as what " relates to other obſervances. Jeſus Chriſt, in giving us bread and wine as the memo- " rials of his paſſion and death, has declared to us that he gave us his body, and his " blood. On this ſubject it has been imagined, not only that Jeſus Chriſt was *in reality* " corporeally preſent in the Euchariſt, with all his phyſical properties, but moreover, that " the ſubſtance of the bread and wine was annihilated, and remained only in appearances, " and this is what was called *Tranſubſtantiation.* Had they been contented with ſaying, " that this change was ſuch to the eyes of faith, which ſee nothing in the Euchariſt after " conſecration, but the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and without ſuppoſing any real " and phyſical change of ſubſtance, there would have been nothing in this contrary to " reaſon, or which needed to have occaſioned the leaſt diſpute. But in matters of faith

" there

" there was a conſtant inclination to the marvellous; and often even the marvellous, was " not to the taſte of the multitude, but in ſo far as it ſhocked common ideas, and the " ordinary light of reaſon. Accordingly this opinion did not ſpring up, but in the ages " of ignorance and of darkneſs. Till then they were contented to believe, that in receiv- " ing the Euchariſt, they received the body and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, but without " determining in what manner they received it; or rather, perſuaded that grace does not " deſtroy nature, they received the bread and wine, not doubting, but that in receiving " them, they received Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, becauſe he communicated himſelf under theſe " ſymbols, in a manner ineffable, and perfectly ſpiritual, with ſo much the more efficacy, " as by the inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt the ſaid ſymbols are a lively repreſentation of his " paſſion and death, by which he merited for us the expiation of our ſins and ſalvation. " We receive therefore Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt, but with the bread and wine; and " if we admit another *Tranſubſtantiation* than that which is made in the eyes of faith, we " admit an abſurd opinion, which it is impoſſible to maintain without contradicting the " moſt evident maxims of reaſon, the conſtant impreſſions of our ſenſes, and the princi- " ples of our natural light.

" The ſacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt is ſo great a benefit, that we cannot too much preſerve " the memory of it. It was to perpetuate its remembrance that he inſtituted the Euchariſt, " in which we recollect his death, and offer ourſelves to God. This is the ſenſe of all " Chriſtian liturgies, ancient and modern, Catholic and Heretical. Nothing therefore is " worſe founded, than extravagant declamations againſt the Maſs; ſince, with ſome variation " only in the prayers and ceremonies, there is ſtill the ſame object in the Romiſh ſervice, " as in all other liturgies. Whether we believe that Jeſus Chriſt is corporeally preſent in " the Euchariſt, or, as others maintain, that this preſence is only ſpiritual, this does not " add any thing to, or take any thing from the idea of ſacrifice, an idea which ought not to " be ſeparated from the remembrance and offering of the death of Jeſus Chriſt, in the " celebration of the Euchariſt. And as this ſacrifice can only be repreſentative and com- " memorative of that of the croſs, all objections made againſt the Maſs, fall to the ground " of themſelves, becauſe they go to attack in it, a real ſacrifice, which ſubſiſts only in the " imaginations of thoſe who combat it, or in the falſe explications of thoſe who defend it.

" Communion under both kinds never ought to have excited diſputes in the " Church. I ſee no more difficulty in this matter than in the difference of adminiſtering " Baptiſm by immerſion, or by ſprinkling. But I know not by what misfortune it happens " ſo often, that the ſmalleſt diſputes excite the greateſt troubles, as we may judge from " the ancient conteſt about the day of Eaſter. The moſt rational way of thinking on the " diſpute in queſtion is, that as, on the one part, an uſage occaſioned by ſome inconveni- " encies ought not to have been erected into a law, againſt the terms of the inſtitution; " and, on the other, as Chriſtians believe that Jeſus Chriſt is only ſpiritually received in " the Euchariſt, it ſeems that it ought to have been *left* indifferent, to receive him either " under one kind, or under both the two kinds, foraſmuch as a ſpiritual preſence is abſo- " lutely indiviſible, and it is impoſſible to receive Jeſus Chriſt, in receiving either the bread, " or the wine, without receiving him entirely. It appears to me, that on this point, as " on many others, we ought to leave to each Church the liberty of regulating its uſages, " as it thinks proper. But the beſt are thoſe who depart leaſt from the words of the " inſtitution, and the views of the inſtitutor.

" *Confeſſion* is an uſeful practice, and of great antiquity in the Church; but the man- " ner in which it is practiſed at this day, in the Romiſh Church, is an uſage much more " modern. Formerly people made confeſſions of great crimes, and eſpecially of thoſe " which were of a public nature. There are proofs of this in the writings of the fathers, " and in the penitential canons, which regulated the times of penitence ordained for each " of theſe *flagrant* crimes. But we ſee nothing in the ancienteſt monuments of theſe con- " feſſions ſo often reiterated, of the ſmalleſt faults, nor of the laws made for the ordination " of confeſſion at certain times. Nor is it clear beſides, whether this ſort of confeſſion " was inſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt, or whether it was only preſcribed by the Church. It " appears much more probable, on the contrary, that the kind of confeſſion practiſed at " this day, can only have been of the inſtitution laſt mentioned, ſince we find no example " of it in primitive times.

" The article of *Images* has excited great diviſions in the Church. Some, for honour- " ing them have been taxed with idolatry, and thoſe who have deſtroyed them have been " accuſed of irreligion. This is carrying things too far, both on the one ſide, and on the " other. Images have nothing bad in themſelves; it cannot, however, be denied, but " that they have occaſioned great abuſe, and great ſuperſtitions. It is not, therefore, ſo " much on a religious, as on a prudential account, that we ought to be cautious in regu- " lating our conduct with reſpect to them. If abuſe and ſuperſtition are inſeparable from " the uſe of them, piety and religion oblige us to ſuppreſs them. If we can, on the con- " trary, ſeparate the uſe of them from ſuperſtitious worſhip, we may preſerve them with " utility, for the inſtruction of the people, and the ornament of Churches. This was the " temperate ſtep which the Churches of France took formerly, and almoſt all thoſe of the

" Weſt

(g) Eng. Tra
p. 71—90.

" Weſt, to the tenth century; and they had then no conception, that by ſo doing, they did " any thing contrary to the ſecond precept of the decalogue. This, even now, might be " conſidered as the moſt reaſonable way, eſpecially if it were only confined to hiſtorical " paintings, and went to the excluſion of the Images or the ſtatues of particular ſaints. " But if the fear of abuſe prevails over the mind, I ſee not why we ſhould impute it " as a crime to thoſe, who, influenced by an apprehenſion ſo religious and ſo well found- " ed, actually ſuppreſs what they conſider as an occaſion of ſo much abuſe, and a ſource of " ſuperſtition."

" What I have ſaid of Images, may likewiſe be applied to *Relicks*. The honour that " has been paid to them in the Greek and Latin Churches, is almoſt as ancient as the " Church itſelf. There has been a great deal of indecency, and a kind of fury, in the " manner in which proteſtants treated them at the beginning of the Reformation. They " might have reaſon for cenſuring, as they did, the exceſs to which ſuperſtition had been " carried on this point, either by giving falſe relics for true ones, or by rendering undue " worſhip to ſuch as were not ſuſpected of falſhood. The evil was extreme, and too much " of the remains of it are ſtill preſerved, not to make us feel, that their reproaches on this " head were too juſt and well founded. But ſtill they might have carried themſelves with " more moderation in the reform of theſe abuſes; and there was a middle way that might " have been taken, between the ſuperſtition of the one party, and the violence of the other. " Religion forbids us not, but on the contrary excites us, to honour the aſhes of thoſe " whom their ſanctity has rendered reſpectable to us; and even the honour that we render " to their memory, is a powerful motive to excite us to imitate their virtues. But to enter- " tain an imagination, that there is any virtue, or any efficacy, inherent in their aſhes, or " their tombs, which can work the miracles that God may ſometimes grant to the faith of " thoſe who ſolicit their ſuccours, and ſupplicate Him to hear the prayers, which there is " ſome reaſon to believe the ſaints offer up to him for us, is to place efficacy and virtue " where there is none. To found a confidence upon this, is to entertain a vain and un- " reaſonable confidence, and to confound the honour due to their virtue with the confi- " dence that we ought to put in God only, and which ought not to be participated with any " of his creatures (*g*)."

(*g*) Eng. Tranſ. p. 71—90.

The practice of praying in an unknown tongue is afterwards cenſured by Father Courayer; and he alſo condemns perſecution on account of religion as irrational, indefenſible, and repugnant to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. He concludes his Declaration in the following manner: " Moderate ſentiments in religion are ſeldom adapted to the taſte of " different parties; and, inſtead of ſerving to conciliate differences, they commonly pro- " duce no other effect, but that of drawing down cenſures upon thoſe by whom they are " advanced. But as, in making this Declaration, I propoſed to myſelf no other appro- " bation, but that of God, and of my own conſcience, it is ſufficient for me, that I have " delivered, with ſincerity, that which appears to me the moſt conformable to truth, and " beſt calculated for the promotion of peace. If I am deceived, it has not been my own " fault; and I hope that God, in his mercy, will pardon my involuntary errors, and will " grant to me in another life, that light and knowledge which have been refuſed me " in this."

In the South Cloiſter of Weſtminſter-Abbey, directly over the effigies of Abbot Vitalis, is a monument erected to the memory of Father Courayer, on which is an inſcription, written by Mr. Kynaſton, Fellow of Brazen Noſe College. But it being put up too haſtily to obtain the author's laſt reviſal, the following is a more accurate copy of it than that upon the monument, being corrected by Mr. Kynaſton himſelf:

H. S. E.
Annis morumque integritate juxta reverendus
PETRUS FRANCISCUS COURAYER,
Cœnobii de *Sanctâ Genovevâ* dicti
Apud Urbem *Lutetiam Pariſiorum*
Regularis olim Canonicus.
Vir, ſi quis alius,
De Eccleſiâ atque Politiâ Anglicanâ
Animo pariter ac ſcriptis,
Optimè meritus.
Quippe qui Epiſcopalium jus Adminiſtrationum
Jamdiù a Pontificiis acerrime impugnatum
Huic eidem Eccleſiæ
Et Gallus ipſe, & Pontificius
Invictâ argumentorum vi, aſſeruit & vindicavit:
Quique adeò, ob id vindicandum
Pulſus jam patria, profugus,
Omnibuſque demum exutus fortunis,
Hâc in urbe quærebat aſylum, & inveniebat;

Ibique per annos propè quinquaginta
Honeſtæ mentis otio egregius fruebatur exul,
Bonorum omnium deliciæ vivus,
Moriens commune deſiderium.
Obiit quintâ decimâ die *Octobris*
Anno poſt natum Chriſtum MDCCLXXVI;
Poſt ſe natum XCV.
Huic tali tantoque Viro,
Marmor hoc, amoris ſui monumentum,
Poſuêre Amici,
Cui famam marmore perenniorem peperit,
Defenſa veritas, refutatus error (*b*).

(*b*) Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 545.

To what has been already ſaid reſpecting Dr. Courayer's Works, it may not be improper here to add, that he wrote *Traité de Poem Epique*; and that his French Tranſlation of Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent was printed at London in 1736, in two volumes, folio; and at Amſterdam, the ſame year, in two volumes, quarto; and that his Tranſlation of Sleidan's Hiſtory of the Reformation, to which he added copious notes, was printed in three volumes, quarto, in 1767 (*i*).

(*i*) Account of Dr. Courayer, prefixed to the Engliſh Tranſlation of his Declaration of his laſt Sentiments, &c. p. 75, 76.

From the fourth volume of Biſhop Atterbury's Epiſtolary Correſpondence, which has fallen into our hands ſince this article was printed, we learn that the Biſhop was expoſed to ſome trouble on account of Father Courayer's eſcape from France, which he was ſuppoſed to have facilitated. The French King and Cardinal Fleury ſent him a meſſage on the ſubject by the Lieutenant de Police. "I did not mince the matter to the Magiſtrate," ſays the Biſhop, "nor am I at all aſhamed of what has happened, or concerned for it. "I owned my friendſhip for Pere Courayer; told them frankly a great deal more than "they knew of that matter, as far as I was concerned; and thought there was no reaſon "to wonder at, or blame my conduct. I convinced them of that point, and I believe "there is an end of it. I ſhewed the Lieutenant the picture of Pere Courayer hanging "up in my room; told him I had viſited him in his retreat at Hanment, while he was in "diſgrace there; and that he came to take his leave of me the night before he left Paris; and "that in all this I thought I had done nothing that miſbecame me." The Lieutenant, who behaved with great politeneſs, was perfectly ſatisfied with our Prelate's explanation; but this was not the caſe with the Cardinal, who was perſuaded that Father Courayer's eſcape was entirely owing to Atterbury, and diſplayed much reſentment on that account. The picture of Courayer, in the Biſhop's poſſeſſion, was left by him to the Univerſity of Oxford (*k*).] T.

(*k*) Atterbury's Epiſtolary Correſpondence, vol. iv. p. 102—104, 133.

*** [COURTEN, a name certainly uſed, with a variety of ſpelling, for more than two hundred years, to diſcriminate a family of Engliſh extraction [*A*], which after being ſettled, upwards of a century, in the Netherlands, returned into England, intermarried with its gentry and nobility, and gave birth to ſeveral men, well entitled to notice in the *Biographia Britannica*. The laſt of the name, having been an ornament, and a benefactor to this kingdom, in a way, and to an extent not commonly known, is a proper ſubject for a ſeparate article. Others of his anceſtors were likewiſe memorable, for contributing conſiderably to the increaſe and enlargement of our national wealth and dominion, by carrying, at a very early period, the trade, navigation, and colonies of this country, into parts of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies then little known. It is fit, therefore, in the firſt place, that ſome account ſhould be given of them, in a work appropriated to the celebration of our countrymen in whatever way meritorious, and intended to reſcue from oblivion the memories of all ſuch eminent perſons as have at any time lived, or reſided occaſionally in Britain.

Every thing relative to the Courtens in their ſtate of emigration, before their return to the land of their nativity, is in a great meaſure foreign from the plan and purpoſe of this work. The only memoirs of the family which can be recorded here with propriety, lie within a narrow compaſs, clear of the ſuſpicions adherent to late reſearches into remote antiquity. They go no farther back than to the great-grandfather, who, by perſecution,

[*A*] *Engliſh extraction.*] The pedigree of this family, the name of which is moſt commonly ſpelt *Courten*, though ſometimes *Courtin*, and *Courteene*, *&c.* is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum (1). It begins on the paternal line from a Roger *de Curtis*, ſaid there to have been a native of Devonſhire. He paſſed, it ſeems, from the ſervice of a Ducheſs of Gloſter, into that of an Earl of Brabant, married at Hainault, and fixed at Menin, where he died in 1423. But as this paper is not eaſily legible, and is moreover in the Dutch or Flemiſh language, with which the preſent writer is totally unacquainted, the curious are referred for more particular and more certain information to the original, which contains a circumſtantial account of the genealogy of the family, and gives its coat of arms as follows. A Talbot paſſant, quartered with a chevron between three ſwans; no colours depicted; creſt, on a wreath, a demy Talbot iſſuant.

(1) MSS. Sloan. 3515.

There is, in the ſame repoſitory, a Talbot paſſant, on the ſilver-top of a walking-ſtick made of a curious piece of vine, the arms moſt probably of William Courten, Eſq; the ſubject of the ſubſequent article, whoſe property it certainly was, and from whom it paſſed, with his rich muſeum, to Sir Hans Sloane in 1702.

"Courtin, London; *Or*, A Talbot paſſant *Sa.* "Courteen, Aldington, or Aunton *in com.* Wor- "ceſter, the ſame creſt, a demy Talbot *Sa.* (2)"

(2) Edmondſon's Complete Body of Heraldry, vol. ii. Edit. 1780. f.

was repelled from Flanders into the kingdom from which he ſprang, where he and his immediate deſcendants, by their indefatigable induſtry, and great ſkill in mercantile buſineſs, ſuddenly roſe to an unuſual height of opulence and ſplendour. After flouriſhing here for almoſt a century, this family, by means of a viper of its own generation, by a variety of accidents unforeſeen or unforeſeeable, but chiefly by the depredations and villainy of a jealous nation of mere merchants, experienced a ſad reverſe of fortune, and being blaſted to the root, its male-line and diſcriminating ſurname became extinct in 1702. The riſe and downfall of this houſe being equally remarkable, the following account of its complicated ſtory, given here with all the conciſeneſs conſiſtent with perſpicuity, was ſtudiouſly collected from ſcattered papers and broken memorials in the Britiſh Muſeum, where curioſity may ſatisfy itſelf, and probably diſcover collateral evidence, and additional information, omitted or unobſerved by the preſent writer.

Olivares Duke of Alva, being appointed by Philip II. Governor of the Seventeen Provinces, endeavoured, with execrable policy, to eſtabliſh over all the Netherlands, an irreligious and horrible Court of Judicature, on the model of the Spaniſh Inquiſition. By conſequence, in 1567, great numbers of induſtrious, thriving and worthy people, were impriſoned by the rigorous orders of this petty tyrant, and treated with great injuſtice and cruelty. WILLIAM COURTEN, ſon of a Taylor at Menin, was one of many who experienced this oppreſſion; but had the good fortune to effectuate his eſcape from priſon. In the year following, 1568, he arrived ſafe at London, with his wife Margaret Caſiere, a daughter named Margaret, her huſband, ſon of a *macklaer* (*) at Antwerp of the name of Boudean, and as much property as they could haſtily collect under ſuch diſadvantages.

(*) The Flemiſh name for bricklayer, or potter.

Soon after their arrival, they took a houſe in Ab-Church-Lane, where they lived all together, following for ſome time the buſineſs of making what were commonly called *French Hoods*, much uſed in thoſe days and long after, which they vended in wholeſale, to the ſhop-keepers who ſold them by retail. Encouraged by great ſucceſs in this employment, they ſoon removed to a larger houſe in Pudding-Lane, or Love-Lane, in the pariſh of St. Mary Hill, where they entered on a partnerſhip trade, in ſilks, fine linen, and ſuch articles as they had dealt in before, when in Flanders.

Michael Boudean, the daughter Margaret's huſband, died firſt, leaving behind him, unfortunately for the family, a ſon, and only child, named Peter, after an uncle certainly not much older than himſelf. The widow married John Moncy a Merchant in London, who inſtantly became an inmate with the family, which was moreover increaſed by the parents themſelves, with two ſons, William, born in 1572, and Peter, born in 1581. The young men, being inſtructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, were early initiated in buſineſs, and ſoon after ſent abroad as factors for the family; William to Haerlem, Peter to Cologne, and Peter Boudean the grand-child, to Middleburgh. The writer of this article is not at preſent ſufficiently inſtructed, to date with preciſion the times at which William Courten and Margaret Caſiere died. Moſt probably their deaths happened about the end of Queen Elizabeth's, or in the beginning of King James's reign; but it is ſaid expreſsly, and it ſeems undeniable, that they left their deſcendants not only in eaſy, but even in affluent circumſtances.

At the following æra of this little hiſtory, it does not appear with certainty, whether the old people were actually dead, or had only declined all farther active, reſponſible concern in buſineſs: but moſt certainly in 1606 William and Peter Courtens entered into partnerſhip with John Moncy, their ſiſter Margaret's ſecond huſband, to trade in ſilks and fine linen. Two parts, or the moiety of the joint-ſtock, belonged to William Courten; and to each of the others, Peter Courten and John Moncy, a fourth ſhare. As for Peter Boudean, the ſon of Margaret Courten by her firſt huſband, he ſeems to have been employed to negotiate for the partnerſhip at Middleburgh, on ſome ſtipulated or diſcretionary ſalary; for it does not appear that he had any certain or determinate ſhare in the trade, which was carried on proſperouſly till 1631, with a return, it is ſaid, *communibus annis*, of 150,000 *l.* During the courſe of this co-partnerſhip, there is nothing upon record unfavourable to the character of John Moncy. The characters too of William and Peter Courtens appear unexceptionable, fair, and illuſtrious. They proſpered, it ſeems, remarkably in all their undertakings, for twenty years and more, in the courſe of which time they were both dignified with the honours of knighthood [*B*].

The elder brother, Sir William Courten, beſides his capital concern in the original partnerſhip above-mentioned, traded very extenſively on his own bottom, to Guinea, Portugal, Spain, and the Weſt Indies. He married firſt a Dutch-woman of the name of Cromling, the daughter of Mr. Peter Cromling, an opulent Merchant in Haerlem, who was, though both deaf and dumb, book-keeper to her father. By this marriage he got, it is ſaid, 60,000 *l.* of which he was enjoined to lay out 50,000 *l.* in the purchaſe of lands in England, to be ſettled upon his ſon by this Lady, of whom ſhe was delivered in

[*B*] *Dignified with the honours of knighthood.*] Sir William Courten was knighted at Greenwich, May 31, 1622; and Sir Peter was knighted at Whitehall, Feb. 22, 1623 (3).

(3) Claudius, c. iii.

London,

London, and whoſe name was Peter. This ſon, who was all the offspring from this marriage, King James I. made one of the firſt rank of his Baronets [*C*]. "He was "afterwards married to Lord Stanhope's daughter, but died without iſſue, leaving the "eſtate in lands to his father Sir William, who ſettled that eſtate, and 3000 *l.* more, "*per annum*, upon his only ſon and heir, by a ſecond wife, the daughter of Mr. Moſes "Tryon (*)."

(*) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. p. 50.

Sir Peter, the uncle to Peter juſt mentioned, and brother to Sir William Courten, kept the books of the family partnerſhip, and died unmarried in 1630, at Middleburgh. It is affirmed, that he was worth at his death 100,000 *l.* and that he left his nephew Peter Boudean, the ſon of his ſiſter by her firſt huſband, his ſole heir and executor, who ſeems at this time to have taken the name of Courten which he annexed to his own. This crafty man took immediate poſſeſſion, not only of his uncle Sir Peter's property, which could not have been aſcertained without balancing the accounts of the co-partnerſhip, but ſeized likewiſe the ſhipping and goods that belonged unqueſtionably to his other uncle, Sir William, and Mr. Moncy, amounting, as it is ſtated, to 100,000 *l.* more [*D*]; nor could he, to the very end of his life, which laſted above thirty years longer, be brought, by argument or law, to ſettle the accounts of the company.

Sir William Courten, after the death of his Dutch Lady, married a ſecond wife, of the name of Tryon, by whom he had one ſon, named William, and three daughters, whoſe names and marriages are but juſt mentioned here, the curious being referred for farther information about them, to the memoirs of the family in the Britiſh Muſeum. Heſter the eldeſt was married to Sir Edward Littleton; Mary the ſecond was wedded to the Earl of Kent [*E*]; Anna the youngeſt to Eſſex Devereux, Eſq; of Leight-Court, in the county of Worceſter, and after his death, to Richard Knightly, Eſq; of Fawſeley, in Northamptonſhire. She was born in 1614, as we learn from the certificate below [*F*], and lived to a great age, as appears from an official paper tranſcribed into the following article.

Sir William ſeems to have been poſſeſſed of a comprehenſive mind, an enterprizing ſpirit, abundance of wealth, and credit ſufficient to enable him to launch out into any promiſing branch of trade and merchandize whatſoever. It is ſtated, with apparent fairneſs, that he actually lent to King James I. and his ſon, Charles I. at different times, of his own money, or from the company-trade, 27,000 *l.* and in another partnerſhip, wherein he was likewiſe concerned with Sir Paul Pyndar [*G*], their joint claims on the Crown amounted,

[*C*] *One of the firſt rank of his Baronets.*] The following entry in SALMON, moſt probably refers to Peter Courten, *jun.* for the deſcription does not ſeem to point to the uncle, who generally lived, and died in Holland, where he was naturalized. If May was mentioned by miſtake for February, the date of the year would then correſpond to that of the uncle's knighthood, by writing it thus, Feb. — 1622-3; but ſtill there would be an error in the day of the month. "May 18, 1622, Peter Courtene of Aldington, alias "Aunton, Eſq; was [by James I.] created a Bart. "Wigorn, extinct."

[*D*] *£.100,000 more.*] Sir Peter Courten, *ſen.* at the time of his death, ſtood indebted to the company, by the balance of the books kept in London, for money due to the general ſtock 129,426*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* which remained in the hands of his nephew Peter Boudean.

[*E*] *Earl of Kent.*] Henry Grey, the eleventh Earl of Kent of that family, and eldeſt ſon to Anthony Grey the famous Rector of Burbach in Leiceſterſhire (4). He was born Nov. 24, 1643; and by his firſt wife, the daughter of Sir William Courten, had iſſue Henry, Lord Grey, who was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey, June 29, 1644, near his mother, who was buried there March 20, 1643. This Earl's ſecond Lady was Amabella, daughter of Sir Anthony Ben, Recorder of London. He died in 1651; and his Counteſs ſurvived till 1698.

(4) Hiſtory of Burbach, by Nichols, p. 278. Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 514.

[*F*] *Certificate below.*] "Baptized in the Dutch "Church, London, Anna Filia Guiliame Courten, "*anno* 1614, the 17 of January. Teſtes Moſes "Tryon and Margaretha de Moncy, which ſtood in "the place of Lucretia Pelicorne the widow of Mr. "Gualterus del Prato." [Signed] Philipp. op de Beech. "Miniſter of the Dutch Church in London "(5)." The original certificate paſted on a blank leaf.

(5) MSS. Sloan. 5961, fol.

[*G*] *Sir Paul Pyndar.*] "He was born at Wellingborough in the county of Northampton, where he "was at ſchool till ſixteen. He was then put apprentice to Mr. Parviſh an Italian Merchant, who ſent "him, at eighteen, as his Factor to Venice, where, "and in parts adjacent, he reſided for fifteen years, "or thereabouts, trading upon his own account, and "on commiſſions both from his old maſter, and divers "others of the moſt trading kingdoms, by which he "got a very plentiful eſtate. At his return to England, where he traded five years longer, the Turky "Company, knowing him well ſkilled in the Italian "and Turkiſh languages, and having received many "kind offices from him in his tranſactions abroad, "applied to King James I. in 1611, to ſend him as "Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior at Conſtantinople, which employment, after much ſolicitation, he "embraced to the great ſatisfaction of the King, and the "Turky Company, in whoſe ſervice he continued "nine years, during which time he much improved "the Levant trade, and manufactures of England, "which had been greatly injured by the arts of the "French and Dutch. Three years after his return "in 1623, King James having knighted him, offered "as a reward of his ſervices, to make him his Lieutenant of the Tower; but this honour Sir Paul humbly "refuſed, and the rather, in regard his Majeſty deſired to purchaſe Sir Paul's Diamond-Jewel of "30,000*l.* value, upon credit. Sir Paul brought "home this Diamond-Jewel from Turky, and lent "it to King James to wear at divers times on days "of great ſolemnity, on opening parliaments, and "when audiences were given to foreign Ambaſſadors. "It was afterwards ſold to King Charles I (6)."

(6) *Ibid.* 351*5.f.* & *Vox Veritatis*, &c. p. 51.

There is moſt probably a particular account of this *Diamond-Jewel*, in the MS. which the Honourable H. Walpole purchaſed at the ſale of Thoreſby's Muſeum, promiſed to the public *with ſome other curious papers*. This MS. it is ſaid, contained among other things, an account of *the monies received upon the pawning of the King's, and his Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Jewels, &c.* Thirty-one pages being wanting at the beginning relating to the plate and jewels, in the "Catalogue of King Charles the firſt's "goods, &c. with the ſeveral prices at which they "were valued and ſold," diſcovered lately in Moorfields, &c. it is not likely that there will be any mention of this *Diamond-Jewel* there. It is ſaid on the autho-

amounted, it ſeems, to 200,000*l.* for no objection appears to have been made to this ſtatement. We are told that one way or other Sir William employed, and with a conſtancy

authority of the *Catalogue*, that the total of the contracts amounted to 118,080*l.* 10*s.* 2*d*(7).

(7) Anecdotes of Painting in England, &c. vol. ii. p. 112, and 114, 8vo. 1782.

This *Diamond-Jewel* of Sir Paul Pyndar ſeems, by the general account of it given above, to have ſurpaſſed in value the celebrated diamond brought afterwards into this country by Governor Thomas Pitt, of which the curious reader may ſee a circumſtantial account in the late edition of the TATLER with notes, Vol. V. Additional notes, p. 385, *& ſeqq.*

" On Sir Paul's refuſal of the Lieutenancy of the " Tower, by the over perſuaſion of Sir William " Cockqayne and Sir Arthur Ingram, this Knight " was brought to accept of being one of the Far- " mers of the Cuſtoms; to advance monies for ſup- " ply of the late King's neceſſary occaſions, and to " furniſh the Crown with Jewels, to his infinite loſs " and prejudice. Nevertheleſs, he manifeſted his " loyalty to that degree, towards the preſerva- " tion of the Royal Family, that he ſent ſeveral con- " ſiderable ſums of money, in gold, to the late King " Charles at Oxford, by Madam Jane Whorewood, " in the years 1643 and 1644, for tranſportation of " the Queen and her children.

" In 1639, his caſhiers and accomptants, William " Toomes and Richard Lane, by the orders of their " maſter, caſt up Sir Paul Pyndar's eſtate, which con- " ſiſted in ready money, allome, and good debts " upon tallies, and obligations from Noblemen, and " others at Court, amounting in all to the ſum of " 215,600*l.* ſterling; a great part of which was em- " ployed in the ſole manfacture of allome, for which " allome-farm, Sir Paul Pyndar paid annually " 12,000*l.* ſterling to the crown, for twenty eight " years ſucceſſively."—" This farm was within the " Manor of Mulgrave belonging to the Earl of that " title; and it is ſaid, that all the ſoil of the land, " on which the allome works were erected, with all " the mines and rocks employed, were not before " worth 40*l. per annum* (*)."

(*) " Brief narrative, &c. p. 11.

" This branch of the public revenue has been lately " extinguiſhed under the notion of a monopoly; and " thus, a ſtaple commodity, of the growth and manu- " facture of England, has ſuffered great injury for " want of a due regulation in trade. Sir P. Pyndar " was obliged, by the grant from the King, to fur- " niſh London, and all parts of England, with *allome* " at twenty pounds *per* ton, and to tranſport the " overplus, which he did in great quantities, into " Holland, France, Hamburgh, and other parts, to " the advantage and benefit of the King, and his " kingdom.

" This manufacture of allome, was firſt brought " out of Italy, in thoſe parts, under the Pope's tem- " poral juriſdiction, and ſet on work by an Italian, a " friend of Sir P. Pyndar's in King James's time; " who much encouraged the making thereof, and ſet " up the firſt pans, coppers, and materials in York- " ſhire, at the charge of the crown. Before that " time, all allome was imported into England, from " the Pope's territories, at the rate of ſixty pounds " ſterling *per* ton, under the name of *roach allome*, " which raiſed a very conſiderable yearly revenue to " his holineſs (†)."

(†) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. 4to. 1683, p. 51, &c.

In a record in the Britiſh Muſeum, the eſtimate of Sir P. Pyndar's eſtate, at the very time here ſpecified, viz. in the year 1639, is not rated ſo high as it is ſtated above. Excluſively indeed of deſperate and bad debts, it is only fixed at 236,000*l.* or to ſpeak in the modern cant phraſe, at two plums and 36,000*l.* more; and it is affirmed [*ibidem*] that two thirds of the ſum total were embarked with the King.

There is in the ſame repoſitory, and if the writer does not miſ-remember, in the ſame volume, a printed abſtract of the laſt will of Sir P. Pyndar, dated June 24, 1646, to which the curious are referred for farther information (‡).

(‡) MSS. Sloan. 3515, f.

" There remains nothing viſible at this time, " [viz. 1683] ſays Mr. Browne in the continuation " of his account, to the family of Sir P. Pyndar, out " of all his great acquiſitions, but his memory en- " graven in a modeſt ſtile, upon a ſtone of black " marble, over his grave in S. Buttolph's church, " without Biſhop's-gate, London, in thoſe ſorrowful " days when he died. The epitaph is as follows:

" Sir Paul Pyndar, Ambaſſador to the Turkiſh " Emperour, *anno* 1611, and reſident there " nine years, faithful in negotiations, foreign " and domeſtic, eminent for piety, charity, " loyalty and prudence. An inhabitant " twenty-ſix years in this pariſh. A boun- " tiful benefactor, deceaſed the 22d of Aug. " aged 84 years.

" William Toomes, who was appointed executor, " adminiſtered and made probat of Sir Paul Pyndar's " laſt Will and Teſtament, wherein, amongſt other " legacies, he bequeathed 7,000*l.* to the Hoſpitals " in London and Southwark. The ſaid Toomes " exhibited an inventory, but could not get in the " eſtate, moſt part thereof being upon tallies, " and many of the Noblemen being inſolvent, he " diſcharged the workmen a remainder of 10,000*l.* " expended by Sir P. Pyndar in his life-time, upon " the porch of St. Paul's Church, on the ſouth ſide. " But Mr. Toomes finding ſuch a vaſt eſtate ſo en- " tangled, and his expectations ſo fruſtrated, had not " a ſpirit to bear his afflictions, therefore laid violent " hands on himſelf in the year 1655, and was found " a *felo de ſe*."

On the death of Toomes, it ſeems, " Sir William " Powell took out Letters of Adminiſtration, with " the Will of Sir Paul Pyndar annexed; and during " his time, it is ſaid, he employed in Holland, the " writer of the tract here quoted, a Mr. Browne, " Gent. to look after the intereſt of Sir Paul Pyndar's " eſtate and his adminiſtrator, depending in the " Neitherlands, on ſuits in Courts there for the re- " covery of damages, by the deſtruction, ſeizure, and " appropriation of the two ſhips, Bona Eſperanza, " and Henry Bona Adventura, the firſt taken in the " ſtreights of Malacca, the ſecond near the iſland " Mauritius by men of war belonging to the Eaſt- " India Company of the Neitherlands, under a pre- " tence that they traded with the *Portugalls* their " enemies.

" This Browne was moreover employed by Sir " William Powell to get in ſome debts due to the " eſtate and heirs of Sir Paul Pyndar, upon the allome " account, from Jonas Abeel; but, he ſays, he re- " turned into England *re infectâ* in the year 1651. " In the ſame year, or much about the ſame time, " Mr. Browne ſays, he importuned Mr. Carew, who " had Sir Edward Littleton's intereſt in the two " ſhips above-mentioned, and a very conſiderable " debt of his own, incumbent on Sir P. Pyndar's " eſtate, to ſatisfy Sir William Powell, and ſo take " upon himſelf the ſole adminiſtration of Sir Paul " Pyndar's goods and teſtament.

" By the advice of Mr. Browne, it is ſaid, that " after ſome enquiries, and encouragements at " White Hall, from his friends that he had then " there, on the concluſion of the Treaty between the " King and the States-general, in the year 1662, " Mr. Carew ſold his land in Worceſter to Mr. " Thomas Foley for 3800*l.* whereby he ſatisfied " and paid Sir William Powell and others, and ſo " took upon himſelf the adminiſtration of Sir Paul " Pyndar's eſtate."

It is added here,

" And this being the truth of the caſe ſoe help me " GOD (§)."

(§) *Vox Veritatis, &c. ut ſupra*, p. 52, and p. 53.

Sir Paul Pyndar, on his return from Turkey, expended 2000*l.* in repairing the entry, porches, and front of St. Paul's Cathedral, enriching them with marble ſculpture, and the figures of the Apoſtles. Afterwards being appointed by King James, for his ſkill in commerce, one of the farmers of the Cuſtom-Houſe, he laid out 17,000*l.* on the repairs of the ſide aile of the ſaid Church, and at different times ſupplied Charles I. with money to the amount of 12,000*l.*

ſtancy for many years, between four and five thouſand ſeamen; that he built above twenty ſhips of burthen; was a great inſurer, and beſides that, a very conſiderable goldſmith, or banker, for ſo a banker was then called. It appears likewiſe, that he was very deeply engaged in a Herring Fiſhery, which was carried on at one time, with great ſpirit, and at great expence; but ſoon after, much to his coſt, it came to nothing, in conſequence of the ſupervening diſſentions, confuſion, and miſery that in a ſoon-ſucceeding period, extended over all the Britiſh dominions.

Before the time alluded to in the preceding paragraph, about the year 1624, two of Sir William Courten's ſhips, in their return from Fernambuc, happened to diſcover an uninhabited iſland, now of conſiderable importance to Great Britain, to which Sir William firſt gave the name of Barbadoes. The writer follows here the account given in a capital French work, entitled, *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom.* xv. *p.* 595. *A Paris*, 1759. 19 *tom. 4to.* The diſcovery of this iſland is repreſented by the French compiler, as merely accidental; but in ſeveral papers in the Britiſh Muſeum, and particularly in the MS. there, mentioned below [*H*], it is ſaid expreſsly, that the diſcovery was the reſult of a deliberate well-laid ſcheme, formed on hints from Sir William's correſpondents in Zealand, and concerted, no doubt, between him and his brother Sir Peter, probably the intelligencer, for he lived and died in Holland. But be this as it may, Sir William Courten was certainly the firſt who took poſſeſſion of this iſland, the firſt who gave it the name of Barbadoes which it ſtill retains, and the firſt who began to ſettle it, (according to the MS. mentioned above, and quoted below,) in 1625.

On the 25th of Feb. 1627, Sir William Courten obtained the King's Letters Patent, for the colonization of this iſland, ſheltering himſelf, for whatever reaſons, under the Earl of Pembroke: for the deed grants, "The Government of Barbadoes to the Earl of Pembroke, "*in truſt for Sir William Courten*, with power to ſettle a Colony there, according to the "laws of England, &c." On the faith of this grant, afterwards ſuperſeded by the influence of James, then Earl of Carliſle, though its validity was acknowledged by the firſt, and generally indeed by all the Lawyers, Sir William ſent two ſhips, with men, arms, ammunition, &c. which ſoon ſtored the iſland with inhabitants, Engliſh, Indians, &c. to the number of one thouſand, eight hundred and fifty, when one Captain Powel received from Sir William, a commiſſion to remain in the iſland as Governor, in behalf of Sir William, and the Earl of Pembroke (*a*). After Sir William had expended 40,000*l.* on this buſineſs (*), and been in peaceable poſſeſſion of the iſland about three years, James, Earl of Carliſle, claiming on grants ſaid to be prior, though dated July 2, 1627, and April 7, 1628; affirming too, that he was Lord of all the Caribbee iſlands, lying between 10 and 20 degrees of latitude, under the name of Carliola, gave his commiſſion to Colonel Royden, Henry Hawley, and others, to act in his behalf. The Commiſſioners of Lord Carliſle arrived at Barbadoes with two ſhips, in 1629, and having invited the Governor Captain Powel on board, they kept him priſoner, and proceeded to invade and plunder the iſland. They carried off the factors and ſervants of Sir William Courten and the Earl of Pembroke, and eſtabliſhed the Earl of Carliſle's authority in Barbadoes, which continued there under ſeveral Governours, till 1646, when the government of it was veſted by leaſe and contract, in Lord Willoughby of Parham.

(*a*) MSS. Sloan. 2441.

(*) Sir W. expended 28,600*l.* on fortifications, &c. before he had a Patent under the Great Seal of England, in the 3d year of Cha. I. which ſubjected the Iſland to the Dominion of the King. *A Brief Narrative, &c.* p. 1.

Sir William Courten, it is ſaid, had likewiſe ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs ſeveral years before this blow in the Weſt Indies, by the ſeizure of his merchandize, after the cruel maſſacre of his factors at Amboyna, in the Eaſt Indies. But after all the loſſes above-mentioned, he was ſtill poſſeſſed, in the year 1633, of lands in various parts of this kingdom, to the value, it is affirmed, of 6,500*l. per annum*, beſides perſonal eſtate rated at 128,000*l.* and very extenſive credit. Such were his circumſtances, we are told, when he opened a trade to China, and as if he had grown young again, embarked ſtill more deeply, in mercantile expeditions to the Eaſt Indies, where he eſtabliſhed ſundry new forts and factories. In the courſe of this new trade he loſt unfortunately two of his ſhips richly laden, the Dragon and the Katharine, which were never heard of more; and he himſelf did not long ſurvive

The Communion plate at Wellingborough, conſiſting of a pair of ſilver flaggons, a chalice and cover, gilt, weighing two hundred and fifty-ſeven ounces, was given 1634 by Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. In the pariſh regiſter is recorded a thankful acknowledgment of this benefaction under the hands of the Vicar, Churchwardens, and principal inhabitants. On every piece of plate is this inſcription, *The gift of Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. to the Town Church of Wellingborough*, 1674. On the ſides of the flaggons, and on the bottom and cover of the chalice, are engraved his arms. In 1640 he gave the firſt bell (8).

(8) Bridges's Northamptonſhire, II. 153.

Thomas Pyndar, Eſq; ſon to the famous Merchant Sir Paul, had for a ſhort time poſſeſſion of Nerquis-houſe in Flintſhire, by marriage with Miſs Wynne, heireſs of the place. Their ſon Paul was created a Baronet about 1666, and dying ſingle the eſtate devolved by maternal right to Paul Williams, Eſq; of Pont y Gwyddel. On the death of Edward Williams, Eſq; 1737, it fell to his ſiſter, now relict of Robert Hyde, Eſq; who enjoys it in great hoſpitality (9).

(9) Pennant's Wales, 2d Edit. 392.

[*H*] *The MS. mentioned below.*] It (10) is a MS. hiſtory of Barbadoes, well written and not ill-penned, by ſome perſon who does not ſeem to have been connected, or acquainted with the Courten-family. The ſubſtance of what is mentioned in it relative to this article being given above, nothing more remains to be ſaid of the MS. than that it contains a clear and circumſtantial account of the condition, government, productions, and importance of the iſland at the time it was written, probably a century ago; and that it ſtates Barbadoes, it may be not very exactly, as ſituated between 13 and 14 degrees of latitude, diſtant from England about 3430 miles, thirty miles in length, fourteen in breadth, and twenty-five leagues in circumference (11).

(10) MSS. Sloan. 2441, fol.

(11) See alſo Ligon's Hiſtory of Barbadoes.

this

this loſs, which involved him in great debt; for he died in the end of May, or beginning of June 1636, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the Church or Church-yard of St. Andrew Hubbard, the ground of both which was, after the fire in 1666, diſpoſed of by the city for public uſes, and partly laid into the ſtreet, the pariſh being annexed to St. Mary-Hill. There is an abſtract of Sir William Courten's Will in the Britiſh Muſeum (*b*), dated May 22, 1636, from which ſome extracts are given in a note below [*I*].

(*b*) *Ibid.* 3515.

He left all his manors, Wingham Barton in Kent excepted, to his ſon William and his heirs, and him he appointed his executor and reſiduary legatee. Among many other charitable legacies, ſome of which are mentioned below, he bequeathed ſixty-four gowns, to ſixty-four poor men, according to the number of the years of his life. A Latin paper in the Britiſh Muſeum (*c*) ſeems to have been intended for his Epitaph, though it cenſures as folly, the over-ardent ſpirit of mercantile adventure, for which both Sir William and his ſon were very remarkable. It is endorſed "May 1636" in the hand-writing of William Courten, Eſq; the ſubject of the following article, and may contain perhaps the genuine opinion and ſentiments of the endorſer, expreſſed in his own words at ſome early period of his life. His care in preſerving it, induces at leaſt a ſuſpicion, that it was not very different from his own way of thinking concerning the conduct both of his father and grandfather. This may be mere conjecture: the curious reader may ſee below a faithful tranſcript of the paper [*K*].

(*c*) MSS. Sloan. 3515.

The accounts of the original partnerſhip, in which a very conſiderable part of Sir William Courten's eſtate conſiſted, remained unſettled at his death; though on the deceaſe of his brother, Sir Peter, their brother-in-law, John Moncy, repaired to Middleburgh, to ſettle with Peter Boudean-Courten. Before this ſettlement could be accompliſhed, Mr. Moncy died at Boudean's houſe, where he made his Will, as was pretended, leaving Sir William Courten and Peter Boudean-Courten his joint executors.

The validity of this Will was litigated for many years by an Eſther White, *alias de Wyer*, who claimed as heireſs at law to Mr. John Moncy, and obtained letters of adminiſtration to his eſtate. After a tedious legal proceſs at Middleburgh, and the Hague, this gentlewoman obtained a ſentence in 1657, to compel Peter Boudean to produce the books, papers, &c. but the validity of Moncy's will was ſtill left in queſtion, and it does not now appear, in what manner this law-ſuit terminated.

William Courten, Eſq; the ſon of Sir William, was very early initiated, and very extenſively concerned in commercial buſineſs. He married Lady Katharine Egerton, tenth

[*I*] *Extracts are given in a note below.*] It appears from the abſtract above-mentioned, that Sir William Courten's manor of Wingham Barton in Kent, had been ſettled before the date of his will, on his daughter Mary and her heirs; and *for her better preferment*, [it ſeems ſhe was not then married] he left her 2000*l.* To his daughter Anne Devereux, wife of Eſſex Devereux, Eſq; 1000*l.* to his daughter Dame Heſter Littleton, wife of Sir Edward Littleton 4000*l.* and to each of her children living at his deceaſe 100*l.* To his ſons-in-law Littleton and Devereux, each a diamond ring ſealed up, and their names on the boxes. To his daughter-in-law Lady Katharine Courten, a jewel of diamonds ſealed up with his ſeal at arms, and her name thereon. To his nephew Peter Boudean, and to his wife, a ring and a jewel. To Mr. James Pergens, a ring. To Mr. James Caſiere, Merchant, and to his ſiſter Mrs. Andrews, to each of them 50*l.* Ditto to Mr. Caſteel, Merchant. Ditto *Flemiſh* to Mr. Joos. Ditto to John De Batts. To Mr. James Tryon, 100 merks. To Mary Caſiere daughter to Mr. John Caſiere, 20*l.* To his Book-keeper and Accomptant David Goubard, 100*l.* and 50*l.* *per annum* ſo long as he continued in the ſervice of his ſon William Courten. To his ſervant Samuel Bonnel, on the ſame condition, 50*l.* *per ann.* To Mr. John Moone, 10*l.* To ſeventeen men-ſervants and five women-ſervants of himſelf, and to all his ſon's ſervants, different ſmall ſums. To the reparation of St. Paul's, over and above what he had given before for that uſe, 500 merks. To Chriſt's Church Hoſpital and St. Thomas's ditto, 100*l.* a-piece. To the Miniſters of St. Gabriel Fan-Church, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Saxby, 20*l.* each; and to the poor of the ſaid pariſh, 30*l.* To the poor of the Dutch Congregations in London, 50*l.* and to the young Students maintained abroad, at Univerſities, by the ſaid Congregations, 20*l.* To the poor of St. Mary-Hill, 15*l.* To the Miniſter of St. Andrew-Hubbard, 5*l.* and to the poor of the pariſh, 10*l.* To Monſ. Marmot, preacher to the French Congregation in London, 20*l.* and to the poor of that Congregation, 20*l.* To the poor of the Dutch and French Congregations in Norwich, Colcheſter, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidſtone, and Yarmouth, 10*l.* each. To the poor of the ſeveral pariſhes of Laxſton, and Kneeſal *in com.* Nottingham, of St. Nicholas at Wade in the iſle of Thanet, and of Weſtham in Eſſex, 10*l.* each. To John, Earl of Bridgewater, a ring, &c. &c. It is ſaid in a note at the cloſe of the abſtract, that the rings and jewels, Sir William having the diamonds ready by him in his houſe [*inter alia*] at the time of his death, amounted in value to 7500*l.*

[*K*] *A faithful tranſcript of the paper.*]

May, 1636.

GULIELMUS COURTEN, verè liberali mercaturæ deditus, et in contractibus averſi periculi aſſiduus; poſt ſummè amplificatam diuturno fortunæ afflatu, rem familiarem; poſt opes inſignitas equeſtris ordinis honore; poſt liberos utriuſque ſexûs illuſtriſſimis comitum familiis per conjugia innexos; in præcipiti horum omnium perdendi ac contaminandi diſcrimine, exceſſit vitâ 27 *Maij*, 1636. *Filio non multo poſt cedente foro; diſtractis tot villis, agriſque paternis ære alieno abſumptis in claſſem Indicam privatam; immerſis opibus, depreſsâ et abſorptâ oceano claſſe, non ſine errore patris, filijque. Illius, quod ſpes longas inchoare non dubitaſſet, moriendi præ ætate jam fermè certus; quodque annis gravis levem illam lubricamque Deam tentare denuò voluiſſet; quaſi illam ſilicerniorum, buſtorum, cinerumque curam gereret, quam tot procantur venuſti juvenes, et quibus auſcultare, ſolennius multo eſt æquiuſque. Nec filius, ephorive, ſuâ vacabant culpâ; quod fugientem illam perſequi ſtuduerint, et in ordinem cogere. Fortunam fortunæ copijs agreſſi ſunt, non immerito offenſam horum omnium temeritati, qui totius ex alto in partum, ex partu in agros et poſſeſſiones opimas deducti, ſalum rurſus ſolo retrogradi protulerint; quaſi priora beneficia repudiarent, niſi plura ſuggerentur; vel nulla ſatis magna eſſet pecunia, qua impotentis ſenis, juveniſve vota, non adimplerentur.*

daughter

daughter of John, firſt Earl of Bridgewater, by whom he had iſſue, one ſon, named William, and one daughter, called Katharine, and afterwards by her marriage Mrs. Yongs. With the aſſiſtance, it ſeems, and additional credit of his father-in-law the Earl of Bridgewater, William Courten, in 1641, equipped two ſhips, at great expence, the Bona Eſperanza, and the Henry Bonadventure, which he ſent to the Eaſt Indies, to proſecute the trade, and ſupport the eſtabliſhment for trade, which his father, Sir William, had ſettled there. This was his deciſive effort, and circumſtanced as he then was, a very hazardous and deſperate adventure, in which he was unfortunate; for his ſhips, on their voyage, were way-laid, ſeized, and plundered by the Dutch, who in this iniquitous way ruined the ſon, after having attempted, in like manner, to ruin his father about twenty years before, by the butchery of his agents, and the ſeizure of his property at Amboyna.

That crafty people ſaw and ſeized the inſtant of a ſtorm burſting juſt then on Britain, to accompliſh a darling point of their mercenary policy, and ſucceeded but too well in ſtopping for a time the trade of this nation to China, Perſia, and the Eaſt Indies. Moreover, to fill up the meaſure of their iniquity and of their infamy, when, nearly thirty years after, the un-recompenced ſufferers of, and by this much-injured family, proteſted their wrongs, and in a legal manner reclaimed the property of which they had been robbed and pilfered, ſolliciting the ſupport of their magiſtrates in the courſe of law; the States permitted their thieves and robbers to plead openly in arreſt of Judgment, a general article in the Treaty of Breda, that conſigns to oblivion, all national offences, injuries, loſſes and damages, &c. antecedent to its ratification in 1667, as a happy releaſe from all obligations on Dutchmen to act honeſtly with Engliſhmen. The States went farther, adopted this ſtrange conſtruction of the article, in contradiction to the common ſenſe of words, and poſitively interdicted all their Courts of Judicature from doing juſtice to the Engliſh plaintiffs, or giving verdicts contrary to this ſcandalous interpretation of an article in a Treaty, where the ſubjects of complaint were never conſidered, or even mentioned (*d*). On this ſhallow pretext, did the High and Mighty States of Holland, regardleſs of the general faith of nations, ſcreen and juſtify their ſubjects in flagrant crimes, and prohibit their reſtitution of private property invaded by fraud and violence, on a principle ſubverſive of the commerce by which they ſubſiſt, and utterly deſtructive of all civil ſociety.

(*d*) This is affirmed on the authority of a printed tract of above 134 pages in folio, entitled, "Fraud and Oppreſſion detected and arraigned," a fragment of which is bound up in MSS. Sloan. 3515. fol.

Here ended the grandeur and opulence of a family of intelligent, enterprizing, and wealthy Merchants, who roſe and ſtood unrivalled by individuals, but were, with all their means and ſkill, unable to withſtand the perſiſtive oppoſition of a whole mercantile nation, accuſtomed to determine its right by its power, to whoſe ignoble jealouſy and ſiniſter arts, they fell at laſt a ſhameful ſacrifice. The Dragon and the Katharine of Sir William Courten were moſt probably intercepted, and privately deſtroyed by the ſame left-handed wiſdom which audaciouſly ſeized the Bona Speranza and Henry Bonadventure of his ſon, and thereby gave the finiſhing blow to the trade of the Courten family; for by this laſt diſaſter, their forts and factories in the Eaſt Indies were totally ruined, and the damage they immediately ſuſtained, excluſive of conſequential loſſes, is eſtimated in ſeveral memorials at more than 200,000*l.* the Bona Speranza being rated at 75,000*l.* the Henry Bonadventure at 150,000*l.* and the inſurance upon them at 7,000*l.* more.

The Earl of Bridgewater, who had been the principal collateral ſecurity for his ſon-in-law, when called upon, abſolutely refuſed to fulfil the obligations he had come under on this occaſion. His Lordſhip ſaid and ſwore, "that he would not fry in hell for his own debts, "for the diſcharge of which he had ſet apart ſome lands; but that he would pay none of "William Courten's debts, in whoſe eſtate he ſaid he had been deceived." Nevertheleſs both this Earl, and his ſon after him, if the writer does not miſ-remember, were put to great trouble and expence on this account.

That part of the eſtate of the Courten-family which now probably was his all, William Courten could neither realize, nor aſcertain. Overpowered, therefore, with his father Sir William's debts, and his own, and burthened with large ſums at intereſt, he became inſolvent in 1643, when he abſented himſelf from the adminiſtration of his paternal eſtate, and withdrew into Italy, leaving the many and great claims upon him unſatisfied, and the accounts of the original family-partnerſhip ſtill unſettled. He lived abroad entirely, for the laſt twelve years of his life, and died at Florence in 1655 inteſtate, or at leaſt, it was afterwards thought prudent to ſay ſo.

It ſeems there was no ſtatute of bankruptcy taken out againſt him on his retirement from England, and the eſtates of the family continued, for years at leaſt, unſequeſtered. His wife, Lady Katharine, who remained here with her children three full years after her huſband went abroad, appears to have been entruſted with the ſole management of his affairs, and in the adminiſtration of the eſtates of the family.

In 1646, this Lady employed John Moone, and David Gubard, both remembered in Sir William Courten's Will, as her Agents or Attornies, to ſettle every thing with Peter Boudean, who perſiſted diſhoneſtly in evading the ſettlement, and having, by whatever means, got poſſeſſion of ſome of Sir William Courten's books and papers, abſolutely refuſed to re-deliver them, availing himſelf of the diſorder and iniquity of the times.

It may be, that in ſome inſtances Lady Katharine's intereſt was neglected, perhaps betrayed, by the people ſhe employed; but with all the integrity and activity in her ſervice imaginable, it is not likely that her agents could have ſucceeded effectually, in bringing one ſo watchful and ſo artful as Boudean was, to ſettle, and cloſe the accounts of the partnerſhip. Nevertheleſs, it is not improbable that Boudean, to protract time and ſhuffle off the final ſettlement, might ſend Lady Katharine occaſional remittances, for the ſupport of her huſband abroad, and the ſupply of her own and her children's neceſſities. If this was not done, at any rate ſhe might, with whatever diſadvantage, take up monies on exchange, and give obligations for the repayment of them on the co-partnerſhip. It is certainly ſaid, that Sir William Courten did this, the accounts not having been liquidated for fourteen years before his death. It is ſaid, that "the great bulk of Sir William Courten's lordſhips and lands, excepting thoſe in the counties of Worceſter and Glouceſter, were ſold outright by William Courten his ſon and heir, to William Purpoint, Eſq; Mr. Daniel Harvey, the Earl of Kent, and others (*e*)."

(*e*) *Vox Veritatis, &c.* 4to. 1683. By Tho. Browne, Gent. p. 39.

It does not appear, from any thing this writer has ſeen, in what year Lady Katharine died; nor is he authorized to ſay, that ſhe continued till her death in the ſole management of her huſband's affairs, and the adminiſtration of the remaining eſtates of his family. Certainly, in 1660, King Charles II. granted Letters-Patent of Adminiſtration to all the eſtates of Sir William Courten and his ſon, in favour of one George Carew, Eſq; whilſt William, the ſon of William Courten, Eſq; was ſtill a minor, wanting then three years of being of age, and reſiding at that time beyond ſea.

It may be proper to cloſe here this article with ſome account of Carew, who, in a way apparently not very reputable, probably enriched himſelf from the wrecks of a very opulent family. A certificate ſigned Arlington, if printed from a genuine original, proves that Geo. Carew was one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Chamber. He was likewiſe a Member of the Society of Gray's-Inn, as appears from a printed copy of a certificate of the reader and benchers, dated 1674-5, in the 27th of Charles II. and ſigned Thomas Holt Lector, Robert Raworth, John Otway, and Francis Luttrel. Thomas Browne, who ſays he was concerned for Mr. George Carew twenty years and upwards in the affairs between him, as an Aſſignee of Sir William Courten's eſtates, and afterwards Adminiſtrator of his goods, ſays, that Carew "was in his juvenile years bred ſome-"time in the city of London; that in 1652, he was admitted of Gray's-Inn, where he was a "great Student in the common law of England for ſeven years together after his admittance."

(*f*) *Vox Veritatis, &c. ut ſupra*, p. 39.

(*f*) Another certificate likewiſe printed, and aſcribed to ſomebody whoſe name is forgotten, but who is ſtyled Steward to Mr. Carew, atteſts, that George Carew's eſtates in Suffolk, Eſſex, London, Dorſetſhire and Surrey, amounted to 530*l. per annum*. In the papers relative to the Courten-family in the Britiſh Muſeum, this perſon is commonly called George Carew of Gray's-Inn, and ſometimes George Carew of Richmond, Eſq.

"In 1659, George Carew bought nine cottages at Richmond, *alias* Weſt-Sheene, in "Surrey, which he demoliſhed as being receptacles for poor inhabitants burthenſome to "the pariſh; and in the room of them built three fair brick-houſes, with coach houſes, "barns, ſtables and out-buildings, whereby, it is ſaid, he increaſed the King's revenue in "hearth-money, and the rents and profits of James, Duke of York, at an expence to "himſelf of 8000*l.* ſterling and upwards." This eſtate fell, it is ſaid, to Sir James Butler in 1682 (*g*). Carew had likewiſe eight houſes in the pariſh of St. Andrew in Holbourn, of about the value of 1400*l.* which he mortgaged, with his Richmond eſtate, and another he had in Worceſterſhire, to take in ſeveral aſſignments on the ſhips deſtroyed by the Dutch, from Sir William Powell and Sir Peter Vanlore, to unite all intereſts, as it is ſaid, but in fact, it ſeems, to accompliſh the ſcheme in which he ſucceeded, viz. to get Letters of Adminiſtration, to the eſtates and goods, both of Sir William Courten, and of Sir Paul Pyndar, whoſe adminiſtrator Sir William Powell then was; though it is ſaid in the Dedication of the Tract here referred to, "that Providence had caſt this adminiſtration on Carew, in right of his wife, and other his relations." This was done in, or ſoon after the year 1665; for in the month of May, in that year, he obtained *Letters of Reprizals* on the Eaſt India Company of the Netherlands, for the ſum of 151,612*l.* with coſts and charges, to continue effectual in law, till full ſatisfaction was made for all loſſes, &c. or a compoſition took place between the Grantees and the Company above-mentioned.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 18, 19. and p. 4. and Dedication.

From two papers tranſcribed into the article immediately following this, it is evident, that there was a Mr. Carew, who was a very conſiderable debtor to William Courten the laſt man of that name and family, and at one time his Agent and Solicitor. It is not clear to the compiler of this article, that this George Carew, Eſq; was either a real creditor, or a rightful agent for the creditors of this family; but it appears, that he bought up debts and claims on the eſtates, and that, under a pretext of having an intereſt himſelf in right of his wife, and a zealous concern for the intereſts of other creditors, he actually worked himſelf into their buſineſs, and obtained at laſt, as has been ſaid, Letters of Adminiſtration to the eſtates of the Courtens in the year 1660, and likewiſe in 1665 or 1666, to the eſtates, &c. of Sir Paul Pyndar.

In 1661, George Carew, Eſq; went to work on the ſtrength of his Letters of Adminiſtration to the goods of Sir William Courten, and commenced a legal proceſs in Holland, againſt Peter Boudean-Courten, who died, it ſeems, rich, as may be ſeen below [*L*], in or about the year 1662, leaving his ſons and daughters reſponſable for the ſtill undecided claims on the partnerſhip of the Courtens and Moncy, from their joint ſtock of which their father had ſo unjuſtly kept poſſeſſion, and from the real and perſonal eſtates which he had left to a great amount among his children. The legal proceſſes were now renewed, and claims of juſtice re-inſtituted in ſundry Courts of Holland, in the name of George Carew, Eſq; adminiſtrator to the eſtates of Sir William Courten, &c. againſt John and Peter Boudeans and the other ſons and daughters of Peter Boudean deceaſed. They ſeem to have inherited the diſpoſition and craft with the wealth of their father; for one James Bovey, who had been ſervant and book-keeper to Mr. Moncy, being on the death of his maſter employed by William Courten, Eſq; and afterwards veſted with letters of procuration from George Carew, Eſq; was arreſted on a great feigned action, and confined in priſon for ſeveral years, to prevent his proſecution of the ſuit, and to retard the courſe of juſtice. Its deciſions in that country, to judge of them by this ſuit againſt the Boudeans, ſeem to have been ſufficiently deliberate; for whether it was owing to the *law's delay*, or to the influence and ingenuity of the defendants, it certainly was ſtill in litigation in the year 1674, and this writer is yet to learn in what way, or at what time it terminated. Since this was written, and after part of the article was printed, much new information has been obtained from a curious and ſcarce Tract, obligingly communicated by Iſaac Reed, Eſq. It is entitled "Vox Veritatis, "or a brief abſtract of the caſe between George Carew, Eſq; Adminiſtrator of the goods "and chattels of Sir William Courten, and Sir P. Pyndar, Knts. deceaſed, &c. and the "Eaſt-India Company of the Neitherlands, with other inhabitants of Amſterdam and "Middleburgh, &c. by Thomas Browne, Gent. dedicated to his much honoured friends, "the creditors and legatees of Sir William Courten, Sir P. Pyndar, and William Courten, "Eſq; deceaſed." 60 pages, &c. 4*to*. 1683.

(*h*) *Vox Veritatis, &c.*

In this pamphlet, it is ſaid (*h*), that George Carew, in or about the year 1672, with a letter in his cuſtody from King Charles II. to his Ambaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries in Holland, the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington, with a Paſſport likewiſe from the States Commiſſioners at Hampton Court, was actually apprehended with his two ſervants, as ſpies and enemies to Holland, and committed cloſe priſoners to the Geuangen Port, without acceſs, where they continued for the ſpace of two and twenty months. It is added, (*i*) that G. Carew "was condemned to die, by way of retortion for Advocate Saſſe, pri-"ſoner then in the Tower of London, but the executions of both were ſuſpended until "farther order, ſoe that at the end of the war, they were releaſed upon equal terms."

(*i*) *Ibid. ut ſupra.*

It appears from this new ſource of information, that the litigation was not yet terminated at the date of its publication in 1683; and that in the preceding year, 1682, G. Carew, being determined not to ſurrender the Letters of Repriſals which he had obtained in 1665, had, in contempt of the High Court of Chancery, which had declared them null and void, and iſſued its orders to apprehend him, fled into France, and taken up his reſidence at Paris, where, ſays the writer, "he now reſolves to eat his bread, until the people "of England are come to their right witts and ſences again(*k*)." A paragraph of a French letter, from a French Lawyer, *François* Perenott, written at this period, and dated *A Paris ce* 16 *Dec.* 1682, being very curious, is given for the reader's amuſement, in a note below [*M*].

(*k*) *Vox Veritatis, &c.* p. 37.

The

[*L*] *Who died, it ſeems, rich, as may be ſeen below.*] Peter Boudean-Courten left, among his daughters at his death, according to the phraſeology of the Netherlands, "nine ton of gold," that is, as explained in the paper that contains the information, 90,000l. ſterling.

[*M*] *Given for the reader's amuſement in a note below.*]

"MONSIEUR,

"J'ay reçu la votre avec copie du procez de "*Scire facias*, au nom du Roy, & la reponſe à icelle "tous deux en Latin, & l'ordre de la Chancelerie "enſuivie dattée le 26 de May, 1682, & aye auprés "de moy la copie des Lettres Patentes pour Repre-"ſailles contre les Hollandois, pour 151,612 livres "ſterlins, tranſlaté en Francois. J'ay conſulte cette "affaire avec les premieres Conſeillers du Parlement "de Paris, leſquels ſont d'avis *qu'il eſt contre la "juſtice naturelle & la conſtitution du Gouvernement "d'Angleterre, que la méme Cour de Judicature d'où "les Lettres Patentes ſont iſſues, les pourroit abroger & "anuller, ſans premierement faire ſatisfaction aux "perſonnes injuriées ou endomagées, & ils tiennent pour "fort deſhonorable à aucun Prince, ou ſujets, de chercher "relief contre leur propres actes, leſquels ſont en leur "propre pouvoir d'accomplir*; LE ROY *de* FRANCE, "*vendroit ſon lit de deſſous ſoy, plutôt que de courir le "deſhonneur & reproche d'une telle action, ſi reflectant "contre tous Princes Soverains, &c* (12)."

(12) *Vox Veritatis &c.* p. 37 and 38.

The King's Attorney, Solicitor, and Counſel pleaded in the Court of Chancery, that the Letters of Repriſals granted to Sir Edmund Turner, G. Carew, &c. in May 1665, were diſannulled by an expreſs article in the Treaty of Breda in 1667. The Chancellors, Hide and Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, acquieſced in this opinion; and it was accordingly decreed in the Court of Chancery that the Letters were void, that they ought to be reſigned, and the record of them erazed. This order of the Court was made abſolute Feb. 27, 1682, when tip-ſtaves and meſſengers being ſent from day to day to apprehend *Carew*, as it is ſaid, dead or alive, his perſonal liberty became inſecure, and he fled the kingdom.

Carew's pleas againſt the diſannulment or ſurrender of the Letters of Repriſals granted to him and others in 1665 were ſpecious and ſtrong. He pleaded, that his name was only uſed in truſt; that he never per-

The legal demands of the Courten-family on Holland and Zealand were very ſerious things, and ſeem to have required, and indeed to have juſtified, mature conſideration. Its

perſonally acted in execution of the powers given by the letters, &c. and that neither the letters themſelves, nor any of the *exemplifications*, or *duplicates*, [for commiſſions had been frequently given to Captains of ſhips, upon them] were actually in his cuſtody, although he mentioned the names of the perſons in whoſe poſſeſſion they were. He refuſed however to ſign an inſtrument of ſurrender drawn up by the King's Attorney, which Turner, another grantee, readily ſigned, and by ſigning releaſed himſelf from all farther trouble and proſecution. He pleaded, that he had ſold or mortgaged all his eſtates to purchaſe aſſignments on the two East India ſhips, the ſeizure of which was to have been indemnified by theſe Letters of Repriſals; that the letters had not by any means indemnified him and other ſufferers, for whom he likewiſe acted in truſt; that therefore he could not without ruining himſelf, and being moreover guilty of great injuſtice to other claimants, his conſtituents, as adminiſtrator of the goods of Sir W. Courten, and Sir P. Pyndar, acquieſce in the order of the Court, or relinquiſh or ſurrender, by ſigning the inſtrument of the King's Attorney, the Letters of Repriſals, the ſole ſecurity then left for him, and other ſufferers for whom he acted, without ſome adequate ſatisfaction. He pleaded an expreſs clauſe in the Letters of Repriſals, which ſays, that they were to remain in full force, "Notwithſtanding it may ſo happen, the preſent "differences between us and the States-General, "depending upon General Repriſals, may be "agreed and compoſed, and that in the *interim*, a "peace and good correſpondence may be renewed "between us and the ſaid States-General (13)." Sovereign Princes, ſaid Carew or his Counſel, make their ſtipulations as they pleaſe concerning their own intereſts, relating to dominion or royalty, either at ſea or land; but as to matters of property, and in caſes of *meum & tuum*, wherein their ſubjects were concerned, and them only, they were, as the King was, in the article of the Treaty of Breda pleaded by his Attorney, &c. circumſcribed within the limits of the laws of God and man: but the King having granted his *fiat*, and the Chancellor his *recepi* to the grant of 1665, for reparation and ſatisfaction according to law, the King had put it beyond his power to avoid it without payment in the way agreed on, or in ſome other effectual way; and that the King's Miniſters and the Dutch laboured equally in vain to gain a point which could not poſſibly be gained, without reſtitution, or adequate ſatisfaction.

(13) *Vox Veritatis, &c.* p. 58.

Carew added other reaſons againſt the decree of the Court, ſome of which are curious and memorable. He urged, that the certificates, depoſitions, and authentic acts of public notaries, obtained at great expence from the East-Indies, &c. on which Dr. Exton grounded his report of damages at 151,612*l.* had all been conſumed by the fire of London in 1666; conſequently if he ſigned the inſtrument of reſignation and ſurrender propoſed by the King's Attorney, &c. there would remain nothing on record in behalf of the creditors of Sir W. Courten, &c. there would be even a record againſt them. He contended that the ſpoils and depredations for which ſatisfaction was claimed, were upon record under the broad ſeal of England; that the debt and damages of the creditors of Sir W. Courten and Sir P. Pyndar were all liquidated and aſcertained under the Broad Seal of England annexed to the Letters of Repriſals. The names too of the officers and ſeamen in the ſhip Bona Eſperanza killed and deſtroyed in their own defence, in the time of alliance between England and Holland; the wages alſo of the officers and ſeamen in both the ſhips Bona Eſperanza and Henry Bona Adventura, were in like manner upon record under the Broad Seal of England. Finally, Carew inſiſted that this ſole remedy for all their relief, in lieu of which nothing was offered, was, ſo long as the Letters of Repriſals were not abrogated, or ſurrendered, valid on record, in ſeveral duplicates and exemplifications, beſides the original Patent itſelf upon record under the Great Seal of England, the greateſt ſecurity in the kingdom, againſt which there was no averment. It followed, that he conſidered his Letters of Repriſals as his all, and that in ſpite of the Court he propoſed to keep them, and to act upon them as he found occaſion in juſtice to himſelf, and, as was added for the grace of the matter, in juſtice to the numberleſs and much aggrieved creditors of Sir W. Courten and Sir P. Pyndar.

It is eaſy to ſee, that Carew's obſtinacy militated againſt himſelf, that all his pleadings were overborne, and all his arts vain, oppoſed to the Court of Chancery, in a ſuit prompted and ſupported by the crown, though it was actually in proof before that Court upon the depoſition of Sir George Downing, his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary to the States, whom his Majeſty had enjoined to get ſatisfaction for the injuries done to the Courten-family by the ſeizure of their ſhips, that John de Witt, in Oct. 1664, had actually offered 200,000 guilders, and whatever more could be got, on the caution of Pergens and P. Boudean, but that the offer had been rejected by Carew, for himſelf and the creditors, &c. as an inadequate ſatisfaction. New differences ariſing juſt at that time, between the King of England and the States, this affair was dropped; and probably in the hurry of the treaty at Breda, concluded juſt after the plague, the fire, and the exploit of the Dutch at Chatham, where they burnt ſeveral of the King's ſhips, and whence they carried off the Royal Charles, of which they made a Coffee-houſe at Helver-Sluce; this private intereſt was either totally over-looked, or politically abandoned. However this was, the crown, it ſeems, acceded to the Dutch interpretation of that Treaty, and having generally releaſed, and re-delivered the prizes taken by commiſſioners acting on the Letters of Repriſals to Hamburgers, Lubeckers, Danzieckers, Swedes, and various very queſtionable claimants, even before the ratification of this treaty; after it was ratified, the captains of ſhips, and ſeamen, who accepted of commiſſions from Carew and other grantees, nominated in the Letters of Repriſals, for proceeding on the powers with which they were undoubtedly veſted, were ſeveral times apprehended, and once tried as felons and pyrates, but acquitted. In ſhort, the Letters, &c. meant for their relief, inſtead of being a benefit to the grantees and creditors of Sir William Courten and Sir P. Pyndar, who had, it ſeems, an aſſignation of the two ſhips, for divers ſums of money lent to Sir W. C. and his ſon, on yielding the ſurplus to Sir Edward Lyttleton, proved eventually an aggravation of their loſs, and an additional injury (14).

(14) *Ibid. paſſ.*

The author of the publication, from which the ſubſtance of this note is extracted, a ſolicitor for Carew, and, at the date of its printing, employed more than twenty years in the affair of which he relates the caſe, ſtates a fact relative to the Letters of Repriſals granted to Carew, &c. *anno* 1665, in the following words (15): "Complaints being made to "the Councell-Table, that ſhips of the King's "allies were brought in by force of the Letters "Patent, for repriſalls, upon ſuſpicion as enemies, "and that it was prejudicial to the Lord High Admiral's intereſt, and the King's fleet for want of "ſeamen; proclamation iſſued forth *de bene eſſe*, to "ſuſpend the execution of the ſaid Letters, &c. "until further orders, and Mr. Carew *was* committed by the Councell-Table to the priſon of the "Fleet, Aug. 20, 1666, old ſtile, for the ſeamens "pretended miſdemeanours. Afterwards, on the "ſame day of the month, and hour of the day, *anno* "1672, *John de Witt*, [to whom Browne imputes "Carew's impriſonment, &c.] and *Cornelis* his brother were murdered at the Hague by the rabble, "as a judgment upon them for treachery and ingratitude."

(15) *Ibid.* p. 6.

The preſent writer enters not into the *treachery*, *ingratitude*, or conſequential *judgment* roundly aſſerted

Its ſingle claim on Peter Boudean and his family amounted of itſelf to 122,000*l.* which, great as it is, was not yet one half, if even a third, of the claims of this family in various Courts of that country. Indeed, the ſums ſaid to have been owing to the Courtens, one way or other, here, or beyond ſea, are in their aggregate enormous, and ſo uncommon, as almoſt to exceed all belief, conſidered merely as the net gains of fair trade, never ſuſpected of fraud, nor ever ſupported by force [*N*]. The writer juſt gives them as he found them, for

ſerted by the author of the foregoing paragraph; but he takes the opportunity of recording here, a curious fact relative to the aſſaſſination of theſe brothers, not commonly known, and never printed, which he learnt very early in life, from a well-informed perſon of unqueſtionable veracity and extenſive knowledge in hiſtory.

After the Prince of Orange became King of England, a Dutchman one day ſolicited hard for an audience, and in order to obtain it, requeſted that it might be ſignified to his Majeſty, that the name of the man who begged to ſpeak to him was *Tallo*. The delivery of this importunate ſuitor's meſſage, procured him inſtantaneous admiſſion, and it became certainly known at Court, that this fellow was the ring-leader of the mob that tore the brothers to pieces. For this piece of ſervice he had, it ſeems, an annual penſion for life from the Prince of Orange; and his application to the King, in which, it was ſaid, he ſucceeded, was for its arrears and continuance.

This digreſſion cannot be much lengthened by the following addition. On this tragic event, the penſionary's mother, and a younger ſurviving ſon, fled into this kingdom. The ſon, perhaps only Engliſhing his Dutch diſcrimination, took the name of White, and began near Fulham, where they fixed their habitation, a manufactory, the firſt in its kind here, of pottery-ware, and ſtone-bottles, vulgarly called *grey-beards*, which is ſtill carried on, in the ſame place, by the lineal deſcendants of the family, at this day. The mother, it is ſaid, lived recluſe, in ſullen ſolitary dignity, generally inacceſſible, unleſs to the King who viſited her ſometimes, and people of the firſt faſhion. She died in that retirement, where the writer's informer ſays, he ſaw an admirable picture of Oliver Cromwell, for which, he was told, that repeated offers of extraordinary prices had been repeatedly refuſed.

It is high time to conclude this long note, occaſioned by an accidental ſight of *Vox Veritatis*, &c. too late for incorporation with the article, by obſerving that the author of the tract ſo entitled, mentions four books publiſhed by Carew, of the firſt of which only, the preſent writer has ſeen a fragment. To them all the reader is referred, if he can find them, for farther information in theſe matters, if he wiſhes to know more concerning them.

1. Fraud and oppreſſion detected and arraigned.

2. An hue and cry after the goods and chattels of Sir William Courten, and Sir Paul Pyndar.

3. Hinc illæ lachrimæ.

4. Lex Talionis, or the law of *Marque* or Repriſalls.

[*N*] *Never ſuſpected of fraud, nor ever ſupported by force*; Sir W. Courten, and his fellow-adventurers in the Eaſt Indies, did not ſend ſervants to trade there, with tinſel and trinkets in one hand, and a muſket in the other. To puſh or protect their trade, they had not the aid of ſoldiers maintained at the public charge, or any legal permiſſion to employ ſuch armed auxiliaries *ad libitum*, even at their own expence. The Letters-Patent which permitted them to make trading voyages to the Eaſt Indies, China, Japan, &c. and to make ſettlements there for future commerce, reſtrained them from all acts of violence and coercive meaſures, and made them only more reſponſible for their behaviour. Their Patent, indeed, though obtained by intereſt, and attended with expence, was more for oſtentation than uſe; chiefly for the grace of their undertakings, and at beſt but in the nature of a teſtimonial, if happily it could be made intelligible, to ſay, that the grantees were not, as many traders then were, mere pirates and free-booters.

Nevertheleſs, with this ſupport only, in appearance ſufficiently ample for all the honeſt purpoſes of commercial dealing, we are told, that Sir William Courten, in an amicable manner, and at great expence, eſtabliſhed factories and ſtore-houſes, at Carwar, Cocheen, Maccao and other places on the coaſt of India; and that he entered at the ſame time, into a correſpondence and agreement with the Viceroys and Governours in thoſe parts, for *a continual trade*.

After the death of Sir William, and the retirement of his ſon, Lady Katharine Courten, parted with the books and papers of inſtructions for this well-planned trade, to Maurice Thompſon, of London, Merchant, who knew their value; "for he, and others, upon a "private account, ſet forth ſeveral ſhips for trading-"voyages to the Eaſt Indies, upon the ſame founda-"tions laid by Sir William; and made returns of "ten for one upon thoſe trading voyages, as the ſaid "Thompſon himſelf confeſſed before credible wit-"neſſes, ſtill living," in 1679 (15).

Upon this ſame foundation, originally laid by Sir W. Courten at his own proper coſt and charges, it is ſaid, that the firſt Eaſt-India Company erected themſelves; and that perſevering in their purſuit of the trade which he eſtabliſhed, they were ſoon afterwards confirmed in it by a Charter from O. Cromwell, ſtrengthened after that by Charles II. and ſince repeatedly renewed with powers and privileges more and more ample.

As the trade of Sir William Courten and his ſon, was not ſupported by force, ſo neither was it ever ſuſpected of fraud or unfairneſs. This is evident from a fact recorded in the *Vox Veritatis, &c.*

Mr. Browne concludes that tract, with expreſſing hope, "that the eyes and ears of the Officers and "Miniſters of State, and juſtice, would at length be "opened for the preſervation of his Majeſty's ho-"nour, and the honour and reputation of the Crown "and kingdom, by complying with *the humble ad-"dreſſes and propoſals of their creditors, for perpetu-"ating the memory of Sir W. Courten, and of Sir P. "Pyndar, by erecting their ſtatues in marble, under the "piazzas of the Royal Exchange; that of Sir William "Courten, at the end of the Barbadoes-walk on the one "ſide; and that of Sir P. Pyndar, at the end of the "Turkey-walk on the other ſide, &c* (16)."

The requeſt and propoſals of theſe public ſpirited creditors are equally honourable to the memories of themſelves, and thoſe of Sir W. Courten and Sir P. Pyndar. They found, no doubt, good reaſon to make this patriotic petition, and they had the greateſt reaſon to have expected, that it would have been readily granted. Their petition, it ſeems, was ſtill depending in 1683; but the King, to whom it was preferred, had more wit than gratitude, was no ſlave to juſtice, and never generous. Neither he, nor his favourite companions and Counſellors were very likely to make much account of claims of this nature; and accordingly, he never acceded to their honourable requeſt. The very extraordinary favours which this Prince's father and grandfather had been accuſtomed to receive from both the Knights, whoſe memories were thus propoſed to have been perpetuated, were probably recollected by their royal heir with reluctance. Certainly he ſeems not to have been unwilling, that the reſidue of their wealth ſhould be alienated from its rightful inheritors, and that all remembrance of them in this country ſhould periſh for ever.

When

(15) "A brief "narrative and "deduction of "the ſeveral re-"markable caſ-"es of Sir W. "Courten and "Sir P. Pyndar, "&c. under "four principal "heads, viz. "1. The diſco-"very and plan-"tation of Bar-"badoes. 2. Ex-"peditions to "Eaſt India, "China, and "Japan. 3. De-"nyal of juſtice "on civil acti-"ons depending "in Holland "and Zealand. "4. Loanes and "ſupplies for "the ſervice of "the crown, "upon the col-"lection of fines "and compoſi-"tions out of "the Popiſh Re-"cuſants eſtate, "&c. Recol-"lected out of "the original "writings and "Records, &c." Lond. 1679. f. p. 3 and 4. N.B. This narrative, which contains twelve pages, beſides the title and epiſtle, was preſented to Parliament ſome time in April that year, 1679, which broke up May 27, and never met till Oct. 1680, when it ſeems a long printed remonſtance on the ſame ſubjects was laid before them, of which, it appears from a quotation, that there was *An Epitome* printed, conſiſting at leaſt of 21 pages, in 1681. The names of G. Carew, and James Bovey, with ten more, are ſubſcribed to the prefatory epiſtle of the narrative above-mentioned, dated March, 1678-9.

(16) *Vox Veritatis, &c.* 4to. ad *fin.* May 29, 1683.

(17) See Johnſon's Dictionary, Art. Liberty and derivatives.

for they are ſtated below with accuracy and fidelity [O], from the ſtatement of a paper which the curious reader may ſee in the Britiſh Muſeum (*l*).

(*l*) MSS. Sloan. 3515.

Having

When Mr. Browne expreſſed himſelf in the words above-quoted, ſurely he *believed againſt hope*, and would ſoon find, that he had erred in diſregarding the admonition which ſays, "Put not your truſt in Princes." This Prince unqueſtionably knew, full well, that if he had granted the requeſt of their creditors in favour of two ſuch ſignal benefactors to his family, it would then have become notorious, that he ought to have done a great deal more; but by abſolutely doing nothing, and appearing rather inimical than friendly to their deſcendants, he foreſaw, that it might be imagined, he either did not know, or was not ſenſible, of his having inherited any obligations from their fore-fathers.

Mr. Browne's argument for the erection of marble ſtatues to Sir William Courten and Sir Paul Pyndar, was certainly the worſt that he could have made uſe of in that reign; namely, to furniſh Merchants in future times, with extraordinary examples of loyalty, and extraordinary incitements to practiſe it; meaning by *loyalty*, not a religious reverence for our laws, but a blind devotion to our King.

Now, certainly the examples of Sir W. Courten and Sir Paul Pyndar, properly conſidered, and to the full extent of their hiſtories, operate very differently, and hold forth very poor encouragement for the ſort of loyalty, which Mr. B. perhaps, only in the courſe of his pleading, recommends. Nevertheleſs, it ſeems that the language of Engliſhmen, has in proceſs of time, become entirely conformable to Browne's unconſtitutional idea of loyalty: for, whatever it may have been owing to, there is no unequivocal example to be found of the word *loyalty*, in its primitive and moſt obvious ſenſe, in the grand Dictionary, that profeſſes to give the true meanings of all our words, and to fix, at leaſt up to its date, the ſtandard of our vernacular language (17).

(17) See JOHNSON's Dictionary, Art. LOYALTY and its derivatives.

[O] *They are ſtated below with accuracy, &c.*]

Debts incumbent on the Crown - -	148,216
Claims for damages at Barbadoes - -	65,000
Ditto on the Eaſt-India Company of the Netherlands - - -	151,612
Debts outſtanding on civil actions in Holland and Zealand - -	134,000
	£. 498,828

Obſervations.

The date of the paper from which this liſt of the principal claims of the Courten-family is tranſcribed, cannot at preſent be fixed, ſome pages being wanting at the beginning, and a leaf or leaves at the end; but it is evident from other papers apparently antecedent, that ſome of the loans to King James I. and his ſon, King Charles I. were liquidated; for it is mentioned, more than once, that the debts, ſaid here to be *incumbent on the Crown*, amounted at one time to 200,000*l.* &c. The following entries are taken from the ſame paper here referred to, and may be, as the tranſcriber conjectures, particulars of the laſt groſs article in the preceding account, viz. "Debts outſtanding on civil actions in Holland and Zealand." But as he does not know what might be the preciſe value of a guilder at that time, and as the claims on the actions for legacies by Sir Peter Courten and Mr. Moncy are not diſtinctly ſpecified, he does not pretend to determine, whether the aggregate of the entries given below, do, or do not, correſpond with the amount of the groſs article, of which they are ſuppoſed to be the particulars. The deciſion of this point is left to people better ſkilled in this kind of lore, and is of very little conſequence in a work of this nature.

Action againſt the Boudean-family -	122,000
For monies received in truſt for William Courten, Eſq; by Jacob Pergens -	5,500
For money lent by Sir William Courten to Jacob Pergens - - -	3,000
On an attachment in the Bank for 12,000 guilders of D. Goubard - -	
Actions for legacies by Sir Peter Courten and Mr. Moncy, to Sir William Courten, &c. proſecuted by G. Carew, James Bovey, and William Courten, Eſq; - - - - probably the ſon of William Courten, Eſq; and the ſubject of the ſubſequent article.	

N. B. The claim of damages on the Eaſt-India Company of the Netherlands, was aſcertained upon oath in our High Court of Admiralty, and was fixed at the ſum of 151,612*l.* by the expreſs decree of Dr. Exton, then Judge of that Court.

May 19, 1665, the King granted Letters of *Marque* or Repriſalls to Sir Edmund Turnor and G. Carew, for the forcible recovery of theſe damages with coſts, to continue effectual in law, until the ſum of 151,612*l.* with all charges, was received, or a compoſition between the parties took place. But according to Browne's account, entitled, perhaps not with unexceptionable propriety, *Vox Veritatis*, theſe Letters, &c. originally intended for the benefit of the ſufferers, had not, in 1683, been productive of any reparation, but proved indeed a ſtone, inſtead of bread, and for fiſh, a ſerpent. It does not appear at what time Carew [who ſeems to have got into the agency for the aggrieved creditors of Sir W. Courten and Sir P. Pyndar, rather to ſerve his own ends, than to have been their choſen and faithful conſtituent] relinquiſhed theſe worſe than uſeleſs Letters, &c. or whether he ever ſurrendered them. The latter end of this intermeddling man is at preſent involved in obſcurity. Indeed, but that ſome account of him ſeemed neceſſary to explain the intricate hiſtory of this article, he might as well have paſſed unheeded into utter oblivion.

The claims of damages at Barbadoes, in conſequence of the forcible entries of the Earl of Carliſle's agents, ſtated here at 65,000*l.* were not, it ſeems, proſecuted by any legal contention with that Lord, or his heirs, but only by importunate applications to the Crown, grounded on Sir William's having incurred the loſs above-mentioned, in diſcovering, planting, and fortifying Barbadoes, on the faith of the King's Letters Patents under the Broad Seal of the kingdom. It was propoſed that, on an exact ſurvey, a quit rent, at ſo much an acre, ſhould be granted in compenſation for Sir W. Courten's right of prior occupancy, and his expenditures in 1626, 1627, and 1628; or that in lieu of ſuch a quit-rent, four and an half *per cent.* on the growth of the iſland, ſhould be appropriated, one moiety for the benefit of the Knight's grand-child, and heirs, for ever; the other moiety to belong to his creditors, apparently too, for ever, no mention being made of the expiration of their title, on the liquidation of their claims. Whether the overture was fair, or inſidious, it ſeems to have been unſucceſsful: at leaſt, in 1683, it does not appear that any thing was granted from the crown, on the idea of indemnification upon this ſcore, either to the grand-child, or creditors of Sir William Courten, or to George Carew, who on no very promiſing ſpeculation, by his own confeſſion, ſeems to have ſtripped himſelf of decent raiment to get arrayed in wealth, by the ſhameful purchaſe of cheap claims, amplified, with intereſt, on a reduced family, and an impoveriſhed eſtate (18).

(18) *Vox Veritatis, &c.* p. 51, p. 17, *et paſſim*.

As to the out-ſtanding claims on civil actions, in the Netherlands, ſtated in this account at 134,000*l.* it ſeems, that even in 1683, juſtice was ſtill poſitively denied to Engliſhmen, who had ſuits for recovery of debts depending at law, in any of the Courts of Holland and Zealand. The Dutch pretended, in ſpite of ſenſe and reaſon, that they were univerſally diſcharged from all claims whatſoever of Engliſhmen, by an expreſs article in the Treaty of Breda. For any thing that appears at preſent to the contrary, their Magiſtrates perſevered to the laſt

Having now paid that tribute which ſeemed to be deſervedly due in a work of this nature, to ſeveral of our countrymen, who, in the age in which they lived, were conſpicuouſly eminent and very meritorious in the mercantile line; it ſtill remains to give ſome account of the laſt of their name, a man of a contemplative caſt, much eſteemed and beloved in private life, in habits of intimacy and friendſhip with ſcholars in the firſt ranks of literature in his time, who was himſelf well verſed in ſundry branches of ſcience, particularly in Natural Hiſtory, and who appears to have been the principal collector of the coins and natural curioſities now in the Britiſh Muſeum, as the reader will find from the peruſal of the following article.] C. N.

[*** COURTEN (WILLIAM), was the laſt in the male line of the family, to whoſe merits it was meant to do juſtice in the preceding article; the writer of which, wiſhed to have given here a better account of this Gentleman, than he now finds it poſſible to give.

The following well-authenticated memorials, however imperfect, may ſtill be better than a chaſm in this alphabetical place for his name, in the Biographia Britannica. They are given, however, with diffidence *pro re natâ*, and not under the notion of any thing entitled, to be conſidered as a regular life of William Courten, Eſq. Many papers written by him, or relative to him, in the Britiſh Muſeum, have been conſulted and conſidered: but after the pains that have been taken, after all that may be found in that rich repoſitory, probably, there may ſtill be a want of ſufficient materials for a chronological and ſatisfactory narrative of this Gentleman's life.

It was but lately, that the preſent writer became certain of what he had long ſuſpected, though it was not known or attended to before, that the ſubject of this article ſoon after he became of age, dropt his family name, and aſſumed another, which he afterwards retained, as is now well known, to the end of his life.

The certainty of this diſcovery, which this writer had hinted before, in another work, led him to new ſources of information in abundance; from which much was expected, and but little procured. Every book, letter, or ſcrap of paper, that could be found in the Muſeum, under this new name, or in the ſame, or any very ſimilar hand-writing, on the ſtricteſt ſearch of the obliging officers in that eſtabliſhment, has been carefully examined, and entries were made of every thing thought worthy of notice in them, in proviſion for ſomething of this kind.

If new information can fill up the outlines here given, or ſupply deficiencies, or correct any miſtake, the ſubſequent life of Sir Hans Sloane will furniſh an occaſion, which may be taken, to make this account leſs imperfect: for almoſt every thing relative to the perſon ſpoken of here, may be introduced there, with equal pertinence and propriety.

WILLIAM COURTEN, the fourth and laſt of his family who had both theſe names, was born in the pariſh of Fan-Church, in London, March 28, 1642, and baptized on the 31ſt of the ſame month, as appears by an extract from the regiſter of chriſtenings in that pariſh given below [*P*].

He had probably no knowledge, or remembrance of his father, who, as has been ſaid, the next year after his ſon was born, in 1643, became inſolvent, and quitted this kingdom, to which, it does not appear that he ever returned. When he died at Florence, in 1655, the ſubject of this article was about thirteen years of age, and it is moſt likely, that his mother did not ſurvive her huſband above four or five years; for as no mention is made of Lady Katharine in 1660, when Mr. Carew obtained Letters of Adminiſtration to the eſtates of the Courten family, it is probable ſhe was then dead. In a petition to Parliament, a rough draught of which is in the Britiſh Muſeum, undated indeed, but certainly preſented by William Courten very ſoon after he came of age, there is a like ground for the ſame ſuppoſition, no mention being made of his mother; for it is only ſaid there, that he

in this curious and commodious explication of the article, and boldly avowed an evil principle, in juſtification of an immoral practice. Charles II. unqueſtionably acquieſced in this Dutch interpretation of the Treaty, and with memorable forgetfulneſs of the ſuperabundant obligations of his family to Sir William Courten and Sir Paul Pyndar, urged his Lawyers, &c. to counter-act and diſannul the Letters of Repriſals, which ſhame and juſtice had wreſted from him, in behalf of the heirs of two *ſignal* LOYALISTS, whoſe ſubſequent fate and family-hiſtory deſerve to be thus minutely recorded, for the inſtruction of their rich ſucceſſors in future times.

[*P*] *An extract from the regiſter of chriſtenings in that pariſh given below.*] What follows, is a faithful tranſcript of a paper in the hand-writing of William Courten, Eſq; junior, the ſubject of this article, excepting only the certificate ſigned, THO. WEBSTER.

Memorandum concerning my age, and when Carew took Letters of Adminiſtration to Sir William Courten.

The 28th of March was my birth-day, and I was baptized March 31, 1642.

1642	1694	1642	1668	31 March.
1694	1642	20	1642	31 March.
8	52		26	

" I read, on the 17th of Jan. 1662, in the Regiſter-
" book of chriſtenings and burials of the pariſh of
" Fan-church, London, now in the cuſtody of
" Richard Powell, Clerk of the ſaid pariſh, among
" others William Courteen, the ſon of Mr. William
" Courteen, was baptized March 31, 1642.

" [Signed] THO. WEBSTER."

he the petitioner, and his only ſiſter, had been left for *many years*, deſtitute of a *livelihood*. If Lady Katharine had been then living, as ſhe had moſt probably a jointure competent to her birth and rank, which her huſband's creditors could not affect, her children could hardly have been "deſtitute of a livelihood for many years." The paper mentioned below [Q], though not a proof, favours the preſumption, that Lady Katharine was dead at the time of its date.

Attempts have been made in vain, to inveſtigate his education, and diſcover the inſtructors of his early age in literature, and morals. No name of any of them has been found; but the after-character of their pupil, both as a ſcholar, and as a gentleman, which prompted the curioſity about them, is a creditable teſtimony to their abilities and integrity. We are told in a paper, written by Sir Hans Sloane, that William Courten, *junior*, from his earlieſt years, "did not regard the pomp or vanities of the world, but gave him-"ſelf up to the contemplation of the works of GOD, whoſe infinite power, wiſdom, and "providence, he ſaw and admired, in the creation and preſervation of all things." Revolted it ſeems, from his childhood, at the complicated misfortunes of his immediate anceſtors, this laſt male of the family, contracted probably an irreconcileable diſlike to mercantile buſineſs, in which they had embarked ſo extenſively, and by which his grandfather certainly had, at one time in his life, amaſſed and realized an immenſe fortune, as evidently appears from what has been related in the foregoing article.

It is ſaid on the ſame reſpectable teſtimony, and in the ſame paper above-mentioned, that "William Courten was well-educated in this kingdom, *before* he travelled." The word in Italics uſed by Sir H. Sloane, juſtifies the ſuppoſition, that William Courten had little knowledge or remembrance of his father, who ſold outright before he left this kingdom, "the great bulk of Sir William Courten's lands, thoſe in Worceſter and Glouceſter-"ſhires excepted [R], to William Purpoint, Eſq; Daniel Harvey, the Earl of Kent, and "others (*m*)."

(*m*) *Vox Veritatis, &c. ut ſupra*, P. 39.

It is not ſaid at what time this Gentleman's father ſold *the great bulk of Sir William Courten's lands*. If he ſold them before his retirement from England, he doubtleſs, made ſome proviſion, for the ſupport of his wife, Lady Katharine, and their children, whom he left behind him. G. Carew, though "one of the aſſignees of Mr. Courten's lordſhips, &c." could not have ſold outright the eſtates of the Courten family in Worceſter and Glouceſterſhires, till after he became adminiſtrator in 1660, when this laſt male-heir was about eighteen years of age. It is therefore credible, that till that age at leaſt, there were abundant means for his moſt liberal education, in the jointure of his mother, in what was entailed on himſelf, and the ſtill unſequeſtered eſtates of the family.

Even the wrecks of a fortune once ſo ample, muſt have been very conſiderable, and more than ſufficient for the propereſt education, and decent maintenance of William Courten and his ſiſter. She it ſeems could very well live in thoſe days, on no more income as appears, than 30*l. per annum*. That this moderate annual ſum was her principal ſupport, we are led to believe from a ſlight attention to two papers which we have ſeen. If he and his ſiſter had even been more reduced in point of income, than we can well ſuppoſe, they ſtill had infallible reſources in the number, rank, and riches of their relations. Their grandfather, the Earl of Bridgewater, two uncles, with eleven aunts on the ſide of their mother, and three aunts on their father's ſide, were people of fortune and diſtinction; many of them married into honourable and wealthy families, and all of them apparently in affluent or

[Q] *The paper mentioned below.*] A formal agreement of Lady Dame Knightly, daughter of Sir W. Courten, ſo far as it concerns her, to the ſuit of William Courten her nephew, to get Carew's Letters of Adminiſtration cancelled, conſenting that her nephew proſecute the ſuit to get the ſaid Letters repealed. Dated June 25, 1663, and ſigned,

ANN KNIGHTLY (19).

(19) MSS. Sloane. 3515.

[R] *Thoſe in Worceſter and Glouceſterſhires excepted.*] It ſeems that the Courten-eſtates in theſe two counties, came into the hands of "Aſſignees of Mr. Courten's lordſhips and lands," but when, or by whom theſe aſſignees were appointed does not appear. T. Browne ſays, that G. Carew was one of the aſſignees of Mr. Courten's lordſhips, &c. in Worceſter and Glouceſterſhires, and he gives the following, it may be imperfect, account of them. "Pyrton, Aun-"ton, Eveſham, Severnſtoak, Upperſwell and Low-"erſwell, formerly granted for counter-ſecurity to "Sir Edward Littleton, againſt debts for which that "Knight ſtood obliged; but pre-engaged for great "ſums of money to Gyles Carter, Eſq; Mr. Daniel "Harvey, Mr. John Ruſhout, Merchants, and "others." G. Carew ſold the reverſions and equities of redemption of Pyrton and Severnſtoak, to Thomas, Lord Coventry, for 8700*l.* of Eveſham, to Mr. William Rudge, Merchant, for 7500*l.* of Aunton, to Thomas Foley, Eſq; for 3800*l.* He ſold Upperſwell and other lands in the mortgage, to Sir James Ruſhout for 300*l.* He ſold Lowerſwell to Sir Robert Atkinſon, for 1600*l.* "The monies "were diſpoſed of according to ſeveral Deeds of "Truſt. *William Courten*, the grand-child and "heir, joined in the fines and conveyances to Lord "Coventry, Mr. Rudge, and Mr. Foley; but Sir "Robert Atkyns, and Sir James Ruſhout, refuſing "to comply with the ſaid heir, hold their eſtates "under the firſt aſſignees (20)."

(20) *Vox Veritatis, &c. Ibid.*

The various purchaſes made by Sir William Courten in Worceſterſhire, may be ſeen in Dr. Naſh's Hiſtory of that county (21); who miſtakes in ſuppoſing the Courtens to be ſtrangers to this kingdom, though they were ſo in that county. Of Sir William in particular, Dr. Naſh obſerves, from Habingdon's MSS. "Our Knight was ſo famed for his modeſty, bounty, "and charity, to his tenants and neighbours, as is ſcarce "to be met with in thoſe new men who purchaſe Gen-"tlemen out of their ancient habitations and manors."

(21) Vol. i. p. 411, 452. vol. ii. p. 76, 257, 386.

eaſy

eaſy circumſtances. It might therefore have been reaſonably concluded, that William Courten was well educated, even if it had not been aſcertained on the foregoing teſtimony.

After a previous good education in this country, forwarded probably with peculiar care, and earlier certainly than is now uſual, William Courten began his travels, or was ſent, whilſt yet a minor, to proſeeute his ſtudies abroad. The genius of a naturaliſt, which he diſcovered, it ſeems, from his infancy, led him to cultivate it at Montpellier, diſtinguiſhed then, as Upſal ſince, for its Botanical Garden, its peculiar attention to Natural Hiſtory, and the abilities and celebrity of maſters in various branches of this ſcience.

Here he met, as might probably be expected, with ſtudents of a congenial taſte, and perſons then and afterwards eminent in various walks of literature, with ſeveral of whom he appears to have lived in great familiarity, and to have cultivated long correſpondence. *Joſeph Pitton de* TOURNEFORT, the celebrated French Botaniſt, was of this number. William Courten, who was the ſenior by ſeveral years, had, no doubt, made a very conſiderable proficiency in Botany, before his acquaintance with this illuſtrious foreigner commenced; but it muſt have been much improved by the intimacy that appears to have ſubſiſted between them.

It was at Montpellier probably, but many years after his primary ſettlement there, that William Courten contracted his firſt acquaintance with Sir Hans Sloane, a zealous naturaliſt, who ſpared no pains or expence in the acquiſition and promotion of knowledge in Natural Hiſtory, and who was yet more honourably diſtinguiſhed, by his ſkill in his own profeſſion, his general patronage of ſcholars, his public ſpirit, and extenſive philanthropy. Sir Hans Sloane unqueſtionably ſpent a conſiderable time at Montpellier, it may be, both to improve his knowledge, and to eſtabliſh his health; and here too it is ſaid, he got his degree of M.D. But at what place, or at what time ſoever their acquaintance began, being forwarded by a ſimilarity of ſtudies, in which William Courten had unqueſtionably the preheminence, it ripened into a friendſhip, that, as will appear in the ſequel, continued, without interruption, to the end of his life. He was at Montpellier, and ſtill a minor, when the adminiſtration of the eſtates of his father and grandfather was legally veſted in G. Carew, Eſq; of whom ſo much has been ſaid in the preceding article. Even at this period, in 1660, when the remaining mortgages and lands of the Courten-family were fore-cloſed, or ſold outright, certainly William Courten and his ſiſter were not ſtript of every thing, ſo as to be left entirely dependent on the generoſity of their many honourable and opulent relations, for the mere neceſſaries, or even the common comforts of life.

William Courten had a manor or manors entailed upon him, which it was thought moſt prudent to ſell and convert into perſonal eſtate. His ſiſter Katharine had, no doubt, ſome patrimony, of which the creditors, or their officious adminiſtrator, could not deprive her. The *deeds of truſt* before mentioned, intimate ſome ſettlements on the heirs of the family; and, moreover, it is not very likely, that William Courten would have joined, as has been ſaid, in the fines and conveyances to Lord Coventry, Mr. Rudge and Mr. Foley, idly, and for nothing.

Whatever, therefore, the forms of law, and the common phraſeology in an application to the Throne might require to be ſaid, yet what we read in a petition preſented to the King, by William Courten in 1663, probably was not true, and certainly is not credible, *viz.* that he, the petitioner, and his ſiſter, had actually been *for many years deſtitute of a livelihood.*

Immediately on the expiration of his minority, William Courten, it ſeems, left Montpellier for ſome time, being obliged to repair to London, by the exigency of his own and his ſiſter's affairs, in order to puſh their final ſettlement, and to ſecure to himſelf and her, the beſt proviſions for the future, that could be collected from the wide-ſpread ruins of their family.

With a turn of mind that biaſſed him ſtrongly to a contemplative life, unexperienced in the ways of the world, torn from darling ſtudies, and under the influence of the indolent habits of a mere ſcholar, this youth was ill-qualified to be a principal agent for himſelf and his ſiſter in a buſineſs ſo perplexed, ſo laborious and ſo unpromiſing. There is little room for wonder, or for cenſure, if in ſuch a labyrinth William Courten did not always ſee clearly, or keep conſtantly the right way.

We have, however, an honourable teſtimony for his integrity and Chriſtian character, in the hand-writing of Sir Hans Sloane, unqueſtionably a competent and a creditable witneſs. But, poſſibly, with the beſt diſpoſitions and principles imaginable, circumſtanced as he was, this young Gentleman might be led to concur in meaſures, of which, from our ignorance of particulars, or an inattention to them, we may now doubt about the rectitude, or the propriety.

It is indeed evident, that he acted but a ſubordinate part, for which only he was qualified, and that he relied entirely on the guidance of his counſellors and relations, who ſeem to have exerted themſelves in his ſervice throughout, with zeal, friendſhip, and ability; and to have effectually protected him and his ſiſter, from being eſſentially injured by G. Carew, Eſq.

Soon after his arrival in England, in concert with his friends, William Courten, Eſq; began his litigations in behalf of himſelf and his ſiſter. The firſt object he aimed at, was to

to ſet aſide the letters that, in his abſence and minority, Carew had *ſurreptitiouſly* obtained, and to get himſelf legally inveſted with the adminiſtration of the eſtates and effects of his anceſtors. He contended that G. Carew was an officious intruder, under falſe pretexts of being a ſufferer, and an agent for other ſufferers by the loſſes of his father and grandfather; and urged that this man's intermeddling with the wrecks of their fortunes had been equally to the prejudice of the rightful heirs, and to the detriment of the legal creditors of the family. He claimed therefore for himſelf, as his natural right, the adminiſtration of the Courten-eſtates; and his aunt Lady Knightly, who ſeems to have been then the only ſurviving child of Sir William, from whom the eſtates deſcended, concurred with her nephew, as has been ſaid, in this claim.

G. Carew, who was both a courtier and a lawyer, ſeems to have exerted his utmoſt addreſs and profeſſional ſkill to ſtop, or fruſtrate theſe proceedings. He expreſsly owns, in one of his papers, that he had indeed paid *indefinite* ſums of money to William Courten Eſq; *after he came of age*, though he ſays, at the ſame time, that he did not pay the monies becauſe William Courten had a right to them, but ſolely to prevent and terminate debates. The cauſes here aſſigned for the payments to William Courten, Eſq; *after he came of age*, are very queſtionable; for Carew does not appear a man likely to have parted with money on ſuch principles, merely *to prevent or terminate debates*. Whatever ſums he paid with the views he pretends, were all totally loſt to him; for they did not then anſwer the purpoſes which they were the moſt promiſing means to have accompliſhed.

Mr. Courten ſtill perſiſted in his favourite ſtudy of Natural Hiſtory [*S*]; but he perſevered notwithſtanding, in the various proceſſes inſtituted in behalf of himſelf and his ſiſter. He preferred and proſecuted his application and petitions for redreſs of their grievances, probably to the Court of Chancery, certainly to the Prerogative Court, to the Committee of Parliament, and to the Throne itſelf.

In the Britiſh Muſeum, there is the rough draught of an undated petition of William Courten to the honourable Committee of Parliament, for redreſs of grievances in foreign trade. In this unfiniſhed inſtrument, the injuries done to his anceſtors are ſtated in ſtrong terms, at 200,000*l.* with an account of particulars proved, it is ſaid, upon oath, in the Court of Admiralty. Theſe injuries, and the conſequential claims they gave riſe to, have been treated of *ſatis ſuperque*, in the preceding article. It is therefore ſufficient here, to mention only one circumſtance relative to the affair of Barbadoes, omitted in the foregoing account. It is this, that from the time this violent injury was done to Sir W. Courten by the Earl of Carliſle, for thirteen ſucceſſive years, there was no Parliament to apply to for redreſs: during the Protectorate, the feeble remonſtrances of the Courten-family, ſo obnoxious to the powers then in being, were diſregarded; and when its ſolicitors had good ground for better hopes, their ſolicitations were ſtill rejected by the ſuperior influence of thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the lawleſs plunder they reclaimed.

Along with the inſtrument above-mentioned, there is in the ſame place, the petition of W. Courten, Eſq; to the King, dated in 1663; in which the petitioner complains, as has been ſaid, of G. Carew; claims the adminiſtration of the Courten-eſtates for himſelf; ſtates the debts due to him for money lent to his Majeſty's father, and the reparations and claims due to his family in every way, *ut ſupra*. W. Courten concludes with an earneſt requeſt, that the conſideration of his petition, *in toto*, might be referred to his Majeſty's Attorney-General.

It appears from other papers in the ſame repoſitory, that his Majeſty did actually deign to refer this petition to his Attorney-General, then Sir Jeffery Palmer, who, after conſulting with Sir William Mericke, at that time Judge of the Prerogative-Court, and anſwering two queſtions ſtated by Sir William Mericke in writing, gave in his report, warranting the revocation of the Letters granted to G. Carew, and the grant of the adminiſtration to W. Courten, Eſq. The curious may ſee the queſtions and anſwers alluded to in the Britiſh Muſeum, and the report itſelf, which is an original paper, and has the autograph ſignature of J. PALMER.

There is, *ibidem*, a letter ſigned Richard Dowdewell, dated Sept. 11, 1663, and directed "To his honourable friend William Courten, Eſq; at Fawſley-Lodge, "to be left at the Poſt-Houſe in Daintrye, to be conveyed." This letter mentions ſome propoſals of Mr. Carew, from the conſideration of which, [ſays the letter-writer, R. D.] "I infer that the Squire has loſt his wits, and as for his honeſty, if ever he had any, it has "quitted him long ago."

Sir Jeffery Palmer's Reports ſeems to have reſtored the Squire to his wits, and to have produced more reaſonable propoſals, which, for want of better, were probably accepted;

[*S*] *Study of Natural Hiſtory.*] There are many MSS. of William Courten, Eſq; preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, apparently written about this time. One or two of his common place-books have the name of William Courten upon them, written by himſelf, and with the date 1663: they contain, as moſt of his papers do, evidences of his having been an inquiſitive, able Naturaliſt, and well-ſkilled in coins and antiquities. They abound with obſervations on animals, vegetables and minerals, and with hints and directions for the preſervation of natural productions, generally very curious, frequently, as this writer believes, original, but ſometimes, and not ſeldom noted from his reading, and it may be from oral information, for his own particular uſe.

for it does not appear, either that W. Courten, Eſq; took out Letters of Adminiſtration, as he now might have done; or that the Letters of Adminiſtration, which had been granted to Mr. Carew, were ever actually revoked.

It ſeems, indeed, that about this time, or not very long after, ſome compromiſe took place between William Courten, Eſq; and G. Carew; but it is evident from a letter in the Britiſh Muſeum, that all matters were not entirely adjuſted between them, or even likely to be finally ſettled in Auguſt 1684. The terms and ſtipulations of their partial and temporary agreement, this writer has not been able to collect with circumſtantial certainty, from any thing he has yet ſeen; he ſuſpects the conditions were induſtriouſly kept as private as poſſible, and ſuppoſes there were prudential and valid reaſons for this concealment. The circumſtances that incline him to think ſo, will preſently diſcloſe themſelves; nor is there any thing in them, or indeed in any thing clearly viſible, in the conduct or concluſion of his negotiations with Carew, ſo far as we know of them at preſent, to warrant our thinking unfavourably of Mr. Courten's character.

A rough draught of an undated bond is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, from which it appears, that Mr. Courten gave up all claim to the adminiſtration of the eſtates of his father and grandfather, in favour of G. Carew of Gray's-Inn, for valuable conſiderations not ſpecified. If Carew moreover indemnified Mr. Courten againſt all moleſtation and lawſuits from the creditors of his anceſtors, on the ſcore of his deſcent, it was manifeſtly prudent in both parties to conceal as much as they could, their agreement, and all its conditions. Nevertheleſs it is ſaid expreſsly, that Mr. Courten was ſued, ſummoned into Chancery, and even arreſted, by ſome or other of the creditors of his father and grandfather. We are likewiſe told that in all theſe caſes, he pleaded that he was not the executor of his father or grandfather, nor the adminiſtrator of their eſtates and effects, from which he ſaid he now claimed nothing. He added, moreover, that whatever he had received from the wrecks of their fortunes, was *ex dono et gratia*, and not *ex jure*; and declared openly, that he did not demand any thing *ex additione hæreditatis*, as heir to his father or grandfather. He even relinquiſhed his family name of COURTEN, aſſumed that of WILLIAM CHARLETON [T], and publicly announced his intention of quitting England, and living in a ſtrange land.

There being no dates to direct the regular entry of the laſt-mentioned circumſtances, it may be, they are not introduced here in the order they happened. It is a matter of little conſequence, as the irregularity, if there be any, can only relate to the later part of a period of about ſeven years, from 1663 to 1670, which ſeems to include the whole duration of William Courten's reſidence in England, after his firſt return from Montpellier. It appears, from a preceding note, that he lived with his aunt, Lady Knightly, at Fawſley-Lodge, in Northamptonſhire, for the moſt part of the time (*p*), and that he was *beyond ſea about Jan.* 1670 (*q*).

(*p*) MSS. Sloan. 3988. Plut. xii. c.

(*q*) Letter ſigned P. S. dated 1684. Note [*D*].

Some time or other, more or leſs advanced in the courſe of the ſeven years ſpecified, certainly William Courten, Eſq; formed his plan of life, dropt his litigation with Carew, got things in a train for final ſettlement, and ſecured the beſt means he could ſtipulate for his own and his ſiſter's future livelihood.

Now with whatever prudence or privacy the arrangement was ſettled, out-ſtanding creditors muſt know, that the grandſon of the family could legally enter on the adminiſtration of the eſtates of his anceſtors, and conclude, from his deferring to adminiſter; that he had compounded with Carew, the former adminiſtrator, and received ſomething very conſiderable to induce him to relinquiſh his rightful claims, and all his own, and his ſiſter's inheritance. Any knowledge, or even ſuſpicion of this kind, was ſufficient to bring on, towards the cloſe of the ſeptennial period above-mentioned, the law-ſuits and vexations that obliged Mr. Courten to make the preceding declarations, and compelled him finally, for peace-ſake, to quit the kingdom, to change his name to CHARLETON, and to live abroad as he did for many years (*).

(*) About 14, or 16.

Floyd's proſecution grounded ultimately, as it ſeems, on a family debt to a Dutchman, of the name of Vanlore, or Vanlere, purſued Mr. Courten, it is ſaid, to *the Land's-End*, about Jan. 1670, continued to go on againſt him after he was *beyond ſea*, and was ſtill likely to put him to more trouble and expence fourteen years after, i. e. in the year 1684, as appears from the letter of his couſin P. S. of that date (*r*).

(*r*) Note [*D*], *ut ſupra*.

[T] WILLIAM CHARLETON.] "*M. Guillame* "*Courten, fut plus connu poſterieurment, ſous le nom de* "*Charlton, qu' il prit apres avoir perdu un tres beau* "*domaine appertenant à ſa famille* (22)." His will is made in his family name of William Courten, but his death is announced in the *Poſt Angel* for March 1702, 4*to*. p. 137, in the following words. "March "27, 1702, William Charleton, Eſq; of the Middle "Temple, eminently known for his fine collection "of curioſities, *viz*. medals, ſhells, &c. died at the "Gravel Pits at Kenſington, and has left the fore-"ſaid curioſities to Dr. Sloan." There is likewiſe an entry of his death, under the name of William Charleton, on March 17, 1702, in Le Neve's MS. obituary (23). This information was given as a probable conjecture, in a late edition of the TATLER with notes, Vol. VI. p. 477. It is now beyond a doubt, and to the proofs of it, already given, unqueſtionable evidences of his having long borne the name of William Charleton, will occur in the ſequel of this article. It is ſufficient to know, with certainty, that William Courten actually took this other name, of Charleton; but it is unneceſſary here to aſcertain, with nicer preciſion, the occaſion, or the time of his taking it.

(22) MSS. Birch. 4241, 4*to*.

(23) Harl. MSS. 3625.

The moſt dry and unpleaſant part of this article the writer would willingly cloſe here, but that it ſeems neceſſary to ſay ſomething farther on this head, to obviate a very ſerious objection to Mr. Courten's moral character, for which, it does not clearly appear, that there is any real foundation. It is ſtated by B. S. a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, who maintains in brief, that every farthing that William Courten, Eſq; recovered from Carew, or from the wrecks of the Courten-eſtates, ought to have been diſtributed among the creditors of the family;—that Mr. Courten had no right to whatever monies he derived from his inheritance; and that his application of it to his own, or his ſiſter's ſupport, was *ipſo facto* an impeachment of his integrity.

The objection deſerves conſideration the rather, as it is not grounded on a point of law, but on a principle of rectitude, which, like *Bayes*'s ſimile in the *Rehearſal*, might do very well, if it were but well applied. It ſeems neceſſary, therefore, to ſtate the following circumſtances, with a view to vindicate Mr. Courten's character from this odious aſperſion, and to guard it from injurious miſconceptions in future.

In the courſe of this narrative, it has been ſaid, in the words wherein the relater found his information, that Sir William Courten died *involved in great debt*,—and that his ſon, overpowered with his father's debts and his own, and with large ſums at intereſt, &c. withdrew from the Adminiſtration, and left this kingdom *inſolvent*. Merchants, properly ſo called, and many others of reſpectable profeſſions, when very extenſively concerned in trade, may, however, be *involved in great debt*, *inſolvent*, even *bankrupts* [*U*], and yet be in a condition to pay twenty ſhillings in the pound, and to make, after all, decent and ample proviſion for their families.

There was no bankruptcy in the Courten-family; yet from a peculiarity of circumſtances, which it is not requiſite to mention, this appears to have been eminently the caſe of Sir William Courten's affairs, when he died *very deeply in debt*; and of his ſon's too, at the very time of his *inſolvency*, but much more at the period we are now come to, twenty, or it may be more years after his death.

The accounts of the family, both on the debtor and creditor ſide, are unqueſtionably incomplete, and by no means before us in ſuch an accurate ſtate, as that we can ſpeak or reaſon upon them with arithmetical exactneſs; but ſtill we know enough of them otherwiſe to ſupport the following apparently concluſive arguments.

G. Carew had certainly all the knowledge that we want of the affairs of the Courten-family; he had been long employed in them both at home and abroad; he had balanced, no doubt, the debtor and creditor ſides of their accounts; and as he was a man of equal perſpicacity and induſtry, certainly in a buſineſs wherein he embarked ſo deeply, it may well be ſuppoſed that he knew perfectly what he was doing. Surely he was no fool, and would not have taken the trouble, or paid the price he did for the adminiſtration of the Courten-eſtates, but with, I ſay not a probable, but a certain proſpect of very ample recompenſation. Now if this adminiſtration was an object well worthy of all the trouble and coſt that G. Carew expended upon it, there can be no doubt but that it would have been equally advantageous, and more beneficial to Mr. Courten. It ſeems therefore highly reaſonable to conclude, not only on the face of the general accounts, but more eſpecially from the drift of Carew's conduct, and his unremitted perſeverance in the purſuit, that the debts due to the Courten-family greatly exceeded the debts payable by it, and to a very large amount.

To the partial ſtatement of 498,828 *l.* on the creditor-ſide, well aſcertained, and in very many particulars upon oath, which by no means included the whole of what was due to the family, it ſeems difficult, indeed impoſſible, to find debts equally well authenticated, of half the ſum, to oppoſe upon the debtor-ſide. If juſtice then had been done, [and we go on principles of rectitude] if the debts on both ſides had been liquidated, *in toto*, or by compoſition, the vaſt overplus muſt aſſuredly have been the whole and ſole property of William Courten Eſq; and his ſiſter. He and ſhe, therefore, were creditors, in appearance the principal creditors on the eſtates of the Courten-family.

Beſides, the debts of the many creditors of this family in Holland and Zealand were ſettled, it ſeems, and paid by the Treaty of Breda; for if by this treaty, no debts antecedent to it were afterwards to be paid to Britiſh ſubjects over all the dominions of the States, certainly no antecedent debts need be paid to Dutchmen in any of all the territories of Britain.

It is, indeed, obvious to remark, that on this principle, the Courten-family cleared with Vanlore, and their relatives of the Cromling-family, and thereby gained ſomething conſiderable, though they ſtill loſt vaſtly more. But this loſs, Mr. Courten and his ſiſter were well entitled to have made up to them, by the community which enjoyed the bleſſings of this treaty, and which, doubtleſs, owed full reparation to the individual ſufferers, at whoſe great

[*U*] *Even bankrupts.*] This has not uncommonly happened even in more recent times; and may be exemplified in the caſe of Mr. Knapton, the famous bookſeller, who, with the utmoſt integrity, and with a ſurplus of many thouſand pounds, ſubmitted to become a bankrupt, as the readieſt mode of collecting his out-ſtanding debts, in order to pay the demands of all his creditors, and to retire on an affluent independence.

expence

expence the beneficial treaty had been obtained. And if the King and his Council on this occaſion had driven a hard bargain for the public, ſtill the public muſt abide by the loſs, and no reaſon could be aſſigned why two innocent orphans, againſt whom nothing was alledged, or pretended, ſhould be plundered of their property, and left to ſtarve, by the act of the Sovereign, or of his negociators, who, by aſſuming a power of giving what was not theirs to give, recognized the right of the proprietors to come upon them for damages and reparation.

William Courten, Eſq; claimed, moreover, as his right, the adminiſtration of his father's and grandfather's eſtates; and a great Crown-lawyer honeſtly admitted the right, and vouched for the legality of his claim, in direct contravention to a prior royal grant.

Sir Jeffery Palmer's determination put the adminiſtration in Mr. Courten's power, but left it at his option; nor was he by any means obliged to adminiſter, contrary to the dictates of prudence, the advice of his friends, or his own inclination. Had Mr. Courten actually engaged in the adminiſtration, there is no ground to doubt, but that, if juſtice had been done to him, he would have done ample juſtice to the creditors, and would have had in the end, an abundant proviſion for himſelf and his ſiſter.

Circumſtanced as Mr. Courten was, he probably acted in the beſt, as well as in the moſt cautious manner poſſible. The eſtates on which he was to enter, might have been injured irreparably, by the preceding adminiſtrator he was about to ſuperſede. He might have been over-awed by the apprehended embarraſſments, and threatened oppoſition of this artful man. He might have thought it more difficult and more expenſive, than it was in reality, to get equal juſtice done to himſelf, and to do equal juſtice to the creditors; and have been more apprehenſive of the final iſſue than he had good cauſe to be. He might commiſerate the condition of the creditors, and deſpiſe and deteſt the character of the man whom the king had appointed adminiſtrator, and agent for them.

Nevertheleſs, if terrified at the proſpect of an office ſo troubleſome and ſo perilous, or ſmitten with the love of a ſtudious and quiet life, he choſe rather to give up greater but more precarious advantages, for a leſſer but more certain proviſion; and if his ſiſter likewiſe conſented to the compoſition, what indeed was to hinder him from compounding with Carew, for all his own and her claims. Whatever right he, or his ſiſter had, or might be ſuppoſed to have in reverſion, with her previous conſent, he was certainly free to transfer. He might do, as ſome creditors had done before him, as others probably did after him. In treating with Carew, who was the legal adminiſtrator, if he himſelf declined to become ſo, he had to deal with a man, who parted, it ſeems, with a decent livelihood, to make himſelf rich in this diſreputable way, and who was likelier to give him leſs than an equivalent, than more than enough.

If, becauſe "he was faint," or conſtrained by dire neceſſity, he ſold his own and her birth-right for a meſs of pottage, Was he not to eat it? Was the poor pittance he got, after all, not his own? Might he not honeſtly retire with it wherever he pleaſed? Sharing it, as they could agree, with his ſiſter, which he appears to have done to the end of her life. Surely, all things conſidered, there is more call here for ſympathy, than for cenſure; for commiſeration, than for reproach.

In a word, the preſent writer, after a reviſal, cannot ſee that there is any thing in the *long account* that B. S. refers to, in the *longer account* given here, or in any account he has ever ſeen, that really militates againſt Mr. Courten's integrity in the way ſurmiſed, or that invalidates the ample and repeated teſtimony under the hand of Sir Hans Sloane, corroborated beyond all ſuſpicion, and much to Mr. Courten's honour, as will appear in the ſequel, by the cordial friendſhip of John Locke, one of the greateſt and beſt of men, eminent alike as a philoſopher, and as a chriſtian.

Indeed, to this writer, the compoſition with Carew, for what he could get, and his eaſy relinquiſhment of the adminiſtration to a man of the world, whoſe keenneſs and conduct argue its value, appear to be ſtrong and unſuſpicious evidences of Mr. Courten's integrity.

Having thus, with difficulty, in the courſe of ſeveral of the beſt years of his life, collected, from the remains of his fore fathers opulence, ſome future proviſion for himſelf and his ſiſter, and it may be, an ample ſufficiency for all the wants of a ſcholar, whoſe humble walk he choſe, Mr. Courten entirely withdrew from active life, in which he apparently engaged with reluctance, and indeed, from neceſſity. Contented with the little he got, he retired to indulge his contemplative diſpoſition, and declined the very probable proſpects of bettering his circumſtances, which his extenſive and honourable connections held forth, if he would have taken to any learned profeſſion or lucrative employment.

In the Britiſh Muſeum, over a door in the ſecond ſhell-room, there is a fine portrait of William Courten Eſq; drawn, ſeemingly, before his leaving England for the ſecond time, about the cloſe of 1663, and certainly by ſome eminent painter. It was probably at this period of his life, that "he travelled [as Sir Hans Sloane informs us] over moſt parts of "Europe, ſtudying the languages, obſerving the cuſtoms and manners of its inhabitants, "and purchaſing every where, whatever he could get curious in nature or art."

Of

Of the courſe, or duration of his travels, the preſent writer can give no particular information. It may be reaſonably judged, that after a peregrination of three or four years, at moſt, he ſettled in his former place of abode, at Montpellier, where he certainly reſided for the greateſt part of the time that he lived abroad. Sir Hans Sloane ſays, expreſsly, that he was abſent from England, at different times no doubt, twenty-five years in all; and though the particular years are not ſtated, it would not be very difficult, if it was of any importance, to aſcertain them.

Mr. Courten ſeems all along to have paid great and general attention to polite literature. His papers and place-books, many of which are preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, diſcover various, judicious, and extenſive reading; and his own frequent remarks ſhew, that he thought as well as read.

About this time he ſeems to have been much engaged in the ſtudy of coins, both ancient and modern. In this entertaining and uſeful, but expenſive branch of knowledge, he certainly made great proficiency, and attained at laſt extraordinary ſkill.

It appears from one of his pocket-books, referred to in the margin (*s*), that in 1669, he began to collect coins, in both kinds, and in all metals, at conſiderable expence. There is no doubt but that his collection in this way became ultimately ample, well-ſelected, and very valuable; but there is now no poſſibility of aſcertaining its extent, its merit, or its value; for it certainly appears, that he not only exchanged his duplicates, as all collectors do, but that he very frequently ſold, as well as bought, and bought for others, as well as for himſelf. From ſeveral of his priced catalogues in the Britiſh Muſeum, latterly very accurate, and entirely in the manner of a maſter in the ſcience, the preſent writer is inclined to think, that very many, perhaps moſt of the coins in that repoſitory, might be traced to their original purchaſer and prices. The whole catalogue of coins gathered in Spain, and purchaſed by Sir Hans Sloane (*t*), thoſe preſented by John Lee Eſq; and all donations of this kind poſterior to the death of Mr. Courten, are obviouſly out of the queſtion. It ought likewiſe to be mentioned here, as it is upon good authority, that the original coins purchaſed by the public, told ſeveral hundreds above a thouſand, ſhort of Sir Hans Sloane's inventory delivered to Parliament.

(*s*) MSS. Sloan. 3988. Plut. xxxi. c.

(*t*) MSS. Sloan. 2824.

Certainly Mr. Courten, on his return to England, about fourteen years after the time we are now ſpeaking of, was looked up to here, and apparently with juſtice, as a perſon of ſuperior ſkill in medallic ſcience, wherein no man, who is not a good ſcholar, can ever arrive at any great degree of eminence. This very deſirable literary accompliſhment, at times perhaps, may have been over-rated by ſome of the few who have been too laviſh of their time, ingenuity, and expence, in the acquiſition. It has oftner been undervalued, like the grapes in the fable, and treated by the illiterate, with a Gothic ridicule, manifeſting a kindred diſpoſition and an abſurd vanity, ſimilar to that which Diogenes manifeſted, in trampling with inſolence, on the cloak of Plato.

It is now well known, that the beſt and moſt elegant writers of antiquity, cannot be read with juſt underſtanding and true taſte, without good maps. Genuine coins are ſerviceable in the ſame, and in very many other reſpects. As they might be ſo very advantageouſly employed in the courſe of our early inſtruction in claſſical literature, the means of that part of our education are manifeſtly defective, where a good cabinet of coins, or the beſt books that repreſent and explain them are wanting, or not brought into common uſe. Unqueſtionably, after all that can be ſaid to depreciate this kind of knowledge, it muſt ſtill be held in conſiderable eſtimation, and very deſervedly, by all who are deſirous to know with certainty, the hiſtory, chronology, geography, arts, manners, cuſtoms, and notions, both civil and religious, of ancient times, which theſe compendious and indubitable monuments do, in ſo many pleaſing and uſeful ways, contribute to illuſtrate, to rectify, and to eſtabliſh in truth, or veriſimilitude.

Mr. Courten's ſuperior ſkill in this ſcience, a hand-maid to ſo many other arts and ſciences, is well aſcertained, by his catalogues of his own coins, by his many papers, and his epiſtolary correſpondence on ſubjects of this nature, with Sir John Evelyn, the honourable Heneage Finch, and others, but eſpecially with Lord Colrane, his own *elevée* in this ſcience, and a pupil that evidently appears by his proficiency to have done great honour to his maſter.

The preſent writer having derived, from a little cabinet of his own, purchaſed at more expence perhaps than was ſuitable to his circumſtances, a great alleviation of uneaſineſs, and much elegant enjoyment, diſtruſts his own judgment in this caſe, and forbears rather reluctantly, giving any of all the many curious extracts that might have been given from theſe letters, for fear of being carried farther on a favourite ſubject, than might be acceptable to the generality of readers. The peruſal of the originals in the Britiſh Muſeum, is eaſily acceſſible to the curious in this way, who may there freely gratify their curioſity. In the notes taken for this writer's private uſe, the references have been too often omitted, and he has neglected to mark, particularly, every thing of this kind that has been examined; but ſome, and perhaps the principal references, are given in the margin (*u*) to direct the ſearch, and facilitate the enquiries of ſuch as think juſtly, and as they ought to think, of this kind of knowledge.

(*u*) MSS. Sloan. 3961. f. 3962. f. Plut. 3988, 1828, &c.

It was moſt probably abroad, and about the year 1675, that Mr. Courten's acquaintance and friendſhip with the celebrated Mr. John Locke began; for in the ſummer of that year the bad ſtate of Locke's health, and an apprehended conſumption, induced him to repair to Montpellier, then as famous for the cure of diſeaſes of the lungs, as Antycira was of old for thoſe of the brains. For many years paſt, people have diſcontinued to reſort to Montpellier, when afflicted with pulmonary and conſumptive complaints, its air having been long judged peculiarly improper for them; though it is now ſaid to be much mended, by draining a moraſs, or planting, or deſtroying a wood. Biſhop Atterbury, who was there in the ſummer 1729, repreſents it as ſo uncomfortable, that he was forced to take ſhelter from the ſultry heats, at Vigan in the Cevennes, ten leagues diſtant.

The unpubliſhed letters of Mr. Locke, to Mr. Courten, &c. given below [*X*], about ten years after this time, prove the intimacy and dearneſs that ſubſiſted between them, and which,

[*X*] *Unpubliſhed letters of Mr. Locke, to Mr. Courten, &c. given below.*]

'Dear Sir, Amſt. 12 Aug. —87.
'I cannot but take kindly, from Dr. Goodall, 'any ſervice that he has done you: and he cannot '*obleige* me more than by *puting* it to my account, 'which is with great juſtice done, ſince there is *noe* 'thing that more nearly concerns me than your health. 'When I write to him, I ſhall acknowledge it, and 'alſo recommend it to him as an intereſt *ſoe* properly 'mine, that he may aſſure himſelf, that if he admi-'niſters any thing to the recovery of your health, he 'truly takes care of mine. I have not had time, ſince the 'receit of your letter yeſterday, *ſoe* to inform myſelf 'as to anſwer all the particulars of his, *ſoe* as I deſire; 'for which I muſt beg you to excuſe me to him, with 'the *returne* of my thanks, till I ſhall be in a condi-'tion to *doe* it by an anſwer to what he demands. 'In the mean time, pray do me the favour to *informe* 'him, that I remember a friend of mine, one Mr. 'Charleton, had, by the uſe of *tobacco in ſnuff, con-'tracted at Montpellier, a continual head-ach; which, 'upon the forbearing of ſnuff, left him again: whether 'this at all concerne your preſent caſe, I beſeech you 'conſider; and if faſhion has prevailed upon you to do 'yourſelf harme, to quit it again.* I with the more 'importunity *preſſe* this, becauſe I remember, it was 'with great inſtance and violence I extorted that 'pleaſure from you, which perhaps *forgetfulneſs* has 'ſuffered you to return to again. I have already ſpoke 'to a friend of mine, to get for you any *raritys* that 'he can light on in the Eaſt-India fleet, which is now 'here every day expected. I, the laſt week, put into 'the hands of Mr. Smith, a bookſeller, *liveing* at the 'Prince's Arms in Paul's Church-yard, twenty-ſix 'draughts of the inhabitants of ſeveral remote parts 'of the world, eſpecially the Eaſt-Indies, they are 'marked thus, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, '16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, '30; and the names of them writ on the backſide 'with my hand; thoſe, whoſe names are not writ, 'if you know them not, I will get explained here; 'the Braſilian Canibals [of which there are one or 'two] are eaſily known; but ſince there was not the 'name of the particular nation from which they 'were taken, I would not add them myſelf. For 'the excellency of the drawing I will not anſwer, 'they being *don* by my boy, who hath faithfully 'enough repreſented the originals they were copied 'from, *ſoe* that one may ſee the habits and complexion 'of the people, which was the main end they were 'deſigned for, and therefore you muſt excuſe them 'if they be not excellent pieces of painting. I alſo 'put into the hands of the ſaid Mr. Smith, a little 'box, with the ſeeds and huſks of *Fœniculum Sinenſe.* 'The huſks have a very fine *aromatical* taſte, and are 'uſed by the Muſcovites, to be mixed with their 'Thè, as I have been told, which is not, *I imagin,* 'the moſt *fotiſh* thing they are guilty of. If you 'think the ſeeds will grow, and then find to ſpare, I 'would be glad you would ſend two or three of them 'in my name, to Jacob Bobart, the gardener of the 'Phyſick-garden in Oxford, who may endeavour 'to raiſe plants from them. He is a very honeſt 'fellow, and will not be unwilling to furniſh you 'with any curioſities of that *kinde.* Moreri, I find, 'by your *ſoe* often mentioning it, lies heavy upon 'your hands, not that you are weary of the book, 'but are impatient till I have it. I tell you truly, 'if I had a better friend, to whoſe care to commit it 'till I return, I ſhould preſently eaſe you of it; but 'if you cannot be eaſy in your conſcience, till you 'find it wholly in my poſſeſſion, I muſt intreat you 'yet to have patience till I *bethinke* myſelf how to 'diſpoſe of it commodiouſly. You are one of thoſe 'ſcrupulous friends that cannot be at reſt till you 'have more than quitted ſcores, (for ſo your exact 'puting them to account, gives me reaſon to ſpeak) 'with the kindneſs of your friends. In this reſpect, 'Dr. Guinellon and you are well met; and I, who 'am of a more looſe and careleſs temper, am pleaſed 'to ſee, that this nice *humor* has a little perplexed 'one, or both of you, for I ſee the Doctor is in pain 'that he cannot find *Gorlæus* and the other books 'you deſired. I moſt earneſtly wiſh your health, 'and am,

'Dear Sir,
'Your moſt humble,
'and moſt obedient ſervant,
'J. Locke (24).' (24) MSS. Sloan. 3962. f.

'I was told you promiſed to enquire of Serjeant 'Maynard for the *hearbe* which cures the leproſy; 'give me leave to *aſke* whether you have *don* it. It 'is not fit ſo uſeful a thing ſhould be loſt.'

Directed. "For Mr. William Charleton, to be left "with Mr. William Garret, *Merchand* in Lime-ſtreet, "London."

'Dear Sir, 26 Aug. —87.
'I lately gave you the trouble of a letter, to let 'you know, that I had ſent you, by Mr. Smith a 'Bookſeller, at the Feathers, in Paul's Church-'yard, 26 draughts of the habits of ſeveral *forain* '[eſpecially Aſiatick] people; and alſo a little box, 'of the ſeeds of *Fœniculum Sinenſe.* What other 'commands I have from you, in your's of 26 of 'July, I ſhall take all the care I can to give you ſa-'tisfaction in. I herewith ſend you a letter, and a 'little manuſcript, to Lord Pembroke, which I beg 'the favour of you to deliver to his own hands, and 'to ſend me what anſwer his Lordſhip ſhall pleaſe 'to honour me with. If his Lordſhip be at Wilton, 'I beg the favour of you to ſend the whole packet 'away by the next poſt, to Dr. David Thomas at 'Saliſbury, with the letter here incloſed to him. If 'I make you not an apology for this trouble, 'tis 'becauſe I know, with what pleaſure and *readineſs* 'you *obleige* your friends, which lays on me the 'greater obligation to be, as I am,

'Dear Sir,
'Your moſt affectionate and
'Moſt humble ſervant,
'J. Locke (25).' (25) MSS. Sloan. 3962.

Directed. "For Mr. William Charleton, to be "left at Mr. William Garret's, a *Merchand* in Lime-"ſtreet, London."

Endorſed in Mr. Courten's hand-writing,

"Copy of mine of the 26 July, in anſwer to Mr. "Locke's of 10th of June."

'Dear

which no doubt continued to the end of Mr. Courten's life, for Locke, though his ſenior about eight years, was the ſurvivor. It appears that Mr. Courten was one of the ſelect friends among whom Locke practiſed phyſick, of which he had taken a Bachelor's degree at Oxford. That Locke practiſed a little, and was exceedingly well qualified for the employment, appears from many circumſtances mentioned in his article, and particularly from the following teſtimony of the celebrated Dr. Sydenham. "You know how much my method has been approved by a perſon who examined it to "the bottom, and who is our common friend: I mean Mr. John Locke, who, if we "conſider his genius, and penetrating and exact judgment, or the ſtrictneſs of his morals, "has ſcarce any ſuperior, and few equals now living (*x*)." That Mr. Courten attended particularly to Locke's preſcription, and derived benefit from it, is evident from his anſwer, and from the following entries in a Saunders's Almanac for 1698, in which there is a MS. Diary, not by Dr. Walter Charleton, as it is entitled in the Muſeum, and the Catalogue of MSS. but relative ſolely to Mr. William Courten, being his own hand-writing, which is ſufficiently diſtinguiſhable, and moreover vouched as his, by the information itſelf. "July 27, 1698, being diſtreſſed with my head-ach and giddineſs, I left off entirely taking "tobacco in ſnuff, having only taken it but four times a day, for ſeveral days before, and "never after 7 at night." Aug. 20, 1698. "Muſt ſhew my things, [meaning his "Muſeum] but ſeldom, never two days conſecutively for the future (*y*)."

(*x*) Biog. Brit. Art. Locke, 1ſt. edit. p. 2995, Note [*H*].

(*y*) MSS. Sloan. 4956.

Certainly Mr. Courten cultivated medallic ſcience with pleaſure, avidity, and conſiderable ſucceſs: the curious may ſee the moſt ſatisfactory proofs of this at the Britiſh Muſeum, both in the coins he collected, and in the accounts he has given of them. It appears likewiſe, from very many of his papers in the ſame repoſitory, that as a general ſcholar he was far from being contemptible, and that he was not unſkilled in making experiments. Some of theſe papers the curious may eaſily find in Mr. Ayſcough's Catalogue of MSS. but to others of them, not leſs worthy of notice, as they are looſe and unentered, no expreſs references can be given. The only paper of Mr. Courten, which the preſent writer has ever ſeen in print, is a tranſlation from an original in Latin, publiſhed ten years after the death of its author, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, at large, Vol. xxvii. page 485, for the months of July, Auguſt, and September. The title, and ſome account of it, the reader may ſee below [*Y*].

Mr.

MSS. 3962.5

'Dear Sir, July 26, 1687.

'Incloſed, I ſend you the long expected letter 'from our worthy friend, Dr. Goodall, for whoſe 'extraordinary *kindneſſe* and civility to me, on your 'account, I intreat the return of your thanks. It is 'now near three months, that I have been ſorely 'afflicted with violent and conſtant pains in my head, 'accompanied with great *giddyneſſe*, inſomuch that 'I was not able to read your letters on the back of a 'book, placed on a ſhelf of an ordinary height, 'without being ready to fall. In this condition the 'able and compaſſionate Dr. found me; and after he 'had taken a very exact account of the circumſtances 'of it, he preſcribed me ſeveral things in order to 'my cure; amongſt others, a ſort of lozenges, by 'which I found benefit, though he would receive 'none, it not being in my power to fix one ſingle 'fee on him, telling me, that perceiving I was ſo 'intimate a friend of yours, I ſhould have his advice '*gratis*. I thank God I am ſomewhat better than 'I have been, but I fear that I ſhall ſcarcely ever be 'freed from this unhappy diſtemper. Pray let me 'know in your next, when I ſhall ſend the Moreri's 'Dictionary, and the other books you formerly men'tioned, &c.'

The letter concludes with an order for ſome inſects, birds, and animals, from a catalogue of objects of Natural Hiſtory, apparently on ſale about this time at Amſterdam.

Endorſed by Mr. Courten, in his own hand. "Copy of mine of the 28th Aug. in anſwer to "Mr. Locke's of the 12th and 26th *ditto*."

'Dear Sir, Aug. 28, 1687.

'I have received both yours of the 12th and 26th 'inſtant; and, according to your order, my Lord not 'being in town, I have ſent the let. and MS. into 'the country. Mr. Smith the Bookſeller is not yet 'arrived; when he comes, I ſhall enquire of him for 'the favours you deſigned me, and ſend to Mr. 'Bobart ſome ſeeds of the *Fæniculum Sinenſe*. He 'was recommended to me not long ſince, by a very 'good friend, and I gave him a ſight of the collec'tion of plants I made at Montpellier, and of the 'fine extotic ones you were pleaſed to ſend me, ſe'veral of which he had never ſeen before. I told 'Dr. Goodall what you had written relating to his 'letter; he preſents you his ſervice. I am endea'vouring to follow your kind and good advice, and 'have ſo far prevailed on myſelf, as to forbear tak'ing tobacco in powder, uſing, inſtead of it, cut'tobacco: when you are pleaſed to write, I ſhould 'be glad to have your opinion about it. I have ſome 'few things by me, that if your friend is not already 'furniſhed with, I ſhall take care to ſend, by the firſt 'opportunity:' [then follows a liſt of them too long 'to inſert.]

'When Sir Henry Hobart was in town, he pro'miſed to enquire of his father-in-law concerning 'the herb you mentioned, but I heard not ſince from 'him. When he comes again, I ſhall wait upon 'him, and put him in mind of it. My humble 'ſervice to Dr. Guenellon,' &c.

It appears from another letter in the ſame volume of MSS. that Mr. Courten ſucceeded in propagating the ſeeds of the *Fæniculum Sinenſe*, and ſent ſome of them to James Bobart, as Locke requeſted. There is, *ibidem*, a letter from this gardener, to Mr. Courten, accompanied with ſome African ſeeds; among which, he recommends, particularly, one under the name of *Cucumis Africanus echinatus*.

[*Y*] *The title, and ſome account of it, the reader may ſee below.*]

II. Experiments and obſervations of the effects of ſeveral ſorts of poiſons upon animals, &c. made at Montpellier, in the years 1678, and 1679, by the late William Courten, Eſq; communicated by Dr. Hans Sloane, R. S. Secr. Tranſlated from the Latin MS.

Two ounces of the juice of Dutch Nightſhade [*Solanum Batavicum*] did a dog no manifeſt injury; the ſame doſe of the juice of hemlock [*Cicuta*] did not hurt him; nor did he appear to be hurt by a pretty large root of wolfs-bane [*Aconitum Pardalianches*] bruiſed with the leaves and flowers of the ſame plant mixed with fleſh. Two drachms of white hellebore [*Helleborus albus*] diſordered the ſame dog very much, but he recovered, and afterwards ſwallowed five roots of meadow-ſaffron [*Colchicum Ephemerum*] freſh dug, with which he was violently tormented, but did not die. Two drachms of *opium* ſtupified, but did not kill him. He was afterwards cauſed to be bit three or four times on the belly by

an

Mr. Courten was evidently a pretty general ſtudent, and not ill-verſed in moſt parts of polite literature; but whatever branch, or branches of knowledge, might, more or leſs, engage his attention occaſionally, it manifeſtly appears, that his *forte*, his principal and favourite ſtudy, was always that of Natural Hiſtory; a moſt engaging and extenſive ſcience, that miniſters very copiouſly to the wants and the pleaſures of human life, and furniſhes us throughout all the works of nature, with the moſt delightful demonſtrations of the wonderful power, wiſdom, and goodneſs of its all-perfect author.

It has been ſaid, on the reſpectable teſtimony of Sir Hans Sloane, that Mr. Courten, "from his earlieſt years diſregarding the pomp and vanities of the world, gave himſelf up "to the contemplation of the works of God, &c." Many papers, in Mr. Courten's hand writing, appear in aid of the Baronet's teſtimony; and it ſeems very certain, that the writer of them proſecuted this inexhauſtible ſcience, in all its branches, *con amore*, and with ſucceſs, to the remoteſt period of his life, which extended beyond the age of threeſcore years.

The Catalogues of Mr. Courten's plants, at Montpellier, &c. referred to in the margin (z), afford abundant proofs of his ſkill in Botany, and may ſerve, with the aſſiſtances of various accidental notices contained in his papers *paſſim*, to give a tolerable idea of the ſtate, at that time, of the Botanical Garden at Montpellier, then celebrated as the beſt of the kind in Europe. His friendſhip with Dr. Sherwood, which laſted to the end of his life, ſeems to have been grafted, originally, on their common attachment to Botany [Z].

(z) MSS. Sloan. 3962. Plut. f.

Mr.

an enraged viper, and would probably have died, if he had not been cupped, ſcarified, and relieved with *Theriaca*, and volatile ſpirit of hartſhorn, mixed in broth. He was at laſt killed by another dog. By fifteen grains of the dried root of monks-hood, [*Napellus*] powdered and mixed with fleſh and broth, a dog was variouſly diſtreſſed, and miſerably tormented for an hour, but recovered by degrees. A little dog, by a drachm of the root of monks-hood [*Napellus*] laboured under the ſame grievous ſymptoms, more violently and longer; but he likewiſe recovered: but an ounce of the leaves, flowers, and ſeed of the *Napellus*, when green, bruiſed, and given to a dog, ſcarce diſordered him any more than if he had eaten ſo much graſs.

The ſtomach and ſmall guts of another dog, killed by the *nux vomica*, were found very red and inflamed by the corroſiveneſs of the medicine.

A ſtrong luſty dog was, by a warm injection of an ounce of *vinum emeticum*, diſtreſſed with a variety of lamentable complaints, circumſtantially narrated in the paper, and died convulſed in a few hours, though twice revived with warm broth through a funnel.

A drachm and a half of *ſal armoniac*, diſſolved in an ounce and a half of water, injected warm into the jugular vein of a dog, convulſed and killed him preſently. A whelp, bit in the lower lip by a blind worm [*Cæcilia*] ſo that the blood appeared in the wound, died the ſame day. An injection of a drachm of *Salt of Tartar*, diſſolved in an ounce of warm water, convulſed and killed a dog almoſt immediately. A warm injection of an ounce of urine, made by a man faſting, produced no convulſion or other ill ſymptoms. A gentle decoction of two drachms of white hellebore, well powdered, in ſpring water, and evaporated to nine drachms and a half, ſtrongly preſſed out and injected turbid into the jugular vein of a dog, inſtantaneouſly produced convulſive motions, and on its entrance into the heart, killed him as ſuddenly as if he had been ſhot dead with a bullet; and he hung flaccid, like a fleece, in the hands of the perſon who held him.

A whelp ſtung in the tongue, &c. a pigeon ſtung likewiſe by a ſcorpion, the ſting being often forced into the wounds, and the bladder, ſuppoſed to contain the venom, being preſſed, remained unhurt; ſo alſo did a rat, included and ſtung often by ſcorpions, in a large glaſs. The provoked rat attacked the ſcorpions and gnawed off, and devoured part of them, with the precaution of keeping his eyes ſhut meanwhile. Several animals were killed by injections of ſpirit of ſalt, of ſpirit of wine, and opium; but an injection of two drachms of ſugar, diſſolved in an ounce of water, did a dog no harm; and an injection of a drachm and a half of common ſalt made him only very thirſty, and drink greedily. An injection of half an ounce of warm oil of olives into the crural vein of a little dog, deprived him preſently of all external ſenſe, and killed him in three hours; and the injection of an ounce of the ſame oil, into the jugular vein of another dog, ſuffocated him in the ſame moment.

An injection of ten drachms of highly rectified ſpirit of wine, into the crural vein of a dog, killed him quietly, and as it were with pleaſure, in a very little time. An injection of five ounces of ſtrong white wine, into the crural vein of a dog, made him very drunk; but the drunkenneſs abated and he recovered.

An injection of three drachms of rectified ſpirit of wine, into the crural vein of a ſmall dog, made him apoplectick; in a little time he recovered from his apoplexy, but was giddy, and reeled, and drunken; but in four hours he eat bread, and was next day out of danger.

A dog died terribly convulſed from an injection of an ounce of a ſtrong decoction of tobacco; but a ſimilar injection of ten drops of diſtilled oil of ſage, mixed with half a drachm of ſugar, did a dog no harm. A drachm of purified white vitriol, injected into the crural vein, killed a dog immediately. Another recovered, with much difficulty, from an injection of fifteen grains of ſalt of urine; ſo alſo did another, from a warm injection of a decoction of ſena, in water, to the quantity of two drachms. A mole, ſtung in the ſide by a ſcorpion, died immediately, convulſed; and on diſſection, the experimenter diſcovered that the *inteſtinum cæcum* is wanting in moles. Next follows, an account of the effects of tying nerves, arteries, &c. in dogs, for which, the curious reader is referred to the paper itſelf.

[Z] *On their common attachment to Botany.*]

Extract from a copy of a letter of William Courten, Eſq; to Dr. Sherwood, dated Middle Temple, May 11, 1691 (26).

(26) MSS. Sloan. 3961. 6

'Sir,

'I am aſhamed to mention the date of the letter I 'received from you; but having ſo favourable an op- 'portunity of writing by Mr. Hariſon, I could not 'but own the receipt of it, and aſſure you, that 'though I have not had the civility of returning an 'an anſwer till now, yet I did ſeveral times wait 'upon our friend, in relation to what you deſired, 'and acquainted him, that whatever *kindneſſe* he 'ſhould expreſs towards you, I ſhould eſteem it as 'done to myſelf; and he was pleaſed to ſay, that he 'ſhould eſpouſe your concern as if it was his own, '&c.&c. My moſt humble ſervice to Sir Arthur Raw- 'don, and when you write to Dr. Tournefort, be 'pleaſed to give him my ſervice. I *wiſht* you at our 'club the other night for an hour or two, to have 'had a ſight of a curious book of plants of the Cape 'of Good Hope in miniature, preſented by the States, 'to the Biſhop of London. There were to the 'number of fourty, and as our chief Botaniſts ſaid, 'moſt of them not deſcribed. May you have a plea-

'ſant

Mr. Courten's intimacies, correſpondencies, and friendſhips with Doctor, afterwards Sir Hans Sloane, with Doctor, afterwards Sir Tancred Robinſon, Phyſician in Ordinary to George I. with Doctor Martin Liſter, with Mr. L. Pluckenett, with Mr. Edward Llwyd, &c. &c. were certainly founded on congenial taſte, and argue no contemptible degrees of proficiency in the various branches of Natural Hiſtory.

Though Mr. Courten was very greatly Sir Hans Sloane's ſuperior in the knowledge of the ſcience here ſpoken of, as appears from many and various evidences in the Britiſh Muſeum, nevertheleſs their intimacy ſeems to have grown from their common affection for Natural Hiſtory; and their friendſhip ſeems to have been cemented and cheriſhed to the laſt by their perſevering ardour as naturaliſts, and the mutual aſſiſtances they lent to each other in ſimilar purſuits. The extracts from Sir Hans Sloane's own letters given below [*AA*], ſeem to confirm what has been ſaid; the harſheſt part of which, the writer well knows, cannot be conteſted by the ableſt officer in the Natural Hiſtory department of the Britiſh Muſeum.

We can now only gueſs at the nature of Sir Hans Sloane's great obligations to Mr. Courten; but it ſeems, by Sir Hans's own account of them, that they were very great in whatever way, fourteen years at leaſt, before the date of Mr. Courten's laſt will, by which this very worthy Phyſician was ſo much more obliged, as ſhall be ſhewn in the ſequel. In 1687, at his departure from this country for Jamaica, in quality of Phyſician to the Duke of Albemarle, who went there as Governour, Sir Hans Sloane, under a grateful ſenſe of peculiar obligations to Mr. Courten, purpoſed, it ſeems, to collect *natural things* principally for him, and to enrich a collection which his benefactor had been making from his earlieſt years, and for which, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that there was no inconſiderable foundation in his family before he was born.

However this was, Mr. Courten, about three or four years before the date of Doctor Sloane's firſt letter, that is, about 1684 [*BB*], had returned to his native country, where he

'ſant ſeaſon in your intended progreſſe, and the ſa-
'tisfaction of meeting with whatever may be rare in
'the parts you viſit, &c.'

N. B. Mr. Courten in his laſt will, left Dr. Sherwood *five pounds to buy him a ring.*

[*AA*] *The extracts from Sir Hans Sloane's own letters given below.*]

Extract of a letter ſigned H. Sloane, dated from Portſmouth, Sept. 10, 1687, and directed to William Charleton, Eſq; at his Chambers over Mr. North's, in Brick Court, Temple.

'I thank God I am come hither very ſafe. I
'hope before this you are likewiſe come ſafe from
'Dover with your friends, &c.'—'I hope, for my
'ſake, you will abſtain as much from *exceſſe* in wine,
'as your too good and complaiſant humour will
'ſuffer you. You cannot do me a greater favour
'than to be careful of your own health.' [Then follow particular advices, directions, and preſcriptions relative to his health, earneſtly recommended to Mr. Courten's obſervation.] 'I *am extremely obliged*
'*to you beyond any in the world*, and upon all occa-
'ſions, and in all places, I ſhall endeavour ſome man-
'ner of requital. I deſign to ſend you what I meet
'with that is curious from the ſeveral iſlands we land
'at, which will be moſt of our plantations. Remem-
'ber me to all friends, not forgetting Mrs. Wood.
'I am in all ſincerity,
'Dear Sir,
'Your moſt obedient,
'moſt obliged, and
'moſt humble Servant,
'HANS SLOANE.'

N. B. Dr. Sloane was at this time on his way to Jamaica, in the character of Phyſician to his Excellency the Duke of Albemarle.

Extract of a letter ſigned Hans Sloane, dated Barbadoes, Nov. 28, 1687, and directed to William Charleton, Eſq; to be left at Mr. William Cockram's, Merchant, in London.

'Dear Sir,
'I would have wrote to you from the Madeira,
'but there were no Engliſh ſhips there bound home-
'wards. This is the firſt one I meet, and I am
'heartily ſorry, I being new-landed here, cannot
'now ſend with this any natural things; for what I
'had at Madeira cannot be come at, which are plants,
'and what is here, I have not as yet gathered; but
'you may aſſure yourſelf, that what theſe parts of
'the Weſt Indies afford, is all your own, the beſt way
'I can ſend them. You may be ſure the taſte I have
'already is delightful to me, for this is indeed a new
'world in all things. I wiſhed heartily for you to
'day, if you could have been back in your Cham-
'bers at night. I find this place very warm; my
'greateſt work is ſweating and drinking water, which
'I find does well, and better than other ſmall liquors
'of this place. From Jamaica you ſhall hear and
'receive from me at large. My humble ſervice to
'Dr. Liſter, to Dr. Robinſon, to whom I deſign to
'write very ſoon, and to Mrs. Wood.
'Your very affectionate, &c.'

There is, *ibidem*, a letter, ſigned Hans Sloane, dated Newhall, July 11, 1690, directed to W. Charleton, Eſq; at his Chambers over Mr. North's, Eſſex-Court, Middle-Temple, full of affection, and particular directions about Mr. Courten's health.

In a letter dated likewiſe from Newhall, Sept. 12, 1690, and directed as above, Dr. Sloane recommends three Ladies, who came to town with the Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, to ſee Mr. Courten's *fine curioſities*; informs him that Dr. Mullens died at Barbadoes, of a ſpotted fever in three days; and acquaints him with his own intention of being in town in ten days at fartheſt.

There is, *ibidem*, a letter directed to the Worſhipful William Charleton, Eſq; above Mr. North's Chambers, in the Temple, dated Oxford Sept. 25, 1691, ſigned Edward Llwyd, advertiſing him of the robbery of the Aſhmolean Collection, with a curious account of the particulars, for which the reader is referred to the Britiſh Muſeum (27).

(27) MSS. Sloan. *ut ſupra.*

[*BB*] *About* 1684.] In a printed paper in the Britiſh Muſeum, and likewiſe in the *Vox Veritatis, ut ſupra*, it is ſaid, that "William Courten, Eſq; lived "in France in 1683, on a ſmall eſtate in money, not "having a foot of land in England of all his father's "or grandfather's large poſſeſſions (28)."

(28) *Ibid.* 3515.

From a letter written by his couſin Poſthumus Salwey, dated Auguſt 8, 1684, from Throckmorton, it ſeems that Mr. Courten was then living at his Chambers in the Temple. Probably he made a ſhort viſit to his friends in England, in 1681-2,

he opened, as the Doctor himſelf informs us, " A Muſeum extremely well furniſhed with " every thing curious either in nature, or for illuſtrating hiſtory, and ancient times." It filled, it ſeems, ten rooms in the Middle Temple, where, ſays Dr. Sloane, " Mr. Courten " ſhewed it *very freely*, and with great civility, to the advancement of the glory of GOD, " the honour and renown of the country, and the no ſmall promotion of knowledge and " uſeful arts."

Dr. Sloane's own collection, or *cloſet*, as is called, at the time here ſpoken of, that is, in 1687, and long after, was, probably, inconſiderable, certainly never comparable to Mr. Courten's Muſeum, which it had always, from his earlieſt youth, been the chief buſineſs of this intelligent Naturaliſt's life to form, and to render every day leſs imperfect.

It has been ſaid, that in the formation and diſpoſition of it, Mr. Courten did not overlook any thing that was rare or curious in art, and that he enriched it very ſkilfully with coins and medals ancient and modern, antiquities [*CC*], ſeals, pictures, drawings, prints, vaſes, &c. for the " illuſtration of Hiſtory and ancient times;" but certainly his chief attention was, to bring together the principal and moſt curious objects of the vegetable, animal, and mineral kingdoms, which he collected through the whole courſe of his life, with great judgment and at great expence.

It appears from his Catalogues and MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, that this able collector was well acquainted with the beſt methods of preſerving, and the moſt ſcientific modes of claſſifying them then known, to the improvement of which, he ſeems to have been, himſelf, no contemptible contributor. It is equally evident, and deſerves to be recorded to Mr. Courten's honour, and for the imitation of ſuch as engage in ſimilar ſtudies and purſuits, that though he did not overlook their claſſification and arrangement, his principal attention was beſtowed on the wiſe contrivance and beneficent deſign diſcoverable in the objects he collected, on their admirable œconomy, and on the moſt judicious and ingenious applications of them to the many various purpoſes of uſe and ornament in human life.

It is highly proper, indeed abſolutely neceſſary, that the multifarious objects of Natural Hiſtory ſhould be well aſcertained, and diſtinguiſhed with nicety in all their varieties. The ſcience, and lovers of it, are unqueſtionably indebted to the able Naturaliſts, who have ſpent their time, and exerciſed their ingenuity, in deviſing commodious methods of arrangement, and inventing ſyſtems for identifying the things about which it is converſant, with accuracy, and leſs danger of fallacy or miſtake.

If ſtudents in this way could but agree univerſally to adopt any one of the methods or ſyſtems of claſſification, the worſt of them all, much more the beſt, brought into general uſe, and conſtantly adhered to, would doubtleſs facilitate very greatly the ſtudy, and baniſh entirely that immenſe ſuperfluity of ſynonymous terms, and ever-growing jargon, that is at preſent, the embarraſſment and reproach of their favourite ſcience.

All who are, or would wiſh to be thought Naturaliſts, certainly ought to conſider, that the beſt poſſible mode of claſſification, the Linnæan ſyſtem not excepted, is after all, only an introduction to Natural Hiſtory; and the Naturaliſt who goes no farther, hardly deſerves that name: he embraces a cloud for a goddeſs, quits a ſubſtance for a ſhadow, ſubſtitutes the means in place of the end of the ſcience, brings the ſtudy of it into diſrepute and contempt, and proſecutes the knowledge of Natural Hiſtory as if he conceived it to be only a mere vocabulary. The ingenious and indefatigable Linnæus, who ſpent his life in fabricating the curious ſyſtem of claſſification now in vogue, intended it certainly for the advancement of Natural Hiſtory, as a baſis for the ſervice of knowledge and the benefit of mankind. But ſurely ſome of his admirers ſeem to have overlooked his views, and taken the ſcaffold for the building; or if the writer is miſtaken in this opinion, there can be no harm in expreſſing a wiſh, that the lovers of Natural Hiſtory, would in the proſecution of the ſcience, think of the true ends of knowledge, and endeavour to promote their own inſtruction, and the advancement of others, and not purſue it from mere curioſity, or only for the arrangement of objects, but chiefly with a view to their application to the occaſions and uſes of life, all along conducting and perfecting the ſtudy in the ſpirit of benevolence.

Perhaps it may be of more uſe, ſome time or other, than is commonly apprehended, to define, with preciſion, the claſs, order, genus, ſpecies, ſex, family, and habitation of a plant, for example, if poſſible with all its varieties; but why, in the mean while, ſhould the plant itſelf remain, I ſay not uſeleſs [for certainly nothing in nature is ſo], but unuſeful, and no attention be paid after aſcertaining and arranging it, to diſcover, by experiment, its virtue as a

or, as we may reaſonably infer from the concluſion of another letter from his couſin Richard Salwey, dated London, June 30, 1681.

N. B. In a marginal note on the preceding article, p. 323, the word *maclaer* is miſinterpreted. In the Flemiſh language, this word variouſly ſpelt, *makalaer*, or *maclaer*, &c. ſignifies a broker, a factor, an agent, a man that deals in trade on commiſſion, &c.

[*CC*] *Antiquities, &c.*] *Old*, *ancient*, and *antique*, heighten the ſignification of one another. A faſhion is *old* when it ceaſes to be followed; it is *ancient* when the uſe of it is entirely laid aſide; and it is *antique*, or *antiquated*, when it has been a long time *ancient*. *Oldneſs* refers to age, *ancientneſs* refers to families, and ANTIQUITIES to things that have exiſted in times far remote from our own.

dye,

dye, its benefit as a food, cloathing, or phyſic to man, or its ſerviceableneſs in whatever way to him, or to any of all the multitude of animals ſubſervient to his uſe, or miniſterial to his pleaſure. But even during this æra of apparently mere claſſification, Natural Hiſtory may in reality have been advanced, or advancing, and therefore, with theſe hints only, certainly well intended, the preſent writer paſſes, very willingly, from a theme ſo unpleaſant, with a ſincere wiſh, and in great hopes, that it may become every day leſs and leſs neceſſary for any perſon to reſume it.

Mr. Courten proſecuted the ſtudy of Natural Hiſtory in the moſt uſeful way, and to its full extent; and he collected, diſpoſed, and communicated the various objects of it, with ſolicitude, judgment, and liberality. Some inſtances of this the reader may collect from what has been ſaid, to which I ſhall only add the following. Among his apparently earlieſt MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, there is a methodical treatiſe on the *aſbeſtos*, and of the beſt methods of applying it to various uſeful purpoſes, in Latin, certainly in the hand-writing of Mr. Courten; but whether it is altogether original, or only tranſcribed with obſervations and remarks, from the papers of Dr. Liſter, Dr. Plot, &c. publiſhed about that time, on the ſame ſubject, the preſent writer not having ſeen them all, cannot pretend to determine.

When Mr. Courten could only be about the age of fourteen, his name appears in the liſt of benefactors to "TRADESCANT's Ark"[*DD*]; for the "*Muſeum Tradeſcantianum*" was publiſhed in 1656, 12*mo*. and contains an account of the plants, ſhrubs, and trees in the extenſive Botanical Garden of this family, as well as a Catalogue of their Muſeum properly ſo called. When this early collection, after remaining for ſome time in the poſſeſſion of Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; who augmented it very conſiderably, became, by that learned and worthy Gentleman's bounty, a kind of public property, by being depoſited at Oxford, where it might beſt anſwer the ends of judicious enquirers through all ſucceeding ages, Mr. Courten continued to be a generous contributor to it, and in a variety of ways, as appears from the authentic teſtimonial given below [*EE*].

Mr. Courten's own Muſeum remains to this day, and may be ſtill ſeen *very freely*, and probably much in the ſtate he left it, though improved, as may well be ſuppoſed, and now arranged for the moſt part, to greater advantage, according to the Linnæan ſyſtem. Of his curious collection, it is now impoſſible to aſcertain the exact Catalogues, or the preciſe value. None of all the preſent catalogues that this writer has ſeen, though differently written, appear to be in Mr. Courten's hand-writing, nor are they made in his way, or indeed in any very accurate or ſcientific manner. Swelled with ſhort and unſcholar-like hiſtories and accounts of their contents, they amount, it is ſaid, in all, to thirty-eight volumes *in folio*, and eight volumes *in quarto*; but the preſent writer has not ſeen the whole number of them, nor even examined what he ſaw very particularly.

[*DD*] "TRADESCANT's *Ark*."] One of the earlieſt Muſeums formed in this country, in a ſcientific way, by very intelligent collectors, and with liberal and public-ſpirited views, was ſo called from the name of the Flemiſh family who formed it. The curious are referred, for farther information about it, to the "*Muſeum Tradeſcantianum*" mentioned in the text, 179 pages, excluſively of the long liſt of benefactors, which is not very ſcarce, or very dear, except on account of the two fine prints of the original collectors, by Hollar, prefixed, which, during the late and preſent humour of preſerving the heads of eminent men, have raiſed it, without any conſideration of the curious publication itſelf, to the price of one guinea. The two John Tradeſcants, father and ſon, whom theſe two prints repreſent, certainly well deſerve to be better known, for their early and eminent ſervices to Botany in particular, and to Natural Hiſtory in general, which they laboured expenſively, and not unſucceſsfully, to promote in this country. The reader is referred for the fulleſt account that has hitherto been given of them, to the additional notes in the firſt volume of the laſt edition of the TATLER, with biographical, hiſtorical, and critical annotations, p.435, *& ſeqq*. To this firſt Catalogue that the preſent writer has ever ſeen of a Muſeum, printed probably by John Mayler, next ſucceeds, ſo far as he knows, in 1664, and in 12*mo*. likewiſe, "A catalogue of "the many *natural* rarities, with great induſtry, coſt, "and thirty years travel into foreign parts, collected "by Robert Hubert, *alias* Forges, Gent. and ſworn "ſervant to his Majeſty, and daily to be ſeen at the "place called the Muſic Houſe, at the Mitre, near "the Weſt end of St. Paul's Church-Yard." Of this Collector, and his place of abode, the curious may ſee a more particular account in the edition of the TATLER, *ut ſupra*, N°. 221, Vol.VI. p.33, *Note*. Sir J. Hawkins affirms, on the authority of Mr. Oldys, that HUBERT's *Muſeum* came at laſt into the poſſeſſion of Sir Hans Sloane, moſt probably with Mr. Courten's ſuperior collection, of which it might be ſome part. Of the following very rare book, or of the collection it announces, the preſent writer knows nothing but the title given on the authority in the margin (29). "*Catalogus Muſei inſtructiſſimi*. By "the induſtrious labour of *Johannes Jacobus Swammer-*"*dam*, Apothecary, at Lambeth," 1679, 8*vo*. 143 pages. About the ſame time Mr. John Coniers, an ingenious and intelligent Apothecary, who lived in Shoe-Lane, and in whoſe hand-writing there are ſundry and very curious original MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, formed with much aſſiduity, with unqueſtionable ſkill, and at great expence, another collection of Natural Hiſtory, but chiefly of Antiquities; and in 1691, he made a propoſal to the public, of opening it for general inſpection. Such as are curious to know more of this, are referred for a farther account of it to "The Athenian Mercury," Vol.IV. N°. 16. Nov. 21, 1691. Printed for John Dunton, at the Raven in the Poultry, *in folio*. See alſo TATLER with Notes, &c. Vol. VI. p. 336, and *Adv*.

(29) Ha l.MSS. Bagf. 5979.

[*EE*] *The authentic teſtimonial given below*.] It is endorſed, not in the hand-writing of Mr. Courten, but by ſome other writer, "A copy of the regiſter "of your benefaction at Oxford."

'*Gulielmus Charleton è Medio Templo*, London, *Armiger, rerum naturalium rariorum, domi foriſque, ubique gentium explorator ſagaciſſimus: hujus Muſei inſtructiſſimi quaſi conſummationem intentaret; eidem e penu ſuo* CUMULATISSIMO, *Zyganam piſcem integram, varias tum Coralliorum, tum Conchyliorum ſpecies, numiſmata item non-nulla (plurium pignora) piè ſacravit* (30).'

(30) Brit. Muſ. Bibl. Sloan. MSS. 3962. Plut.

From

From what has been ſaid, however, the reader may poſſibly be inclined to believe, with the writer of this article, that Mr. Courten's collection was choice and valuable; nor is it very unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it might nearly amount to the full price that was afterwards given to the heirs of his generous and bountiful executor for the Muſeum, augmented no doubt, in very many reſpects, but diminiſhed, as has been mentioned, in one reſpect at leaſt, on which certainly, its value greatly depended, and on which it was chiefly eſtimated.

It remained for about half a century after the death of Mr. Courten, in the poſſeſſion of his executor and reſiduary legatee, who certainly added very much to it, and was then purchaſed in 1753, for the uſe of the public, without ſo much as the mention of the name of its firſt, and moſt ſcientific collector and proprietor, ſo far as appears in the whole courſe of the tranſaction, for 20,000*l.* though the coins and precious ſtones alone, were ſaid to be of that value (*a*). It is now preſerved with the Cottonian, Edwardian, and other public Libraries, the Harleian and other MSS. a liberal royal donation of books and pamphlets, the curious collections of Sir William Hamilton, from Herculaneum and Italy, of Sir Joſeph Banks and Dr. Solander, from the Iſlands in the South Seas, and a very conſiderable and accumulating treaſure of other occaſional donations of printed books, MSS. coins, and various objects for the illuſtration of ancient times, and Natural Hiſtory, at the national expence, in the Britiſh Muſeum.

(*a*) It was eſtimated altogether, the library included, at 50,000*l.*

There is a memorable clauſe in the preamble to the Act of Parliament for the purchaſe of this Muſeum, which the reader may not be diſpleaſed to find here, as it is not foreign to the purpoſe of this article: "Whereas all Arts and Sciences have a connection with each "other, and diſcoveries in Natural Philoſophy and other branches of ſpeculative know-"ledge [for the advancement and improvement whereof, this Muſeum was intended] do, "and may, in many inſtances, give help and ſucceſs to the moſt uſeful experiments and "inventions; therefore, to the end that the ſaid Muſeum may be preſerved and main-"tained, not only for the inſpection and entertainment of the learned and the curious, but "for the general uſe and benefit of the publick: May it pleaſe your Majeſty to enact, "and be it enacted, That out of all or any of the monies to be raiſed by virtue of this "Act, the full and clear ſum of twenty thouſand pounds, lawful money of Great Britain, "ſhall be paid to the executors of Sir Hans Sloane, &c."

This very juſt ſentiment, if not borrowed from Cicero, we find in his fine oration for Archias the Poet; and he has expreſſed it with the accuracy of a Philoſopher, and the curious felicity of a man of genius. '*Omnes artes—habent quoddam com-*'*mune vinculum, & quaſi cognatione quadam inter ſe continentur.*'

This judicious conſideration anticipates and obviates, in a ſatisfactory manner, the frivolous objections to a public proviſion of this nature, which generally originate in illiberality and narrowneſs of mind, and ought to keep wit from over-running judgment in eſtimating inconſiderately, the comparative value of the various branches of ſcience. To form ſuch eſtimates juſtly, requires an impartiality, a greater compaſs of knowledge, and more patient deliberation than is commonly poſſeſſed. *Non omnia poſſumus omnes*; and even ſcholars eminently diſtinguiſhed in various branches of literature, are apt to err, and to be too precipitate, and too peremptory in this reſpect. There is a proneneſs to over-rate what we have acquired, to under-value what we have not attained, and to diſlike and deſpiſe what we have neglected, which ought to be guarded againſt, as it often diſcourages ſtudy, betrays ignorance, and ſuggeſts objections that recoil to the reproach of the objectors.

The purchaſe in queſtion generouſly offered at leſs than half its value, if it had been rejected, would have been ſtill more diſgraceful to this nation, than the loſs of Voſſius's fine library, ſuppoſed to have been the beſt private library then in the world, concerning which the preſent writer takes this opportunity, to give a little information below [*FF*], omitted, or unobſerved by the biographer of Isaac Vossius, in the firſt edition of this work.

The acquiſition of Mr. Courten's collection, augmented, as has been ſaid, in books and various reſpects by his worthy executor, and through his liberality offered, at a price ſo inadequate to its real value, the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of it for public uſe, is very honourable to this nation, and appears to be an act of true wiſdom and ſound policy.

[*FF*] *A little information below, &c.*] "The "library of Voſſius, in which were a great many "Greek MSS. beſides five hundred printed books "as ſcarce as any MS. was offered to our Univerſity "at Oxford, but unhappily loſt through miſma-"nagement. The moſt ancient of his MSS. Voſſius "had begged of Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden (31), "and theſe he had from time to time tranſcribed by "the hands of one Faulkner, a Scotchman, which "he ſold to the King of France, and for ſome years "together, made little leſs than one hundred "pounds *per annum* (32)."

(31) See Biog. Brit. Art. Vossius, (Iſaac).

This fine library, the joint collection of Iſaac Voſſius and of his father John Gerard Voſſius a more judicious ſcholar, was ſuffered to be purchaſed, and carried out of this kingdom by the Univerſity of Leyden, to the great ſhame and reproach of England. Gabriel Naudeus, who publiſhed in Latin, in 1644, "Inſtructions concerning erecting a Library," never ſaw, it ſeems, this curious library of Voſſius, though he ſays he had often importuned Profeſſor Perizonius to procure him that pleaſure (33).

(32) Harl. MSS. 5911.

(33) "Inſtruc-"tions concern-"ing the erect-"ing of a Libra-"ry, written by "Gabr. Naudé, "publiſhed in "Engliſh, with "ſome Im-"provements, "By John Evelyn, "Eſq; Lond. 1661, "8vo. It is but "fair to obſerve, "that Naudeus's "book on this "ſubject, though a "good one, could "not but admit "and ſtand in "need of improve-"ments, almoſt "20 years after its "publication.

In

In all ages it has been an object of political attention, and ought to be ſo for ever in every civilized and wiſe nation, to promote uſeful learning, to cheriſh liberal arts, and facilitate the ſtudy by ſupplying the ſtudents of them, with ſuitable aſſiſtances of books, MSS. enticing materials, and every fitting encouragement. The kings of this world do really imitate the King of kings, and are truly his vicegerents on earth, when they are thus his miniſters for good to their people, and bleſs them by opening fountains of uſeful inſtruction, elegant enjoyment, or innocent amuſement. By the erection of Libraries and Muſeums in their dominions, they build permanent temples to their own glory, and ſecure to themſelves a ſort of honourable immortality, by furniſhing the means, and patroniſing the inſtruments of it.

Public libraries ſeem, indeed, to be as neceſſary as public walks; for "reading is to the "mind what exerciſe is to the body; as by the one health is preſerved, ſtrengthened, "and invigorated; by the other Virtue, which is the health of the mind, is kept alive, "cheriſhed and confirmed (*)." In an age when the expence of living is ſo increaſed and increaſing, that buying books is the firſt article of expence retrenched, that large libraries are got beyond the reach of moſt ſcholars, and even muſeums in miniature are become imprudent becauſe over-coſtly purſuits for individuals, the convenience and felicity of this public proviſion for mental improvement, and intellectual gratifications, are likely to become more and more ſenſibly felt, and to be more generally reſorted to by people of different ranks in life, for filling up with pleaſure and profit the accidental intervals of leiſure, in ways that may contribute to their delight in retirement, their ornament in company, and their ability in buſineſs. It would be lamentable indeed, and a ſubject of equal concern and reproach, if in a kingdom where no encouragement is withheld from leſs laudable ſchemes of paſtime and frivolous amuſement, an eſtabliſhment in favour of more manly, more rational, more elegant, and more uſeful employment ſhould be objected to on the ſcore of expence, or fail for want of ſupport.

(*) Addison.

Beſides what might be urged in recommendation of a Muſeum well furniſhed with coins, &c. &c. arranged with propriety for the illuſtration of hiſtory and ancient times, a judicious and well-aſſorted collection of animal, vegetable, and mineral objects, may truly and devoutly be conſidered as A *Sanctuary of* God, filled with numberleſs pleaſing and inſtructive evidences of his adorable goodneſs, wiſdom and power, properly furniſhed and ordered for free and general inſpection, to attract rational notice and ſerious examination, to excite, enliven, and confirm in the minds and hearts of all beholders, the moſt pious and ſalutary impreſſions of the Creator, Preſerver, and Governor of all. In this view it is unqueſtionably well worthy of national attention and expence, as being evidently a great good mean of adding many to the number, and much to the degrees of our pureſt enjoyments, of making good ſubjects, by making good men, and of extending the boundaries of ſcience in every way imaginable. The pious, the conſiderate, the curious, the idle, and the gay, as they reſort to it promiſcuouſly, may be benefited there, in an almoſt infinite variety of ways; and people of genius, by lucky and random-ſtrokes of ingenuity, may draw luminous ſparks from one thing and another, ſufficient to point out ways and means of applying them happily to purpoſes of uſe, conveniency, and ornament, and thereby to diſcover new methods of leſſening the evils, of alleviating the labours, and of multiplying or enlivening the pleaſures of human life.

As it is the profeſſed intention of this work to promote knowledge, and the love of it, as well as to celebrate merit in *every way*, there needs no apology for this, or any ſimilar digreſſion, in the courſe of this article. The preſent writer, well aware of the nature and ſcantineſs of any information that can now be given, or obtained, of Mr. Courten, would not have undertaken ſo barren a ſubject, but chiefly in conſideration of this ſcientific man's purſuits, and of his Muſeum, now the property of the public, which furniſhed collateral matter for a proper article in this work, and a fair occaſion of enlarging on parts of knowledge that have at times been ignorantly undervalued, and even invidiouſly treated, with a degree of abſurd rudeneſs and indignity, tending alike, in his opinion, to the diminution of the innocent and elegant amuſements of life, and to the general prejudice of uſeful ſcience.

It ſeems difficult to account for the twenty-five years, which Sir Hans Sloane ſays Mr. Courten ſpent abroad, without ſuppoſing that he reviſited Montpellier, and lived beyond ſea for a year or two, after his return to England in or about 1684. The laſt fourteen or fifteen years of his life he paſſed in chambers at the Temple, promoting the knowledge of Natural Hiſtory, and exhibiting his collection *gratis*, in an inſtructive manner, of which the reader may form ſome idea from what has been ſaid. Latterly the declining ſtate of his health obliged him to practiſe more abſtemiouſneſs than was agreeable to his convivial turn; and for ſeveral years he was under the neceſſity of abſtaining almoſt entirely from wine and all ſpirituous liquors, in which, from a companionable diſpoſition, and in compliance with a faſhion then much more prevalent than at preſent, it ſeems that he indulged at times, rather too freely. He died at Kenſington Gravel-Pits, on the 26th of March, 1702, aged ſixty-three, and was buried in the church-yard of that pariſh. The inſcription on his monument there, which ſhall be given at the concluſion of this article,

cle, was compoſed by Sir Hans Sloane, who inherited by his will the bulk of his fortune. There is, moreover, in the Britiſh Muſeum, a paper written by this Baronet, which contains the following honourable teſtimony to Mr. Courten's character: "He was a man of the "greateſt integrity and benevolence, remarkably modeſt and inoffenſive, and a ſincere "believer in Chriſtianity."

The following paſſage in the life of Sir Hans Sloane, in the firſt edition of this work, gave riſe to this and the preceding article. It is certainly injurious to the memory of Mr. Courten, and contains an inſinuation or ſuggeſtion to the prejudice of his character, probably not intentional, which nothing, either in Sir Hans Sloane's laſt will, or in the *Eloge* quoted by the biographer, can juſtify. It is therefore neceſſary to take ſome notice of it here, to enable the future writer, or reviewer of Dr. Sloane's life, to ſtate it more unexceptionably, and in greater conſiſtency with accuracy and truth (*b*).

(*b*) Biog. Brit. vol. vi. part i. page 3702. Text Art. Sloane [Sir Hans.]

"Our Author's [Sir Hans Sloane's] thirſt for Natural Knowledge, ſeems to have been "born with him, ſo that his cabinet of rarities may be ſaid to have commenced with his "being. He was continually enriching and enlarging it; and the fame, which in a courſe "of years it had acquired, brought every thing that was curious in art or nature, to be "firſt offered to him for purchaſe. But theſe acquiſitions increaſed it but ſlowly, in "compariſon of the augmentation it received in 1701, by the death of William Courten, "Eſq; a Gentleman who had employed all his time, and the greateſt part of his fortune, "in collecting rarities, and who bequeathed his whole collection to Dr. Sloane, on condi- "tion that he ſhould pay certain legacies and debts with which he had charged it (*c*). Our "Author [Sir Hans Sloane] accepted the condition and performed the will of the Donor "punctually: on which account, there are ſome who do not ſcruple to ſay, he purchaſed (*d*) *Ib.* ELOGE. "Mr. Courten's curioſities *at a dear rate* (*d*)."

(*c*) Sir Hans Sloane's laſt will.

The article from which the preceding paſſage is quoted, was written, as the ſignature indicates, by Dr. Philip Nicholls, who ſeems to have known what he has not ſaid, though moſt probably true, that Dr. Sloane's *Cabinet of Curioſities*, notwithſtanding its *commencement with his being*, and all *its enrichments*, and all its *enlargements*, was ſtill comparatively inconſiderable, before the *augmentation*, as it is called, received in 1701 [he ſhould have ſaid in 1702] by the death of Mr. Courten. It appears moſt probable from Dr. Sloane's own teſtimony, that he collected principally, not long before this time, for Mr. Courten's muſeum, poſſibly with the hopes, and in the proſpect of benefit from the ſurvivorſhip, for he was eighteen years younger than his friend. It does not appear that the Doctor's own cabinet of curioſities had acquired the fame advantageous to it, as his biographer mentions, before 1702. That year, which was the firſt of its junction with Mr. Courten's Muſeum, was moſt probably the commencement of the æra of its celebrity.

It is left, and recommended to the future writer or reviewer of Dr. Sloane's life, to examine the laſt will and the *eloge* quoted by Dr. Nicholls, *ut ſupra*, the conſideration of which does not properly belong to this article; though it ſeems neceſſary to obſerve here, that whereas Dr. Sloane's biographer, in the fore-cited paſſage, would lead his reader to believe, that Mr. Courten died poor, and in debt, for the payment of which, his creditors were beholden to an exertion of Dr. Sloane's generoſity and friendſhip for the deceaſed, the real fact was certainly otherwiſe. Mr. Courten died rich, and contributed very conſiderably to the enrichment of Dr. Sloane, in appointing him, by his laſt will, his executor, with a legacy of 200*l.* for his trouble, and the benefit of being his reſiduary legatee. This appears to have been the truth of the caſe; and though the preſent writer has not ſeen Sir Hans Sloane's *will*, or his *eloge*, he is nevertheleſs confident that there can be nothing in them to diſprove it. The following ſhort account of an atteſted copy of Mr. Courten's will, extracted from the Regiſtry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, is amply ſufficient to prove all this, and to ſhew that Dr. Sloane, inſtead of purchaſing Mr. Courten's Muſeum *at a dear rate*, acquired, at this Gentleman's death, a very conſiderable acceſſion to his fortune, though it is now impoſſible to aſcertain the value of it with preciſion. The authentic paper from which the account is given, this writer will depoſit in the Britiſh Muſeum, to throw ſome light on the ſtory of its original collector, and to be preſerved with the other vouchers for the truth of what has been advanced in the hiſtorical part of this and the preceding articles.

Mr. Courten's laſt will is dated March 10, 1701-2: of the three codicils annexed to it, the firſt is dated March 20, 1701-2; the ſecond is dated March 22, 1701-2; and the laſt bears the date of March 23, 1701-2, only three days before Mr. Courten's death; and the probate is dated April 4, 1702, in which Dr. Sloane is expreſsly prohibited, for whatever reaſon, from intermeddling with the goods, &c. of the Honourable Elizabeth, Counteſs Dowager of Exeter lately deceaſed, or with the eſtates of Mr. Courten's father, or grandfather.

1. *Imprimis*. "Mr. Courten appoints his after-named executor to ſell and diſpoſe of "what goods of any ſort, or other perſonal eſtate he ſhould leave behind him, to the beſt "advantage, in order to pay the debts and bequeſts mentioned in the ſequel of his will, "except ſuch particular things as he diſpoſes of otherwiſe by his will."

2. "Mr.

2. " Mr. Courten ſtates the whole amount of his debts, which he orders to be paid " with all convenient ſpeed, at the exact ſum of two hundred and forty-eight pounds, " ſix ſhillings and eight-pence ſterling, and no more."

3. Mr. Courten mentions a number of little legacies in ſmall ſums of money, ſome of which he revokes, augments, and alters variouſly, in the codicils annexed to his will. The ſum total of them ſhall be given in the ſequel, and the reader, if curious, is referred for farther particulars, to the will itſelf in the Britiſh Muſeum, to the ſignature, ſealing, and publication of which, Bernard Lintott the bookſeller, ſubſcribes his name as one of the three witneſſes (*e*).

(*e*) The names of the other two witneſſes are Thomas Bever and John Morgan.

4. The following are the expreſs words of Mr. Courten's will relative to Dr. Sloane: " The reſidue of my eſtate, above what will pay my debts and other legacies, I give to " my executor; and I do hereby appoint Doctor Hans Sloane, of the pariſh of St. Giles " in the Fields, to be the ſole executor of this my laſt will and teſtament."

5. The firſt codicil, dated *ut ſupra*, diſcovers that Mr. Courten was entitled, after the death of his aunt, Lady Knightley, to two mortgages, of which there is no mention made in his preceding will. The firſt mortgage, dated July 7, 1685, for the ſum of 1000*l.* the ſecond, dated Nov. 29, in the year preceding Mr. Courten's death, for 400*l.* Both theſe mortgages were ſecured to his aunt Dame Ann Knightley, who was to have the intereſt of both the aforeſaid ſums during her life, the preciſe date of which, at the time when this codicil was added, the reader may aſcertain by looking back to an atteſted certificate of her baptiſm given in the foregoing article.

6. The following bequeſt to Dr. Sloane is given in the expreſs words of the teſtator: " I do hereby will and deviſe to my executor two hundred pounds, in conſideration of " his great trouble."

7. In the ſame firſt codicil of the 20th of March 170$\frac{1}{2}$, Mr. Courten alters, in ſundry reſpects, his former will, augments generally the ſums of his legacies, and increaſes the number of his legatees, by the addition of Mr. John Gibbes of Mellington, Dr. Paul of Montpellier, and Dr. Sherwood. The ſignature, &c. of this codicil is atteſted by three different witneſſes (*).

(*) Theodore Rivett, John Cumberford, and George Scott.

8. What has been called the ſecond codicil, dated two days after the firſt, is only a memorandum annexed to the firſt codicil, and relative ſolely to Dr. Sloane; it is conceived in the following terms, and given here entire.

" Memorandum, That it is my intention and meaning, that the ſeveral ſums or legacies " given by this codicil" [*meaning the preceding codicil, dated March* 20,] " to my will, ſhould be " paid by my executor therein named, ſo ſoon as the two ſums of one thouſand pounds and " four hundred pounds mentioned in this codicil, wherein I have intereſt, ſhall be paid my " executor, *and no ſooner*. Dated the two and twentieth day of March, 170$\frac{1}{2}$. William " Courten. Signed, ſealed, and publiſhed by the teſtator, in the preſence of us who ſub- " ſcribed the ſame in his preſence. *John Cumberford, Thomas Smith, John Chandler.*"

9. The third codicil relates likewiſe ſolely to Dr. Sloane, and is therefore given entire, and *verbatim*, from the authenticated copy, *ut ſupra*.

" Whereas I William Courten, of the Middle Temple, London, Eſq; have made my " laſt will and teſtament in writing, and have conſtituted and appointed Hans Sloane, " Doctor in Phyſick, ſole executor thereof, and have made a codicil thereto. Now I, the " ſaid William Courten, do hereby give and bequeath unto the ſaid Hans Sloane, his exe- " cutors and adminiſtrators, to his and their own uſe and benefit, all the reſt and reſidue " of my perſonal and teſtamentary eſtate whatſoever, after the payment of my debts, lega- " cies and funeral expences, and I deſire this may be added as a further codicil to my " ſaid will. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeal this three and " twentieth day of March, *anno Domini* 1701, William Courten. Signed, ſealed, pub- " liſhed, and delivered in the preſence of us, *John Cumberford, Thomas Smith, John* " *Chandler.*"

Mr. Courten's bequeſts and debts, taken all together, amounted to no more than 2,020*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ſterling. To pay this ſum, his executor had in money ſecured on two mortgages to Dame Ann Knightley, and payable at the death of that Lady then aged eighty-eight [*GG*], fourteen hundred pounds; and a legacy to himſelf

[GG] *Aged eighty-eight.*] This Lady did not out-live her nephew a full year, for ſhe died on the fifth of Feb. 1702-3; the following account of her, extracted from a recent publication, contains ſome curious information, and comes very ſeaſonably to explain and confirm many parts of this article.

Ann, daughter of Sir William Courten, Knt. widow of Eſſex Devereux, Eſq; married for her ſecond huſband Richard Knightly, Eſq; of Fauſley in Northamptonſhire. Charles II. before his coronation, created Richard Knightley a Knight of the Bath, but Sir Richard did not long enjoy this honour, for he died June 29, 1661, and was buried in Fauſley Church. Sir Richard's firſt wife was a daughter of the celebrated *John Hampden* the patriot, by whom he had one ſon, Richard Knightley, who died unmarried at Paris aged 26; and one daughter, Elizabeth, who died when a child. By his ſecond wife *Ann*, daughter of Sir William Courten, Sir Richard had iſſue, 1. A ſon, named *Eſſex Knightley*, who was his heir, and married *Sarah*, daughter of T. Foley, Eſq; by whom he had a daughter named *Sarah*. He died in 1670 about the age of 22, and left this daughter *Sarah*, a rich heireſs, though ſhe did not inherit

ſelf of 200*l.* more. Dr. Sloane therefore being *ſole* executor and reſiduary legatee, might, or might not ſell, juſt as he pleaſed, and not chuſing to part with any thing, he judged it moſt prudent to ſecure to himſelf entirely Mr. Courten's Muſeum, &c. by paying the expences of his friend's funeral, and a ſum of 420*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Now in point of time, thirty years before this, it has been ſaid in the courſe of the narrative, and it may be ſeen from the Collector's own account of only a very few particulars then purchaſed, that this price was not even one half of the ſum, which Mr. Courten had then expended in three years only, and during the very worſt ſtate of his affairs, when he had the ſmalleſt, indeed no certain income, and was involved in the greateſt expence and ſolicitude (*f*).

(*f*) *Ut ſupra.* MSS. Sloan. 3988. Plut. xxxi. c.

It ought likewiſe to be obſerved, that Mr. Courten, as appears from the MS. referred to, had not then even begun to collect coins, &c. His Muſeum at that time was in it's very infancy; the part of it, probably not inconſiderable in ſuch an opulent mercantile family, which it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe came to him as an heirloom, augmented no doubt by the contributions of his friends, and his own preceding unappretiated collections, was not included in the eſtimate here ſpoken of; and for more than thirty ſucceſſive years, it is ſaid, that "he employed all his time, and the greateſt part of his fortune," in enriching and enlarging it.

Theſe things being conſidered, it may be fairly concluded, that the author of the *eloge*, wrote not like an hiſtorian, but as a declaimer, and abſolutely at random, if he has ſaid any thing to induce Dr. Nicholls, or any body to think, that Sir Hans Sloane purchaſed Mr. Courten's Muſeum "*at a dear rate.*"

Certainly it came to Dr. Sloane, as it did afterwards in its augmented ſtate to the public, very much under its original and real value. Sir Hans bears an honourable teſtimony to the ſingular modeſty of his friend; and conſidering the benevolent caſt of this ſcientific Gentleman's character, it is not improbable, that it was Mr. Courten's deſire, as well as Dr. Sloane's intereſt, that the Muſeum ſhould be kept entire, that it ſhould devolve at a great under-value to his friend and executor, and even that it might ultimately be ſettled according to its final deſtination, as the property of the public, at a price very much reduced.

It detracts nothing, certainly it is not meant to detract any thing, from the merit and patriotiſm of the great improver, and immediate donor of the Muſeum, to think that his bounty might originate in the generoſity, and grow out of the public kindneſs, and national friendſhip of its firſt Collector. It does not indeed clearly appear that this was actually the caſe, from any direct proof now viſible, or hitherto ſeen; but unqueſtionably Mr. Courten on his death-bed intimated deſires, and recommended things to his executor, not mentioned in the written will, which his worthy friend nevertheleſs obſerved as a will, and performed religiouſly.

The following epitaph contains one proof of this, which ſhall be given, with a reference to its proper place in the inſcription, as the concluſion of this article.

Juxta hic, ſub marmoreo tumulo,
Jacet Gulielmus COURTEN, *cui Gulielmus pater, Gulielmus avus* (*g*),
Mater Catherina, Johannis Comitis de Bridgewater filia,
Paternum vel ad Indos præclarum nomen.
Qui tantis haudquaquam degener parentibus,
Summa cum laude vitæ decurrit tramitem.
Gazarum per Europam indagator ſedulus,
Quas, hinc illinc ſibi partas, negavit nemini,
Sed cupientibus expoſuit humaniſſime,
Non avaræ mentis pabulum, ſed ingenii.
Si quid naturæ, ſi quid artis nobile opus,
Id quovis pretio ſuum eſſe voluit,
Ut Muſis lucidum conderet Sacrarium.
Aſt Morti hæc non ſunt curæ!
HIC *Muſarum cultor tam eximius,*
HIC *tam inſignis viator,*
Obiit, quievit, 7 *Kl. Apr.* A. D. 1702.
Vixit annos 62, *menſes* 11, *dies* 28.

(*g*) *Gulielmuſque proavus.*

inherit the eſtate of Fauſley, which went to his uncle Devereux Knightley, who died in 1681, and left it to a ſon of the name. *Sarah* the widow of Eſſex Knightley, married for her ſecond huſband, John Hampden, Eſq; grandſon to the patriot HAMPDEN. Sir Richard Knightley had likewiſe two daughters by Mr. Courten's aunt, 1. Elizabeth, who was married to Sir Edward Seabright, Bart. and 2. Jane, married to Sir Thomas Delves, Bart. In the book from which this intelligence is given, it is ſaid, that Lady Knightley, after being twice married, in the fortieth and ſecond year of her widowhood, died at the age of eighty-eight, but certainly ſhe had compleated her eighty-ninth year, for ſhe was baptized Jan. 17, 1614, as appears from the regiſter of her baptiſm given in the preceding article (35).

(35) NOBLE's "Memoirs of the Protectoral Houſe of Cromwell," vol. ii. p. 96, and 97. 2d. edit. Birmingham, 1787, 2 vols. 8vo.

Pompa,

Pompa, quam vivus fugit, ne mortuo fieret,
Teſtamento cavit [*HH*].
Sed hoc qualecunque Monumentum,
Et quam potuit immortalitatem
Bene merenti, mœrens dedit.
Hans Sloane, M. D.

[*HH*] *Teſtamento cavit.*] It ſeems probable, that Sir Hans had mentioned his intention of erecting a monument to Mr. Courten's memory, in Weſtminſter-Abbey; and that Mr. Courten, diſliking the propoſal, had expreſsly requeſted of his friend not to do it; for it is very certain there is no mention made of this in Mr. Courten's written will.

From what has been ſaid, it appears that Mr. Courten muſt have had no inconſiderable fortune, to enable him to live like a Gentleman, and to leave behind him beſides his Muſeum, a ſum in money, of 1,400 *l.* There were two papers, containing accurate ſtatements of Mr. Courten's *accompts* for two years, tranſcribed for publication, which went nigh to aſcertain with preciſion, both his annual income, and his ſiſter's livelihood. But as it is judged improper to ſwell this account by inſerting them, the reader can only be referred to the originals in the Britiſh Muſeum, MSS. Sloan. 3962: and to the ſame repoſitory and MS. the curious muſt go, it ſeems, for a ſight of the letters ſigned, P. SALWEY, and other vouchers intended to have formed the note [*D*] ſo often referred to, but nevertheleſs omitted in this article.]

C. N.

COURTNEY (WILLIAM), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of King Richard II. was the fourth ſon of Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonſhire, by Margaret, daughter of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford and Eſſex, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward I (*a*). and was born in the year 1341 (*b*). He had his education at Oxford, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Law. Afterwards, entring into Holy Orders, he obtained three Prebends in three Cathedral Churches, *viz.* thoſe of Bath, Exeter, and York (*c*). The nobility of his birth, and his eminent learning, recommending him to public notice, in the reign of Edward III. he was promoted, in 1369, to the See of Hereford (*d*), and thence tranſlated to the See of London, September the 12th 1375, being then in the 34th year of his age (*e*). In a Synod, held at London in 1376, Biſhop Courtney diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to the King's demand of a ſubſidy [*A*]; and preſently after he fell under the diſpleaſure of the High Court of Chancery, for publiſhing a Bull of Pope Gregory II. without the King's conſent [*B*]. The next year, in obedience to the Pope's mandate, he cited Wickliff to appear before his tribunal in St. Paul's Church: but that hereſiarch being accompanied by John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, and other nobles, who ſecretly favoured his opinions [*C*], the Biſhop

(a) Parnes's Life of King Ed. III. Cambr. 1688, p. 904.

(b) *This appears from his age at the time of his promotion to the See of London.*

(c) M. Parker, *De Antiq. Eccleſ. Brit.* Ed. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 398.

(d) *Id. ib.* & Godwin, *De Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Heref. an.* 1369.

(e) *Regiſtr.* Sudbury.

[*A*] *He oppoſed the King's demand of a ſubſidy.*] He laid before the Synod a written account of ſome injuries offered to him, and William Wickham Biſhop of Wincheſter, and conjured the clergy not to grant the ſubſidy required, till ſatisfaction was made for them. The Synod hereupon being divided, the King could not obtain a ſubſidy, till he had given hopes of redreſs; which however he thought no more of after the breaking up of the Synod (1).

(1) M. Parker, *De Antiq. Eccleſ. Brit.* Ed. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 383; and Wharton, *De Epiſc. &c. Lond.* London, 1695, 8vo. p. 137.

[*B*] *He publiſhed a Bull of Pope Gregory II. without the King's conſent.*] The Affair was this: Pope Gregory II. had lately excommunicated the Florentines, and had diſpatched his Bulls every where, ordering their effects to be ſeized. The Biſhop of London, without conſulting the King, publiſhed the Pope's Bull at Paul's Croſs, and gave the populace licence to plunder the houſes of ſuch Florentines as were in the City. The Lord Mayor hereupon, reſtraining the violence of the people, clapped a ſeal on the doors of the Florentines, and conducted them to the King, who took them into his protection. Afterwards, by order of the King, the Biſhop of Exeter, Lord High Chancellor, ſummoned the Biſhop of London into the Court of Chancery, to anſwer for having dared to publiſh the Pope's Bull, without conſent of the King and Council, and contrary to the laws of the land. Courtney pleaded the Pope's authority and command. But the Chancellor gave ſentence, that he ſhould either forfeit his temporalities, or revoke his words with his own mouth. With ſome difficulty the Biſhop of London obtained, that he might re-call them by one of his officers; and accordingly an Official mounted Paul's Croſs, and addreſſed the people in theſe words: *My Lord ſaid nothing about the Interdict: it is ſtrange you ſhould miſunderſtand, who hear ſo many ſermons from this place* (2).

(2) *Chronic. Eulogium dictum.* apud Wharton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 138.

[*C*] *The Duke of Lancaſter, and other Nobles, ſecretly favoured* Wickliff's *opinions.*] This appeared openly by their behaviour upon this occaſion. The Duke of Lancaſter, the Lord Marſhal Percy, and others, countenanced Wickliff by their preſence in the Biſhop of London's Court. There was a vaſt concourſe of people about St. Paul's Church, ſo that the Lord Percy could not paſs through the crowd without difficulty. Courtney was alarmed at Wickliff's appearance in ſo extraordinary a manner: upon which there enſued the following dialogue between the Biſhop and the two Lords above-mentioned; which I ſhall ſet down in Fox's language (*).

(*) Acts and Monuments.

'*Biſhop Courtney.* Lord *Percy*, if I had known before hand what maſteries you wou'd have kept, I wou'd have ſtopt you out from coming hither.

'*Duke of Lancaſter.* He ſhall keep ſuch maſteries here, tho' you ſay nay.

'*Lord Percy. Wickliff*, ſit down, for you have many things to anſwer to, and therefore have need of a ſoft ſeat.

'*Biſhop Courtney.* It is unreaſonable that one cited before his Ordinary ſhould ſit down during his anſwer; he ſhall ſtand.

'*Duke of Lancaſter.* The Lord *Percy*'s motion for Wickliff is but reaſonable. And as for you my Lord Biſhop, who are grown ſo proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you only, but of all the prelacy in England. Thou beareſt thyſelf ſo; brag upon thy parents, which ſhall not be able to help thee; they ſhall have enough to do to help themſelves.

'*Biſhop Courtney.* My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any man elſe, but only in God in whom I truſt, by whoſe aſſiſtance I will be bold to ſpeak the truth.

'*Duke of Lancaſter.* Rather than take theſe words at the Biſhop's hands, I'll pluck him by the hair of the head out of the church.'

Theſe laſt words, though ſpoken ſoftly by the Duke to one next him, were over-heard by the Londoners, who, being enraged to ſee their Biſhop thus uſed, would have torn the Duke to pieces, had not Courtney interpoſed, and checked their fury. However they could not be reſtrained from marching directly to the Duke of Lancaſter's Palace in the Savoy,

Biſhop proceeded no farther than to enjoin him and his followers ſilence (*f*). In 1378, it is pretended, that Courtney was made a Cardinal [*D*]. In 1381, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England (*g*). The ſame year, he was tranſlated to the See of Canterbury (*h*), in the room of Simon Sudbury [*E*]; and on the 6th of May 1382, he received the Pall from the hands of the Biſhop of London in the Archiepiſcopal Palace at Croydon. This year alſo he performed the ceremony of crowning Queen Anne, conſort of King Richard II. at Weſtminſter (*i*). Soon after his inauguration, he reſtrained, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, the bailiffs, and other officers, of the See of Canterbury, from taking cognizance of adultery and the like crimes [*F*]. About the ſame time, he held a Synod at London, in which ſeveral of Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous [*G*]. In 1383, he held a ſynod at Oxford, in which a ſubſidy was granted to the King [*H*]. The ſame year, in purſuance of the Pope's Bull directed to him for that purpoſe, he iſſued

(*f*) Walſingham, *Hiſt. Angl.* p. 192, *apud* Wharton, *De Epiſc. &c. Lond.* 1695, p. 139.

(*g*) Dugdale, *Chr. Servient.* p. 52.

(*h*) *Regiſtr.* Courtney.

(*i*) Harpsfield, *Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. Duaci*, 1622, p. 536.

which they plundered, and were preparing to ſet fire to it; when the Biſhop, leaving his dinner, haſtened to the Savoy, and, by his preſence and intreaties, quieted the tumult, and ſaved the Duke's houſe (3). And here we cannot but take notice of the generous and Chriſtian temper of the Biſhop of London, in appearing thus heartily in behalf of the Duke of Lancaſter, after he had been ſo lately outraged by him. Nor is the zeal of the Londoners, and their affection for their Biſhop ſhewn on this occaſion, leſs remarkable.

(3) Harpsfield, *Hiſtor. Wickleff. in calc. Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. Duaci.* 1622, p. 683; & *Walſing. Hiſt. Angl.* p. 191, 192, *Apud* Wharton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 138, 139.

[*D*] *It is pretended, that he was created a Cardinal.*] This is Biſhop Godwin's opinion, which he founds upon the hiſtorian Thomas Walſingham, who writes, that the Biſhop of London was one of thoſe, whom Urban VI. promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. Ciaconius alſo and Onuphrius affirm, that a Biſhop of London was, about that time, created a Cardinal; but his name, they tell us, was Adam. Now it is not to be doubted, that one Adam Eſton, an Engliſhman, was honoured with the red hat; but Bale (*), and other authors, tell us, it was by Gregory II. If therefore a Biſhop of London was made a Cardinal by Urban VI. in 1378, it muſt be Courtney (4). You ſee Biſhop Godwin's argument: upon which M. Aubery (5) makes the following remark. 'Godwin, a modern 'author, will have it, that Adam Eſton was one of the 'creatures of Pope Gregory II. Urban's predeceſſor, 'and as one abſurdity is uſually followed by another; 'this writer, by his own authority, creates a new Cardinal, whom he calls William Courtney Biſhop of 'London, becauſe Thomas Walſingham writes, that 'the Biſhop of London was one of thoſe, whom Urban VI. promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. It 'muſt certainly be acknowledged, that Godwin does 'not deal fairly in this matter; ſince, for fear of being obliged to recognize Adam Eſton for Biſhop of 'London, he has ſet down but half his epitaph (†), 'and has purpoſely omitted the other part, by which 'the reader might have been informed, that our Cardinal was actually Biſhop of London. It muſt however be obſerved, that S. Contelorio writes, that 'William Courtney, being nominated to the Cardinalate in 1378, would never conſent to his promotion. 'But the Engliſh writers will not agree, that there 'were two Biſhops of London created Cardinals ſucceſſively by the ſame Pope Urban VI. So that, 'probably, either Adam Eſton was not Biſhop of London, which I cannot aſſent to, ſince his epitaph, 'reported by creditable authors, proves the contrary; 'or William Courtney was not created a Cardinal.' I ſhall only obſerve here, that neither is Cardinal Eſton acknowledged for Biſhop of London by our own writers, nor Biſhop Courtney for a Cardinal by foreigners.

(*) *De Script. Brit. Centur.* 7. n. 15.

(4) Godwin, *de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Londinenſ. ann.* 1375.

(5) *Hiſtoire General des Cardinaux.* Paris 1642, 4*to.* tom. i. p. 624, 625.

(†) In his *Cardinalium Catalogus, &c.* n. 31.

[*E*] *He ſucceeded Simon Sudbury in the See of Canterbury.*] He was elected by the Monks of Canterbury, July the 30th, 1380 (6), and confirmed by the Pope's Bull of September the 9th, 1381, which was publiſhed January the 9th, 1382 (7). Having received the Temporalities, and done homage to the King, he repaired to Lambeth; and on the 12th, a Monk of Canterbury came thither, being ſent by the Prior and Convent with the archiepiſcopal croſs: which he delivered to the Archbiſhop, ſitting in his chapel, with theſe words: 'Reverend father, I am the meſſenger of the ſupreme 'King, who intreats, commands, and enjoins, that 'you take upon you the government of his Church, 'and that you love and protect it: In token of which 'meſſage, I deliver into your hand the banner of the 'ſupreme King.' *Pater Reverende, nuncius ſum ſummi regis, qui te rogat, mandat, & præcipit ut eccleſiam ſuam regendam ſuſcipias, eamque diligas & protegas: In cujus ſignum nuncii, ſummi regis vexillum tibi trado ferendum* (8). The Archbiſhop, not having yet received the Pall, was doubtful whether the Croſs might be carried, as uſual, before him, and whether he had a right to crown the new Queen. But theſe ſcruples were eaſily removed by the Monks of Canterbury, who brought precedents for both. Nevertheleſs, the Archbiſhop, though, upon the authority of the Monks, he ſuffered the Croſs to be carried before him, yet cautiouſly entered a Proteſt, that he did not do it in contempt of the Court of Rome. *Archiepiſcopus autem, accepta a monacho cruce, dubitationem ipſe hanc injecit: An Crucem ante ſe perferri liceat, antequam a Papa pallium accepiſſet. Ex eaque quæſtione alia dubitatio nata eſt. Regis Bohemiæ ſoror regi Angliæ Richardo Secundo nuptura in Angliam hoc tempore venit. Has regias nuptias Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus jure, ut diximus, metropolitico celebrare, & reginam coronare debuit. De quo non minus ante acceptum pallium, quam de cruce gerenda, dubitavit. Qui tam perplexus dubitationis ſcrupulus non à Juriſconſultis & Cauſidicis, ſed à Monachis Cantuarienſibus, qui actus crebros & frequentes rerum ſimiliter ſine pallio geſtarum proferebant, & Cantuarienſis Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem allegabant, facile ſublatus eſt. Et tamen archiepiſcopus, etſi ex monachorum aſſertione, geſta ante ſe cruce, inceſſit, Proteſtationem cautè interpoſuit: Non ſe id in Romanæ Curiæ contemptum facere* (9).

(6) *Regiſtr. Eccl. Cantuar.*

(7) *Regiſtr.* Courtney.

(8) *Verba Archiep. apud* M. Parker, *ubi ſupra*, p. 398.

(9) M. Parker, *ibid.*

[*F*] *He reſtrained the officers of the See of Canterbury from taking cognizance of adultery, and the like crimes.*] He extended his cenſures to others, who were guilty of the like offence: for, about two years after, we are told (10), he excommunicated one Richard Iſmonger, a Kentiſh-man, for pretending to puniſh crimes, cognizable only in the eccleſiaſtical courts, by meer lay authority. Who, or in what office, this perſon was, we are not told: but, it ſeems, he could not obtain abſolution, but by ſubmitting to be beaten with a cudgel, naked, three ſucceſſive market-days, in the open market-place of Weſt-Malling; to have the ſame puniſhment repeated in the market-places of Maidſtone and Canterbury; and, at the latter place, to enter naked into the Cathedral Church, and offer a wax taper of five pounds weight at the ſhrine of Thomas Becket.

(10) *Id. ib.* 400.

[*G*] *He held a ſynod, in which Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous.*] A more particular account of this ſynod will be found in the article WICKLIFF. Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, Doctor in Divinity, being ſuſpected of favouring Wickliff's doctrines, appeared before this ſynod, and were obliged to diſclaim thoſe tenets, and ſubſcribe to the contrary. Nicholas Hereford and Philip Repindon, Doctors in Divinity, and John Aſheton, Maſter of Arts, were accuſed in the ſame ſynod of hereſy, and, refuſing to purge themſelves, were excommunicated. The King, in ſupport of this eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, directed his letters to the Archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, impowering them to ſeize and impriſon all perſons ſuſpected of the aforeſaid hereſy (11).

(11) *Id. ib.* 399.

[*H*] *A ſynod at Oxford, in which a ſubſidy was granted to the King.*] It was held in St. Fridiſwide's monaſtery. Archbiſhop Courtney officiated at divine ſervice,

issued his mandate to the Bishop of London for celebrating the festival of St. Anne, mother of the blessed Virgin (*k*). In 1384, he had a contest with the Earl of Arundel, some of whose servants had robbed one of his fish-ponds [*I*]. In 1386, the King, by the advice of his Parliament, put the administration of the government into the hands of eleven Commissioners [*K*], of whom Archbishop Courtney was the first (*l*). In 1387, he held a synod at London, in which a tenth was granted to the King (*m*). The same year, it being moved in a Parliament, held at London on occasion of the dissension between the King and his nobles, to inflict capital punishment on some of the ringleaders, and it being prohibited by the Canons for Bishops to be present and vote in cases of blood, the Archbishop and his suffragans withdrew from the House of Lords (*n*), having first entered a Protest in relation to their Peerage [*L*]. In 1399, he held a synod in St. Mary's Church in Cambridge, in which a tenth was granted to the King [*M*], on condition that he should pass over into France with an army before the first of October following (*o*). This year, Archbishop Courtney set out upon his metropolitical visitation, in which he was at first strongly opposed by the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury [*N*]: but those prelates being

(*k*) Spelman's Councils, vol. ii. p. 636.

(*l*) H. de Knyghton, *De Eventib. Angliæ*, *l.* v. *ap.* X. *Scriptor.* col. 2685.

(*m*) M. Parker, *ubi supra*, p. 401.

(*n*) *Regist.* Courtney, f. 174, & Walsingham, *Hist. Angl. apud* M. Parker, *ubi supra*.

(*o*) Walsingh. *ib. ap.* M. Parker, *ibid.* p. 402.

service, and the sermon was preached by the Chancellor Dr. Rigge. After the affair of the subsidy was over, the Bishops proceeded to enquire after persons suspected of heresy: upon which occasion, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repindon, and John Asheton, excommunicated in the last synod, recanted their opinions, and were absolved. And, to secure the University from latitude in opinion, all the Graduates were obliged to swear a renuntiation of Wickliff's tenets condemned at London (12).

(12) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* p. 193; & M. Parker, *ib.*

[*I*] *The Earl of Arundel's servants had robbed one of the Archbishop's fish-ponds.*] It was at his manor of South-Malling in the Diocese of Chichester. The Earl's servants had dragged the pond, and cleared it of all the fish. The Archbishop, in a great rage, ordered the Bishop of Chichester to excommunicate the robbers, whom he styled sacrilegious persons, and violaters of the Church of Canterbury. The Earl hereupon applied to the King, desiring his Majesty to take cognizance of the affair, that he might not incur the sentence of excommunication. The King complying with the Earl's request, the Archbishop wrote to the Bishop of Chichester, to revoke the excommunication. And thus the affair dropped. *Archiepiscopus, qui in Wickliffianos ante vehementissimus erat, jam in Arundeliæ comitem magnam controversiam instituit. Hujus servuli piscinam in archiepiscopi manerio de Southmalling Cicestrensis dioecesis sublatis piscibus evacuaverunt. Quo facto archiepiscopus in magnam actus sævitiam Cicestrensi Episcopo mandavit, ut piscinæ suæ prædones, quos sacrilegos & Cantuarienſis ecclesiæ violatores nominavit, excommunicatione feriret. Comes autem Regem adiit, petiitque, ut de ea controversia, ne excommunicationem incurrat, in sua præsentia transigatur. Atque Archiepiscopus, postquam Rex hujus controversiæ cognitionem suscepisset, ad Ciceſtrensem Episcopum scripsit, ut latas excommunicationes revocaret* (13).

(13) M. Parker, *ib.* p. 400, 401.

[*K*] *The King put the administration of the Government into the hands of eleven Commissioners.*] Namely, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander Archbishop of York, Edmund Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, William Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, Nicholas Abbot of Waltham, Richard Earl of Arundel, John Lord Cobham, Richard Le Scroop, and John Devereux. This committee was authorized to receive the public revenues, to inspect the King's household and Courts, in short to direct the government, and make what reformations in the kingdom they thought fit. But their commission expired at the end of one year (14). Henry de Knyghton adds three more commissioners to the foregoing, *viz.* the Bishop of Ely Chancellor, the Bishop of Hereford Treasurer, and John de Waltham Privy-Seal, making the whole number fourteen (15).

(14) *Rot. Parl.* 10 Rich. II.

(15) *De Eventib. Angliæ*, l. v. *ap. X. Scriptor.* col. 2685.

[*L*] *The Bishops entered a protest in relation to their Peerage.*] The purport of it is to set forth, *that the Lords Spiritual, by virtue of their Baronies, and as Peers of the Realm, had a right to sit, vote, and give judgment with the rest of the Peers, in all cases and matters transacted in Parliament.* But *since Impeachments of High Treason, and Tryals for Life, were coming on, and they were forbidden by the Canons of the Church to concern themselves in matters of that nature,* they protested, *that, for this only reason they were obliged to withdraw.* And thus having guarded the entireness of their Peerage, they concluded with declaring, *that nothing done in their absence upon this occasion should be hereafter questioned or opposed by any of their body.* This instrument, at the instance and petition of the Archbishop and his suffragans, was read in full Parliament, and entered upon the Parliament Rolls, by the King's command, with the assent of the Lords Temporal and the Commons (16).

(16) *Regist.* Courtney, fol. 174. *Rot. Parl.* 11 Rich. II. n. 9. See also M. Parker, *ubi supra*, p. 401.

[*M*] *A tenth was granted to the King.*] Speed has particularly dilated upon the circumstances of this grant, which we shall represent in that historian's own words. 'The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden 'at London, had yeelded to ayde the King with a '*Fifteenth*, upon condition that the Clergie should succour him with a *Tenth and an Halfe*: against which 'unjust proportion *William de Courtney*, Archbishop of 'Canterbury, most stiffly opposed, alledging, *that the 'Church ought to be free, nor in any wise to be taxed 'by the Laitie, and that himself would rather die then 'endure that the Church of England* (*the liberties 'whereof had by so many free Parliaments, in all times, 'and not only in the raigne of this king, beene confirmed*) '*should be made a bond-maide.* This answere so offended the *Commons*, that the Knights of the Shires, 'and some Peers of the land, with extreme fury besought, *That Temporalities might be taken away from 'ecclesiastical persons*, saying, *that it was an Almesdeed, 'and an Act of Charitie, so to do, thereby to humble 'them.* Neither did they doubt, but that their petition, which they had exhibited to the King, would 'take effect. Hereupon they designed among themselves, out of which Abbey, which should receive 'such a certaine summe, and out of which, another. 'I myself (saith a (*) Monk of *St. Albans*) heard one of 'those Knights confidently sweare, that he would have 'a yearly pension of a thousand Markes out of the 'Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the 'King, having heard both parts, commanded the Petitioners to silence, and the Petition to be razed out, 'saying, *He would maintaine the English Church in the 'qualitie of the same state or better, in which himselfe 'had known it to be, when hee came to the crowne,* 'The Archbishop hereupon, having consulted with 'the Clergie, came to the King, and declared, that 'he and the Clergie had with one consent willingly 'provided to supply his Majesties occasions with a '*Tenth.* This Grant the King tooke so contentedly, 'as he openly affirmed he was better pleased with this 'free contribution of one Tenth for the present, than 'if he had gotten foure by compulsion (17).' We have much the same account, but more briefly delivered by the author of the *Antiquities*, &c. (18) in the following words: *In superiori autem Parliamento, cum Laici Subsidium sub hac conditione regi concessissent, si Clerus Decimam concederet; Archiepiscopus cum suis Suffraganeis valde iniquum et pessimi exempli asserebant, Cleri in regem donationes, quæ spontaneæ gratuitæque esse debent, à Laicis tam strictis modis et conditionibus alligari: proinde se de quacunque cleri concessione in Synodo non acturos, nisi illa laicorum conditione deleta. Itaque Rex, qui eo die interfuit, expungi laicorum conditionem jussit; quod mox publice in Parliamento factum est.*

(*) Tho. Walsingham.

(17) Speed's Hist. of Gt. Britaine, &c. Lond. 1632, fol. p. 726.

(18) M. Parker, *ubi supra*, p. 402.

[*N*] *He was opposed by the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury.*] The Bishop of Exeter (*) issued his mandate, forbidding all persons in his diocese, under pain of excom-

(*) Tho. Brentingham, late Lord Treasurer.

being at laſt reduced to terms of ſubmiſſion, he proceeded in his viſitation without farther oppoſition: only, at the interceſſion of the Abbot of St. Alban's, he refrained from viſiting certain Monaſteries at Oxford (*p*). The ſame year, the King directed his Royal Mandate to the Archbiſhop, not to countenance or contribute any thing towards a ſubſidy for the Pope [*O*]. In a Parliament held at Wincheſter 1392, Archbiſhop Courtney, being probably ſuſpected of abetting the papal encroachments upon the Church and State, delivered in an anſwer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons in relation to thoſe encroachments [*P*]. The ſame year, he viſited the dioceſe of Lincoln, in which, by his vigilance

(*p*) *Regiſtr.* Courtney, fol. 86; & Walſ. *ib.* *ap.* M. Parker, *ib.* p. 404.

communication, to acknowledge the Archbiſhop's juriſdiction. Courtney iſſued a mandate in oppoſition thereto, requiring their ſubmiſſion to his authority. The Biſhop appealed to the Pope, and fixed up his Appeal upon the gates of his Cathedral. The Archbiſhop notwithſtanding proceeded in his Viſitation, and cited the Biſhop to appear before him, and anſwer to certain articles exhibited againſt him. The Citation was diſpatched by one of the Archbiſhop's Officers named Peter Hill; who being met by ſome of the Biſhop of Exeter's ſervants in the town of Topſham, they, diſcovering his buſineſs, not only beat him moſt unmercifully, but obliged the poor fellow to chew, and ſwallow down the *Inſtrument*, which was of parchment, wax and all. The King, being informed of this violence, ſent an order to the Earl of Devonſhire, and others, to apprehend the Biſhop's ſervants, and bring them before the Archbiſhop; which being done, Courtney enjoined them the following penance. They were to walk in proceſſion before the Croſs, in their ſhirts only, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands; to pay a certain ſtipend to a Prieſt for ſaying daily Maſs at the tomb of the Earl of Devonſhire; and laſtly to pay twenty ſhillings each towards repairing the walls of the city of Exeter. The Biſhop in the mean time proſecuted his appeal in the Court of Rome; but finding the Archbiſhop's credit prevail there, and that the King likewiſe eſpouſed his cauſe, he thought it the moſt prudent courſe to withdraw his appeal, and to acknowledge both his own offence and the Archbiſhop's juriſdiction (19). The Biſhop of Saliſbury (†), when it came to his turn to be viſited, made no leſs reſiſtance, but proceeded, as he thought, with more prudence and caution, than the Biſhop of Exeter had done. For being of opinion, that the Archbiſhop's viſitatorial power was founded ſolely upon the authority of Pope Urban, who was now dead, he found means to procure from Pope Boniface, his ſucceſſor, an exemption of himſelf and his dioceſe from metropolitical viſitation in virtue of Pope Urban's authority. With this privilege he waited on the Archbiſhop at Croydon, but met with an unexpected reception from that Prelate, who declared he would viſit the dioceſe of Saliſbury, notwithſtanding any papal exemption, and commanded the Biſhop to be ready to receive him on a certain day in his Cathedral Church. The Biſhop, depending on his privilege, took no notice of this order, and, the Archbiſhop beginning his viſitation, appealed to the Pope. The Archbiſhop immediately excommunicated him, and commenced a proſecution at Law againſt him, for endeavouring to withdraw himſelf from the ſubjection he owed to the See of Canterbury. The Biſhop of Saliſbury, terrified by this ſeverity, and the recent example of his brother of Exeter, renounced his appeal, acknowledged the Archbiſhop's juriſdiction, and, through the interceſſion of the Earl of Saliſbury, and others, obtained Abſolution and Reconciliation (20).

(19) *Regiſtr.* Courtney, fol. 86; & M. Parker, *ib.* p. 402, 403.

(†) Jo. Waltham

(20) *Ibid.*

[*O*] *The King commanded him not to countenance, or contribute any thing towards a ſubſidy for the Pope.*] The writ ſets forth, 'that the Archbiſhop could not 'be ignorant, that the King was bound by oath to 'maintain the rights and cuſtoms of the kingdom, to 'govern impartially by the Laws, to ſecure the property of the ſubject, and to prevent impoſitions being charged or levied upon the people without the 'common conſent of the kingdom.' The King ſuggeſts farther, 'that the Commons, lately aſſembled in 'Parliament at Weſtminſter, had addreſſed him for a 'remedy againſt the Impoſitions upon the Clergy, at 'that time exacted by the Court of Rome; and had 'petitioned him, that if any perſon ſhould bring in 'any *Papal Bulls* for levying ſuch impoſitions, or 'ſhould actually collect or levy ſuch impoſitions, he 'ſhould be adjudged, and ſuffer, as a traytor to him 'and his kingdom.' His Highneſs adds, 'that he 'had granted, with the conſent of the ſame Parliament, that nothing ſhould be levied or paid, that 'might tend to the burthen or damage of the ſubject 'and kingdom: That notwithſtanding this legal 'proviſion, he was informed of a new Papal Impoſition upon the Clergy, which by his (*the Archbiſhop*) 'authority, or that of his Suffragans by his order, 'was to be levied without the common advice and 'aſſent of the kingdom; which he (*the King*) could 'not ſuffer conſiſtently with his oath.' And therefore in the cloſe he commands the Archbiſhop, 'upon 'his allegiance, and under the higheſt forfeitures, to 'revoke his orders for the levying this tax, and to 'return what had been already paid,' enjoining him 'not to pay, or contribute any thing to this ſubſidy, under the penalties aforeſaid.' *Witneſs the King at Weſtminſter, the 10th day of October* (21). Writs of the ſame purport and date were directed to the Archbiſhop of York, to all the Biſhops of both Provinces, to the Guardians of the Spiritualities, and to the ſeveral Collectors of this Tax. A like Writ was directed to the Pope's Nuntio, commanding him to deſiſt from exacting this ſubſidy, *ſub forisfactura vitæ et membrorum*, under forfeiture of life and limb. This impoſition was the payment of a *Tenth* laid upon the Clergy by the Pope, as appears by the title of the record, *Decimis Papæ non ſolvendis.*

(21) *Ret. Clauſ.* 13 Ric. II. P. 1. M. 17. *De Decimis Papæ non ſolvendis.*

[*P*] *He delivered in an anſwer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons*, &c.] The tenor of it was as follows. 'To our Dread Sovereign Lord the King 'in this preſent Parliament, his humble Chaplain, '*William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, gives in his Anſwer to the *Petition* brought into the *Parliament* by 'the *Commons* of the Realm, in which Petition are 'contained certain *Articles:* That is to ſay, Firſt, '*Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, and all his 'Liege Subjects, ought of right, and had been always 'accuſtomed to ſue in the King's Court, to recover their 'preſentations to churches, to maintain their titles to 'prebendaries, and other benefices of Holy Church, to 'which they have a right to preſent: The cognizance 'of which plea belongs ſolely to the Court of our Sovereign Lord the King by virtue of his antient prerogative, maintained and practiſed in the reigns of 'all his predeceſſors Kings of England; and when 'judgment is given in his Highneſs's ſaid court upon any 'ſuch plea, the Archbiſhops, biſhops, and other ſpiritual perſons, who have the right of giving Inſtitution to ſuch benefices within their juriſdiction, are 'bound to execute ſuch judgments, and uſed always to 'make execution of them at the King's command (ſince 'no lay perſon can make any ſuch execution), and are 'alſo bound to make execution of many other commands 'of our Lord the King: Of which right the Crown of 'England has been all along peaceably poſſeſſed: Notwithſtanding, of late, divers proceſſes have been 'made by the Holy Father the Pope, and Excommunications publiſhed againſt ſeveral Engliſh Biſhops, for 'making ſuch executions, and acting in purſuance to 'the King's commands in the caſes above-mentioned; 'and ſuch cenſures of his Holineſs are inflicted in open 'diſheriſon of the Crown, and ſubverſion of the Prerogative Royal, of the King's Laws, and his whole 'Realm, unleſs prevented by proper remedies.'* To this article, the Archbiſhop, premiſing his Proteſtation, 'that it was not his intention to affirm, that our holy 'father the Pope has no authority to excommunicate a 'Biſhop, purſuant to the Laws of Holy Church, declares

vigilance and activity, he gave a conſiderable check to the growth of Wickliff's doctrines (*q*). In 1395, he obtained from the Pope a grant of four-pence in the pound on all eccleſiaſtical benefices; in which he was oppoſed by the Biſhop of Lincoln, who would not ſuffer it to be collected in his dioceſe, and appealed to the Pope (*r*). But, before the matter could be decided, Archbiſhop Courtney died, July the 31ſt 1396, at Maidſtone in Kent, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury [*Q*], under a monument of alabaſter, on the South ſide, near the tomb of Thomas Becket, and at the feet of the Black Prince; the King, who was then going to marry the King of France's daughter, being preſent, with ſeveral of his nobles, at the funeral ſolemnity (*s*). This Prelate founded a College of Secular Prieſts at Maidſtone. He left a thouſand marks for the repair of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury; alſo to the ſame Church a ſilver-gilt image of the Trinity, with ſix Apoſtles ſtanding round it weighing 160 pounds; ſome books [*R*], and ſome eccleſiaſtical veſtments (*t*). He obtained from King Richard a grant

(*q*) Knyghton, *ubi ſupra*, col. 2736, 2737.

(*r*) Walſ. *ib. ap.* M. Parker, *ibid.* p. 405.

(*s*) *Chronic.* W. Thorn, *apud* X. *Scriptores*, col. 2197, 2198. See alſo Dart's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. Lond. 1726, p. 157.

(*t*) *Dies Obitual. Archiep. Cant. apud* Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 61.

'clares and anſwers, that if any executions of proceſſes 'are made, or ſhall be made, by any perſon; if any 'cenſures of excommunication ſhall be publiſhed and 'ſerved upon any Engliſh Biſhops, or any other of the 'King's ſubjects, for their having made execution of 'any ſuch commands, he maintains ſuch cenſures to be 'prejudicial to the King's prerogative, as is ſet forth 'in the *Commons Petition*: And that ſo far forth he is 'reſolved to ſtand with our Lord the King, and ſup-'port his Crown, in the matters above-mentioned, to 'the utmoſt of his power. And whereas it is alledged 'in the Petition, *That complaint has been made, that 'the ſaid Holy Father the Pope had deſigned to tranſlate 'ſome Engliſh Prelates to Sees out of the Realm, and 'ſome from one Biſhoprick to another, without the know-'ledge and conſent of our Lord the King, and without 'the aſſent of the Prelates ſo tranſlated (which Pre-'lates are very ſerviceable and neceſſary to our Lord the 'King, and his whole Realm;) which tranſlations if 'they ſhould be ſuffered, the ſtatutes of the Realm would 'be defeated, and made in a great meaſure inſignificant, 'and the ſaid Lieges of his Highneſs's Council would be 'removed out of his kingdoms, without their aſſent, 'and againſt their inclination, and the treaſure of 'the ſaid Realm would be exported: By which means 'the country would become deſtitute both of wealth and 'counſel, to the utter deſtruction of the ſaid Realm: 'And thus the Crown of England, which has always 'been ſo free and independent, as not to have any earthly 'ſovereign, but to be immediately ſubject to God in all 'things touching the Prerogatives and Royalty of the 'ſaid Crown, would be made ſubject to the Pope, and 'the Laws and Statutes of the Realm defeated and ſet 'aſide by him at pleaſure, to the utter deſtruction of the 'Sovereignty of our Lord the King, his Crown and 'Royalty, and his whole kingdom, which God forbid.* 'The ſaid Archbiſhop, firſt proteſting, that 'tis not 'his intention to affirm, that our Holy Father afore-'ſaid cannot make tranſlations of Prelates according 'to the Laws of Holy Church, anſwers and declares, 'that if any Engliſh Prelates, who by their capacity 'and qualifications were very ſerviceable and neceſ-'ſary to our Lord the King, and his Realm, ſhould 'be tranſlated to any Sees in foreign dominions, or 'the ſage Lieges of his Council were forced out of 'the kingdom againſt their will, and that by this 'means the wealth and treaſure of the kingdom ſhould 'be exported; that ſuch tranſlations are prejudicial to 'the King and his Crown, and that if any ſuch thing 'ſhould happen, he reſolves to adhere loyally to the 'King, and endeavour, as he is bound by his allegi-'ance, to ſupport his Highneſs in this, and all other 'inſtances, in which the rights of his Crown were 'concerned.' He concluded with praying, that this Declaration might be entered in the *Parliament Rolls*; which was granted (22). This Declaration of Archbiſhop Courtney's ſeems to have led the way to the famous *Statute* of *Præmunire* paſſed in this Parliament; and it is evident from hence, that this Prelate was no vaſſal to the Court of Rome, nor aſſerted the Pope's Supremacy ſo far as to weaken his allegiance, or to make him an ill ſubject.

(22) *Rot. Parl.* 16 Ric. II. N. 20. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 348.

[*Q*] *He was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury.*] It appears by a codicil annexed to his will, extant in the *Archieves* of the Church of Canterbury, that, upon his death-bed, not thinking himſelf worthy to lie in his own Metropolitan, or in any other Cathedral or Collegiate Church, he choſe, and deſired, to be buried in the Church-yard of Maidſtone-College, in the place deſigned for his Eſquire John Butler. *Languens in extremis in interiori camera Manerii de Maydenſton, voluit & ordinavit, quod quia non reputavit ſe dignum, ut dixit, in ſua Metropolitana, aut aliqua Cathedrali aut Collegiata Eccleſia ſepeliri, voluit & elegit ſepulturam ſuam in Cœmeterio Eccleſiæ Collegiatæ de Maydenſton, in loco deſignato Johanni Botelere Armigero ſuo* (23). But moſt certain it is, Dart tells us (24), that, notwithſtanding this humble thought of his, in his lowneſs of ſpirits, King Richard, being at Canterbury, when he was to be buried, overruled his Will, and ordered him to be interred in that Cathedral.

(23) *Verba Archiv. Apud* Wharton, *Angl. Sacra*, vol. i. p. 121.

(24) Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. Lond. 1726. p. 157.

[*R*] — *ſome books.*] Theſe were: St. Auguſtin's *Milleloquium*, A *Dictionary* in three volumes, and *Doctor de Lira* in two volumes. His nephew Richard Courtney was to have the uſe of them during his life, and his executors to return them after his death, under a penalty of three hundred pounds; for which they gave a bond. My author calls them, *ſex libros precioſos*, ſix valuable books (25). B.

(25) *Dies Obit. Archiep. Cantua. apud* Wharton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 62.

*** [Our learned Predeceſſor has touched the character of Archbiſhop Courtney with a very gentle hand. Wickliff, without any qualifying or ſoftening word, is called an hereſiarch, which is uſually a term of reproach; and the Archbiſhop's conduct towards that eminent reformer is not related in the language of diſapprobation. It is only recorded, that ſeveral of Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous; and that a conſiderable check was given to the growth of his doctrines, by the *vigilance and activity* of Courtney. Such lenity of expreſſion was ſcarcely becoming a Proteſtant Divine. In fact, Biſhop Courtney was attached to the See of Rome beyond the duty of a ſubject, and he was, at the ſame time, a bitter perſecutor. There is ſufficient evidence of the former from many circumſtances mentioned in his article, and eſpecially from his behaviour in regard to the Florentines. His publiſhing the Pope's Bull at Paul's Croſs, without conſulting the King, and his giving the populace licence to plunder the houſes of the Florentines who had been excommunicated by that Bull, were acts of great diſloyalty and inſolence. His character as a perſecutor would have been equally apparent, if his treatment of Wickliff had been properly related. This character he uniformly maintained, both when Biſhop of London and Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as may be ſeen in the life of Wickliff, written by Mr. Gilpin, to whom the world is ſo much indebted for ſeveral Biographical pieces, and other very elegant publications. One circumſtance, which diſplays the ſtrength and firmneſs of Courtney's mind in the exerciſe of his religious bigotry, deſerves to be noticed. When the Archbiſhop, on a certain day, with a number of Biſhops and Divines, had aſſembled to condemn the tenets of Wickliff, juſt as they were going to enter upon buſineſs, a violent earthquake ſhook the monaſtery. Upon this, the terrified Biſhops threw down their papers, and crying out, that the buſineſs was diſpleaſing to God, came to a haſty reſolution to proceed no farther. "The Archbiſhop alone," ſays

grant of four fairs at Canterbury yearly, *viz.* on Innocents-Day, Whitſun-Eve, the Eve of Becket's tranſlation, and Michaelmas-Eve; each to continue nine days, and to be kept within the ſite of the Priory (*u*).

(*u*) Dart, *ubi ſupra*.

Mr. Gilpin, "remained unmoved. With equal "ſpirit and addreſs he chid their ſuperſtitious fears, "and told them, that if the earthquake por- "tended any thing, it portended the downfall of "Hereſy; that as noxious vapours are lodged in the "bowels of the earth, and are expelled by theſe vio- "lent concuſſions, ſo by their ſtrenuous endeavours, "the kingdom ſhould be purified from the peſtilen- "tial taint of hereſy, which had infected it in every "part. This ſpeech, together with the news, that "the earthquake was general through the city, as it "was afterwards indeed found to have been through "the iſland, diſpelled their fears. Wickliff would "often merrily ſpeak of this accident; and would "call this aſſembly the Council of the Herydene; "Herydene being the old Engliſh word for earth- "quake (26)."

In the Parliamentary Hiſtory, ſome notice is taken of the ſpeech which, as Chancellor of England, Courtney made at the opening of the Parliament in 1382. The words which he took for his theme were *Rex convenire fecit conſilium*, and it is ſaid that he made a notable oration upon it in Engliſh. He applied his text to the good and virtuous government of the kingdom during his reign. No reign, the Archbiſhop affirmed, could long endure if vice ruled in it, to remedy which evil the Parliament was called, the laws then in being not having been found effectual to that purpoſe (27).] K.

(26) Gilpin's Life of Wickliff. p. 48, 49.

(27) Parliamentary Hiſt. vol. i. p. 385. 2d. edit.

*** [COWARD (WILLIAM), a Medical and Metaphyſical Writer, (of whom we are able to give only an imperfect account, but who is, nevertheleſs, entitled to ſome degree of notice in this work,) was the ſon of Mr. William Coward of the city of Wincheſter, where he was born in the year 1656, or 1657. His mother was the daughter of Mr. George Lamphire, an Apothecary in that city, and the ſiſter of Dr. John Lamphire, an eminent Phyſician at Oxford, Camden's Profeſſor of Hiſtory, and Principal of Hart Hall (*a*). It is not certain where young Coward received his grammatical education; but it is natural to ſuppoſe that it was in his native place, at Wykeham's School, which hath long ſuſtained a great and deſerved reputation, and produced many learned men. At the age of eighteen, or in his eighteenth year, he was removed to Oxford, and, in the month of May, 1674, became a Commoner of Hart Hall, the inducement to which might probably be, that his uncle was at the head of that ſeminary. However, he did not long continue there; for in the year following, he was admitted a Scholar of Wadham College. On the 27th of June, 1677, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in January, 1679-80, he was choſen Probationer Fellow of Merton College, which may reaſonably be conſidered as a teſtimony of his having obtained ſome reputation for his literary improvements (*b*). In 1681, was publiſhed Mr. Dryden's Abſalom and Achitophel, a production on the celebrity of which we need not expatiate. At Oxford it could not fail to be greatly admired for its poetical merit; beſide which, it might be the better received on account of its containing a ſevere ſatire on the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Shafteſbury; two men who were certainly no favourites with that loyal Univerſity. Accordingly, the admiration of the poem produced two Latin Verſions of it, both of which were written and printed at Oxford; one by Mr. Francis Atterbury, (afterwards the celebrated Biſhop of Rocheſter) who was aſſiſted in it by Mr. Francis Hickman, a Student of Chriſt-Church; and the other by Mr. Coward. Theſe tranſlations were publiſhed in *4to.* in 1682. Whatever proof Mr. Coward's Verſion of the Abſalom and Achitophel might afford of his progreſs in Claſſical Literature, he was not very fortunate in this his firſt publication. It was compared with Mr. Atterbury's production, not a little to its diſadvantage. According to Anthony Wood, he was ſchooled for it in the College; it was not well received in the Univerſity; and Atterbury's Poem was extolled as greatly ſuperior. To conceal, in ſome degree, Mr. Coward's mortification, a friend of his, in a public paper, advertized the tranſlation, as written by a Walter Curle, of Hertford, Gentleman (*c*). On the 13th of December, 1683, Mr. Coward was admitted to the degree of Maſter of Arts. Having determined to apply himſelf to the practice of Medicine, he proſecuted his ſtudies in that line; in conſequence of which, he took the degree of Bachelor of Phyſic, on the 23d of June, 1685, and of Doctor, on the 2d of July, 1687 (*d*). After his quitting Oxford, he exerciſed his profeſſion at Northampton, from which place he removed to London, in 1693, or 1694, and ſettled in Lombard Street. In 1695, he publiſhed a tract, in *8vo.* entitled, "De Fermento vola- "tili Nutritio Conjectura Rationis, qua oſtenditur Spiritum volatilem oleoſum, è Sanguine "ſuffuſum, eſſe verum ac genuinum Concoctionis ac Nutritionis Inſtrumentum (*e*)." For this work he had an honourable approbation from the Preſident and Cenſors of the College of Phyſicians (*f*).

(*a*) Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, vol. ii. col. 947. *Ibid. Faſti Oxonienſes*. col. 134.

(*b*) *Athenæ. ubi ſupra*. col. 947.

(*c*) *Athenæ, ubi ſupra*. col. 948. 1064.

(*d*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 84.

(*e*) *Athenæ, ubi ſupra*. col. 947, 948.

(*f*) An hiſtorical view of the controverſy concerning an intermediate ſtate, p. p. 179. Sec. ed.

It was not to Medical ſtudies only that Dr. Coward confined his attention. Beſides being fond of polite learning, he entered deeply into metaphyſical ſpeculations, eſpecially with regard to the nature of the ſoul, and the natural immortality of man. The reſult of his enquiries was the publication, in 1702, under the fictitious name of Eſtibius Pſycalethes, of a book, the title of which was, "Second Thoughts concerning human Soul, demon- "ſtrating the Notion of human Soul, as believed to be a ſpiritual, immortal Subſtance "united to a human Body, to be a plain heatheniſh Invention, and not conſonant to the "Principles of Philoſophy, Reaſon, or Religion; but the ground only of many abſurd and

" and ſuperſtitious Opinions, abominable to the reformed Churches, and derogatory in " general to true Chriſtianity." This work was dedicated by the Doctor to the Clergy of the Church of England, and he profeſſes, at his ſetting out, " that the main ſtreſs of " arguments, either to confound or ſupport his opinion, muſt be drawn from thoſe only " credentials of true and orthodox Divinity, the lively oracles of God, the Holy Scrip- " tures." In another part, in anſwer to the Queſtion, *Doth Man die like a Brute Beaſt?* He ſays, " Yes, in reſpect of their end in this life; both their deaths conſiſt in a privation of " life (*g*)." " But then," he adds, " Man has this prerogative or pre-eminence above " a brute, that he will be raiſed to life again, and be made partaker of eternal happineſs " in the world to come." Notwithſtanding theſe, " and as many other proofs," (ſays a moſt competent judge) " of a firm and ſerious attachment to the authority of the Chriſ- " tian Scriptures, as it is in any man's power to give under his hand," Dr. Coward has commonly made one in the liſt with thoſe who have been reputed to be the moſt rancorous and determined adverſaries of Chriſtianity (*h*). Swift hath ranked him with Toland, Tindal, and Gildon (*i*); and paſſages to the like purpoſe are not unfrequent among controverſial writers, eſpecially during the former part of the preſent century. However ſincere and zealous Dr. Coward might be in his belief of the goſpel, his denial of the immateriality and natural immortality of the ſoul, and of a ſeparate ſtate of exiſtence between the time of death and the general reſurrection, was ſo contrary to the opinions then almoſt univerſally received, that it is not very ſurprizing that he ſhould haſtily be conſidered as an enemy to revelation. It might be expected that he would immediately meet with opponents; and accordingly he was attacked by various writers, of different complexions and abilities; among whom were Dr. Nichols, Mr. John Broughton, and Mr. John Turner. Dr. Nichols took up the argument in his " Conference with a Theiſt." Mr. Broughton wrote a treatiſe, entitled " Pſychologia, or, An Account of the Nature of the rational Soul, in two Parts;" and Mr. Turner publiſhed " A Vindication of the ſeparate Exiſtence of the ſoul from a late Author's Second Thoughts." Both theſe pieces appeared in 1703. Mr. Turner's publication was anſwered by Dr. Coward, in a pamphlet called " Farther Thoughts upon ſecond Thoughts." In Mr. Turner the Doctor acknowledged that he had a rational and candid adverſary. This doth not appear to have been the caſe with regard to Mr. Broughton; who, therefore, was treated by Dr. Coward with a ſuitable degree of ſeverity, in " An Epiſtolary reply to Mr. Broughton's Pſychologia," which reply was not ſeparately printed, but annexed to a work of the Doctor's, publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1704, and entitled " The grand Eſſay; or, A Vindication of Reaſon and Religion againſt Impoſthures of Philoſophy." In this laſt production, the idea of the human Soul's being an immaterial ſubſtance, was again vigorouſly attacked. From the " Epiſtolary Reply" we ſhall inſert two or three paſſages below, which while they ſerve to diſplay Dr. Coward's peculiar ſentiments, and his mode of writing, will tend to throw ſome light on his Chriſtian character [*A*]. A late Author (*k*), in ſpeaking of Mr. Broughton's Pſy-

(*g*) For this he quotes Eccleſ. ix. 19.

(*h*) Hiſtorical Review, p. 174, 175.

(*i*) Supplement to Swift's Works, vol. i. p. 287, 288.

(*k*) The Rev. T. Broughton, M. A.

[*A*] *We ſhall inſert two or three paſſages below.*] " Good Sir," ſays Dr Coward, (addreſſing himſelf to Mr Broughton) " do but conſider without paſ- " ſion, how you have anſwered that argument, drawn " from eternal life being the gift of God; *ergo* the " philoſopher ought not to give us an unwarrantable " immortality. This is the ſubſtance of *Eſtibius*'s " argument. Anſ. 1. *It is a ſuperlative gift to* " *have an immortal ſoul, p.* 208. 2. *We know it from* " *ſcripture revelation.* 3. *Life denotes happineſs in* " *ſcripture; ſo by a new and full aſſurance, it is by* " *ſcripture become a new gift.* 4. *The forfeited title* " *to this happineſs, was by the goſpel reſtored to man-* " *kind.*——What is all this to the purpoſe? If I " ſay, immortality to man is a ſuperlative gift re- " vealed from ſcripture only, and this immortality " conſiſts in an happineſs of life after death, which " Adam forfeited and Chriſt reſtored, is not this as " good divinity as yours? Nay, I am ſure, yours " has not that probability of truth, as mine has, be- " cauſe your firſt propoſition is precarious and " groundleſs, unleſs you make it appear, that God " gave man an immortal ſoul at creation; and mine " has the whole religion of the goſpel to juſtify it. " Sir, but one queſtion more. Is immortal life a " *gift* to an immortal being? Yes, ſay you, hap- " pineſs ſuper-added to immortal life, is a *gift*; and " that is meant by immortal life in the ſcripture. " Then pray do you interpret ſcripture, if your head " can do it right, and tell us, that Chriſt promiſed " his believer only happineſs ſuperadded to our im- " mortal life in the next world, for he knew that we " had an immortal life before. Can you, with any " face, give ſuch a gloſs to the ſcriptures? Is not " the whole intent and purport of the goſpel to tell " us, that though *we* had forfeited eternal life by " Adam's tranſgreſſion, yet by Chriſt we ſhould be " reſtored to that again, who elſe would have died " eternally? Doth he not firſt promiſe life to a dead " lump of earth, rotted in the grave after ſeveral " thouſand years, by which we are put in a ſtate of " being capable of happineſs? And after this pro- " miſe of life, then if you do well, you ſhall have " happineſs ſuperadded to it, as a new gift. Away " with your trifling with a text. Is life a gift to a " dead carcaſe or no? If it be, it is a gift of God, " and no being elſe can poſſibly give it. If it be " not the gift of God, then the ſcripture is vain, and " *the promiſe of none effect.* For as to happineſs or " miſery attending that life, it is ſubſequent to it, " and depends upon yourſelf for the moſt part, to " perform the conditions of obedience God has ſet " before you." " Epiſtolary Reply, p. 233." After this, the Doctor proceeds as follows: " Ano- " ther argument like the former, is in relation to the " curſe denounced againſt *Adam, In the day thou eat-* " *eſt thereof* (viz. the forbidden fruit) *thou ſhalt die.* " What ſinned? ſaith *Eſtibius.* Soul as well as body, " and therefore both were liable to death. But ſay " you, by way of a nice queſtion, *What is to be un-* " *derſtood by, thou?* p. 279. *Anſ.* The whole Man, " or Perſon of Man. Then, ſay I, whole Man died. " —*No, whole Man may be as well underſtood for a* " *part, as a part for the whole.*—This is rare philo- " ſophy indeed! Whole Man died, therefore one- " half of him ſurvived," *Epiſt. Rep.* p. 239. Again. " As to thoſe arguments, *Eſtibius* urges from *the na-* " *ture and end of a reſurrection and general judgment,* " I be-

Pſychologia, deſcribes it as a learned and ſolid anſwer to the "Second Thoughts;" but the great Mr. Locke entertained a very different opinion of the merit of the work. For in a letter to Mr. Collins, he ſays, "The other book you mentioned, I have ſeen, and am ſo "well ſatisfied by his fifth ſection, what a doughty Squire he is like to prove in the reſt, "that I think not to trouble myſelf to look farther into him. He has there argued very "weakly againſt his adverſary, but very ſtrongly againſt himſelf (*l*)."

(*l*) Hiſtorical View, p. 176. 181, 182. 305. Note.

So obnoxious were Dr. Coward's poſitions, that it was not deemed ſufficient to attempt the anſwering of them by the force alone of reaſon and argument. A more conciſe and effectual method of confuting them was ſought for, by an appeal to human authority. On Friday, the 10th of March, 1703-4, a complaint was made to the Houſe of Commons of the "Second Thoughts," and the "Grand Eſſay;" which books were brought up to the Table, and ſome parts of them read. The conſequence of this was, an order, "That a "Committee be appointed to examine the ſaid Books, and collect thereout ſuch parts "thereof as are offenſive; and to examine who is the author, printer, and publiſher "thereof." At the ſame time, the matter was referred to Sir Dudly Cullum, Colonel Stringer, Mr. Bromley, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Mr. Lownds, Mr. Topham, Mr. Smith, Sir Matthew Dudly, Mr. Colcher, Mr. Anneſley, Mr. How, Mr. Sambrooke, Sir William Whitlock, Mr. Fagg, Mr. Monćton, Sir John Holland, Mr. Boyle, Mr. St. John, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Moor, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Harley, and Sir Jervas Elwes; who were directed to meet that afternoon, and had power given them to ſend for perſons, papers, and records. Whether all or any of theſe Gentlemen (Mr. St. John, afterwards the famous Lord Bolingbroke, excepted) were acute and able Divines, doth not ſtand upon Record. If they were, it is probable that no ſubſequent Houſe of Commons could boaſt of having produced a ſuperior, or an equal number of ſkilful Theologues; and we aſſume ſome merit to ourſelves, for reſcuing them from the oblivion in which they have hitherto ſlept in this reſpect, and bringing them forward to public notice. But perhaps, after all, they might in part be endebted to the Chaplain of the Houſe, or to ſtill higher eccleſiaſtics, for their complete knowledge of the malignity of Dr. Coward's principles. Be this as it may, on the 17th of March, Sir David Cullum reported from the Committee, that they had examined the books, and had collected out of them ſeveral paſſages which they conceived to be offenſive; and that they found, that Dr. Coward was the author of them; that Mr. David Edwards was the printer of the one, and Mr. W. Pierſon of the other; and that both the books were publiſhed by Mr. Baſſett. Sir David Cullum having read the report in his place [*B*], and the ſame being read again, after

"I believe you foreſaw them unanſwerable, and "therefore was forced to recur to an intermediate "ſtate.—This dream has indeed relieved you one "way, but then it preſſes you very hard on the con- "fines of Purgatory. For what end are ſouls re- "ſerved in that ſtate? If wicked, and in torments, "then it cannot be leſs than a Purgatory. If "righteous, and in happineſs, though but initial, as "you term it, then you anſwer not well, for the "juſtice of God, who has, by ſuch his aſſignment, "atteſted them to be ſo far innocent, as to be in a "ſtate of *certain* ſalvation, and *certain* happineſs, "and yet he ſtill detains them from a perfect con- "ſummation and bliſs, ſo many thouſand years be- "fore a general reſurrection. If any man had for "that time *no being at all*, as *Eſtibius* avers it, it is "no injuſtice to a non-exiſtent man, becauſe he is "not capable of having injuſtice done him in a ſtate "of non-exiſtence. Again, the ſcriptures every "where, by the particle, *then*, relating to a fixed day "of a general judgment, ſeem plainly to teſtify "God's ordination on my ſide. But for God to give "our ſouls exiſtence in an intermediate ſtate, who "knew that they will have *a certain happineſs full "and complete in all degrees*, yet to detain them from "it ſo long, without ſhewing any ordination of his "from ſcripture to juſtify the truth of your opinion; "by your good leave, I think, ſeems a grand reflec- "tion and derogation to infinite juſtice; for which "opinion you deſerve Luſtration or Purgatory at "leaſt." *Epiſt. Reply*, p. 241. The advices which Dr. Coward gives to Mr. Broughton are worthy of being attended to by Controverſialiſts in general. "One word or two of advice to you, and I have "done. 1. Whenever you write again, get a man "of ſolid judgment and reading to ſuperviſe your "papers before they come haſtily into the world, "that your expreſſions *may always be ſenſe*, if they "bear little or no weight in argumentation. 2. Take "ſuch a man's judgment in examining the reaſons "you propoſe as demonſtrative, and eſpecially where "you attempt to reduce the adverſary to own abſur- "dities, and to ridicule him. 3. Never uſe calumny "for argument, by calling a man *atheiſt*, *heretic*, "*irreligious*, &c. either by inuendo or expreſs "words. For it becomes ſuch as are of your ſtation, "and of your function, to treat men with candour "and mildneſs of temper (whatever latitude a lay- "man may take) more particularly. This is a "breach of good-manners, and give me leave to tell "you, that when you preſume to call one *atheiſt* or "*heretic*, who is known conſtantly to frequent the "Sacrament often in the year, and ſeldom fails pub- "lic devotion in the week days, in the Church of "England, you, or any one elſe, do very ill to brand "ſuch an one with *atheiſm*, or irreligion, or as a "broacher of heretical opinions." p. 246 (1).

(1) An Hiſtorical View of the Controverſy concerning an intermediate State, p. 302—305. note.

[*B*] *Read the report in his place.*] The report was as follows:

In the "ſecond thoughts concerning human ſoul, "&c."

P. 84. "Now the notion of an immaterial, im- "mortal, ſubſtantial Being in Man, or Soul, was one "of thoſe principles I had by education ſo imbibed; "and having thought fit more ſtrictly to enquire into "the reaſons or foundation of this belief, I find it to "be only an opinion derived down to poſterity, as it "were, by truſt."

P. 85. "But theſe grounds of the framing an im- "material, immortal ſoul in a man, I look upon to "be idle and fabulous, and conceive it rather to be "the conſent and doctrine of the philoſophers in "general preaching, that virtue was to be rewarded, "and vice puniſhed; and when they uſually ſaw good "men die untimely deaths, and unrewarded too, "being ignorant of a reſurrection, taught their "ſcholars, that men's ſouls, after death, remained "alive to receive the ſame; i. e. good men rewards, "and ill men puniſhments."

P. 88. "Now after the piety of the primitive

after it had been delivered in at the Clerk's Table, the Houſe proceeded to the examination of the evidence, with regard to the writing, printing, and vending of the two books. Sufficient proof having been produced with reſpect to the writer of them, Dr. Coward was called in. Being examined accordingly, he acknowledged that he was the author of the books; and declared, that he never intended any thing againſt Religion; that there was nothing contained in them, contrary either to Morality or Religion; and that if there were

" Chriſtians began, by ſecular intereſt, to be perverted, and the ambition of crafty prelates grew " ſo high, as to require to be ſupported in grandeur " and ſtate, then it became convenient to propagate " this doctrine to the height."

P. 144. " Thus, upon the whole, we find how " weak and inſufficient the arguments of philoſophy " are, to defend the opinion of an immaterial ſoul, " united to the body; what idle and trifling diſtinc- " tions they are forced to make to defend it; what " ſhifts and evaſions they frame to ſupport their " notion, inſomuch that a man may ſay, there is no " plea to ground a belief on the philoſophers argu- " ments, which pretend to eſtabliſh two diſtinct ſub- " ſtances, ſpiritual and material, in man, but only to " thoſe who are reſolved not to be informed, and " will know no better."

P. 176. " If we allow this conjunction of body " and ſoul to be the union of an immortal immate- " rial ſpirit to a mortal material body, where is then " the myſtery of the hypoſtatick union? The union " of the ſoul and body no man yet ever allowed to be " a myſtery of religion; therefore, either both muſt " be reputed ſo, or neither."

P. 206. " 1. That human ſoul will ceaſe when " the body dies (i. e. life and ſoul are the ſame thing " in Scripture) and conſequently the common notion " of a ſpiritual immortal ſubſtance, united to, or in " man, is erroneous."

" That, by the common courſe of Providence, " man's immortality begins not until after the reſur- " rection."

" As to the firſt propoſition, thus I argue: If it " appear by the whole current of ſcripture, that life is " properly the ſoul of man; and no text gives us a " ſufficient ground to call it an immaterial ſubſtance; " then the ſoul of man will ceaſe to be, when the " body dies. But it appears by the whole current " of Scripture, &c. ergo, the ſoul of man will ceaſe " to be, when the body dies; and, conſequently, the " notion of a ſpiritual immortal ſubſtance, united to, " or in, man, is erroneous."

P. 222. " Theſſalon. Cap. IV. Ver. 13, 14.—Who " will be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of " an eye, at the laſt trump: for this corruptible " muſt put on incorruption, and this mortal put on " immortality, before it can be pronounced, that " death is ſwallowed up of victory, 1 Cor. xv. ver. " 51, &c. Where it is very obſervable, that the " Apoſtle, in all the whole courſe of his writing, ſays, " we," not " our bodies;" who cannot be called " we:" As, " we ſhall not all ſleep;") " we ſhall " be raiſed incorruptible;" and, " we ſhall be " changed;" which could not be true, were our ſoul, " our better part, an incorruptible immortal being " already; for that has no change at all, but retains " its firſt immortal nature."

P. 278. Obj. 14. " Then ſhall the duſt return " to the earth as it was, and the ſpirit to God that " gave it: therefore, herein is a plain diſtinction of " ſoul and body; and that when we die, our ſouls " will certainly return to God:"

Anſwer: " This is the great *Goliah* argument, " generally brought to knock down all oppoſers; " though it argues not for an immaterial ſpiritual " ſubſtance, but is rather, and ought to be, explain- " ed as a confirmation of my opinion."

P. 280. " Thus far, I think, I have ſufficiently " anſwered all objections brought from the Old " Teſtament: and though there occur many of the " ſame nature in the Apocrypha, and, indeed, more " ſeemingly appoſite to my opinion, yet I ſhall here " paſs them by until the Apocrypha be proved ca- " nonical: and ſo proceed to objections extorted " from the New Teſtament."

" Firſt, The firſt I meet with, that ſeems ſignifi- " cant, is this: " Fear not them that kill the body, " but are not able to kill the ſoul; but rather fear " him which is able to deſtroy both body and ſoul in " hell." Matth. x. 28. Therefore there is a being " in man diſtinct from his body, capable of being " caſt into a place of torment; whereas the body " only lies in the power of man, and not the ſoul, to " be deſtroyed."

P. 283, 284. " Anſwer: If by this text was meant " a ſpiritual, ſubſtantial, immortal ſoul, no doubt " but that our Saviour knew it, and ſo did his Diſ- " ciples, to whom he then preached this doctrine; " therefore, for our Saviour to inſtruct them in a " doctrine, viz. The impoſſibility of man's power to " kill an immortal ſpirit, which they muſt know be- " fore, if true, would ſavour more of trifling, than " of giving real inſtructions in Chriſtianity; for it " might eaſily be returned, that all the world knows " an immortal ſpirit cannot be killed, ſo that ſuch " inſtructions are vain and uſeleſs."

P. 285, 286. Luke xxiii. 43. " This day (ſays " our Saviour to the thief on the croſs) thou ſhalt be " with me in Paradiſe. Therefore his ſoul muſt be " there with our Saviour, or elſe our Saviour's words " could not be admitted for truth; for, be ſure, the " thief's body was buried, and laid in the ground, " as others were."

Anſwer. " This objection, though oft brought, I " cannot ſee of what force it is, unleſs it be, to tell " us, that our Saviour ſpake to the ſoul of the thief, " when he ſaid, " Thou ſhalt be with me in Para- " diſe." " Thou ſoul of the thief, for owning me, " ſhall this day be with me in bliſs: but O thief! " thy body ſhall go to corruption, as other bodies " do." Now what a ſpeech muſt ſuch men make " for our Saviour, that gave ſuch an interpretation " of this text, let the learned judge."

In " The grand Eſſay, &c."

P. 185. " *Theol.* How could man come by this " immaterial ſubſtance, but at the firſt creation? " And it's plain there, by expreſs words, that he was " made no more than a living creature.

" *Philoſ.* You had as good throw your cap into the " air. All the Heathen Philoſophers preached up " man to be made of a ſoul, called immaterial ſub- " ſtance and body; and if you throw all the Old and " New Teſtament at that doctrine, you'll never con- " found it, or convince its believers to the contrary."

P. 186, 187. " *Theol.* Don't a man die if he loſe " his life?"

" *Philoſ.* No; he doth die in his body but not in " his ſoul; for that lives as well, if not better, than " it did in the body."

" *Theol.* Not one word of this, or like it, do I find " in the Bible. This is as much as to ſay, a man " doth die, and he doth not die. Pray what is meant " by dying in his body?"

" *Philoſ.* His material body dies."

" *Theol.* As far as I find it never lived, for it was " the ſoul lived all the while; and how can any thing " die which never lived?"

" *Philoſ.* It's no matter how; it is ſo: The ſoul, " or immaterial ſubſtance, gave the body life; and " now it is ſeparated the body is dead."

" *Theol.* What chapter and verſe, for your imma- " terial living ſubſtance, in the Bible?"

" *Philoſ.* I told you you were always for Scrip- " ture. It's ſo by Philoſophy, that's enough: and " ſo if a man is ſaid to ſleep in death, he is as fully " awake in his ſoul, the next minute of ſeparation, " as ever he was in his life in this world."

" *Theol.* A pretty way of ſleeping indeed! You " Philoſophers make us believe any thing. I'll be " ſtigmatized (for a fool)(2) all my life-time, if you " can bring the like caſe where ſo many abſurdities, " without any warrant from Scripture, or common " reaſon, are believed."

(2) Theſe words are ſupplied from the original Report.

any thing therein againſt Religion or Morality, he was heartily ſorry, and ready to recant the ſame. The Houſe then reſolved, "That the ſaid Books do contain therein divers "Doctrines and Poſitions, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England, and "tending to the Subverſion of the Chriſtian Religion;" and ordered, that they ſhould be burnt, next day, by the Common Hangman, in New Palace Yard, Weſtminſter (*m*), which order was carried into execution. One effect of this procedure was, that Dr. Coward's works were more generally read; for in the ſame year he gave to the world a new edition of his "Second Thoughts;" which was followed by a Treatiſe, entitled, "The juſt "Scrutiny; or, a ſerious Enquiry into the modern notions of the Soul (*).

(*m*) Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. xiv. p. 373. 379, 38c.

(*) Britiſh Muſeum.

After this, the Doctor returned to the ſtudies belonging to his profeſſion, and, in 1706, publiſhed a Tract, entitled "Ophthalmiatria," which he dedicated to his patron, Manuel Sorrel, Eſq. In this Dedication, Mr. Sorrel is complimented as a man of learning and judgment, in whoſe approbation of his works our author declares himſelf ſatisfied and happy, and enabled to deſpiſe the idle and profane mob of Scioliſts, whom certain *pious agents of ſedition* had encouraged to calumniate him. Dr. Coward, in the firſt chapter of his Ophthalmiatria, the title of which is, "De Oculo, ejuſque Partibus," ſpeaking of the manner wherein viſion is performed and accounted for, diverts himſelf with the notion of an immaterial ſubſtance reſiding in the pineal gland, by the help of which, he tells us, the Philoſophers of the day accounted for every phænomenon relating to ſenſation. Having expoſed this hypotheſis as empty and unphiloſophical, ſo far as relates to viſion, he adds, that he hath ſaid enough on the ſubject elſewhere, and exhorts the learned of all countries, to examine, thoroughly and candidly, what abſurd and ridiculous, and almoſt blaſphemous opinions, follow from this doctrine of an *immaterial ſubſtance*. He hints, at the ſame time, that his domeſtic adverſaries, not being able to confute him by reaſoning, had endeavoured to ſilence him by fire and faggot (*n*). Hence it is apparent that the burning of Dr. Coward's books had not had the leaſt effect in abating his zeal for his peculiar ſentiments, and that he retained a ſtrong ſenſe of the harſh treatment he had received. From a letter of our author to Dr. Hans Sloane, dated May 28, 1706, which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, and has lately been publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine, it appears that he was in the habits of intimacy with this eminent Phyſician and Naturaliſt. Dr. Sloane carried his friendſhip ſo far as to take upon himſelf the ſuperviſal of the Ophthalmiatria. He wiſhed Dr. Coward to alter what related to his private opinion concerning the Soul, and to add ſomething in commendation of the tender conſciences of Phyſicians in point of Religion. The former our author declared could not be done; and with regard to the latter, he thought that if he advanced any thing on that head, it would be interpreted rather as a piece of a ridicule, than a ſerious apology for his conduct. As the letter to Dr. Sloane is dated from the Green Bell over againſt the Caſtle Tavern, (near Holborn in Fetter Lane) there is reaſon to believe that Dr. Coward had quitted London, and was now only a viſitant in town, for the purpoſe of his publication (*o*). Indeed, the fact is aſcertained from the liſts of the College of Phyſicians, which are preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum. In the Catalogue for 1706, Dr. William Coward, who ſtands under the head of Candidates, is then, for the firſt time, mentioned as reſiding in the country. The perſecution he had met with, and the unpopularity ariſing from his works, might be inducements with him to leave the metropolis. It doth not appear, for twelve years, to what part of the kingdom he had retired (*p*).

(*n*) Hiſtorical View, p. 180, 181.

(*o*) Gent. Mag. for Feb. 1787, p. 100.

(*p*) Liſts of the College of Phyſicians, in the Britiſh Muſeum.

From this period we hear no more of Dr. Coward as a Medical or Metaphyſical writer. Even when he had been the moſt engaged in abſtruſe and ſcientific enquiries, he had not omitted the ſtudy of polite Literature; for we are told that, in 1705, he publiſhed "The Lives of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, an Heroic Poem (*q*)." Of this work, as we have not been able to meet with it, we can give no account. It doth not ſeem to have had even the fate of Sir Richard Blackmore's productions, to be ſpoken of and abuſed for a time, and then to be neglected. As far as we are capable of judging, it was little noticed at firſt; and it has now ſunk into total oblivion. The ſubject of the Poem indicates our Author's regard for the Scriptures, and affords a farther proof how unjuſtly he has been repreſented as an enemy to Revelation. Concerning another poetical performance by Dr. Coward, and the laſt of his writings that has come to our knowledge, we are able to give more accurate intelligence. It was publiſhed in 1709, and is entitled, "Licentia "Poetica diſcuſſed; or the true Teſt of Poetry: without which it is difficult to judge of, "or compoſe a correct Engliſh Poem. To which are added Critical Obſervations on the "principal Ancient and Modern Poets, *viz.* Homer, Horace, Virgil, Milton, Cowley, "Dryden, &c. as frequently liable to juſt cenſure." This work, which is divided into two books, is dedicated to the Duke of Shrewſbury, and introduced by a long and learned preface. Prefixed are three copies of commendatory verſes, ſigned A. Hill, J. Gay, and Sam. Barklay. The two former, Aaron Hill and John Gay, were then young Poets, who afterwards, as is well known, roſe to a conſiderable degree of reputation. Coward is celebrated by them as a great bard, a title to which he had certainly no claim, though his "Licentia," conſidered as a didactic poem, and as ſuch poems were then generally written, is not contemptible. It is not ſo correct as Lord Roſcommon's Eſſay on tranſlated verſe;

(*q*) Mag. *ubi ſupra*.

verſe; but it is little, if at all, inferior to the Duke of Buckingham's Eſſay on Poetry, which was ſo much extolled in its day. The rules laid down by Dr. Coward for poetical compoſition are often minute, but uſually, though not univerſally, founded on good ſenſe and a juſt taſte. He doth not approve of blank verſe, and had not felt the harmony and variety of Milton's numbers. Triplets, double rhimes, and Alexandrines are condemned by him; the laſt of which, however, he admits on ſome great occaſion. The notes, which are large and numerous, diſplay no ſmall extent of reading; and to the whole is added, by way of appendix, "A Political Eſſay," from which it appears that our author was a very zealous whig (*r*).

(*r*) *Licentia. Poetica diſcuſſed. Paſſim.*

In the Liſt of the College of Phyſicians for 1718, Dr. Coward begins to be mentioned as reſiding at Ipſwich. From this place he wrote, in 1722, a letter to his old Friend, Sir Hans Sloane, the occaſion of which is ſomewhat curious. He had learned, from the news-papers, that the Ducheſs Dowager of Marlborough propoſed to give five hundred guineas to any perſon who ſhould preſent her with an epitaph, ſuitable to the late Duke her huſband's character, "Now," ſays he, "I have one by me which gives him his juſt "character, without flattery or oſtentation, and which I verily believe may be acceptable "to any learned man." He adds, "that he hears it was to be approved by Dr. Hare, "Dr. Friend of Weſtminſter School, and Dr. Bland of Eton School;" and, if this be true, he begs that Sir Hans would give him leave to ſend it for his approbation and recommendation (*s*). From the omiſſion of Dr. Coward's name in the Catalogue of the College of Phyſicians, printed in 1725, it is evident that he was then dead. Though his medical works are now in no reputation, and his other writings are but little attended to, it is, nevertheleſs, certain that he was a man of conſiderable abilities and literature; and we have eſteemed it a duty incumbent upon us to reſcue his name from the injuſtice which hath been done it with reſpect to religion. However erroneous his peculiar ſentiments may have been, there is no reaſon to doubt of the ſincerity of his belief in the Goſpel, and of his zeal for its honour. The truth of Chriſtianity and the doctrine of eternal life ſtand upon their own firm ground, independently of all ſpeculations concerning the materiality or immateriality of the ſoul, and its ſeparate ſtate of exiſtence. Divines of the firſt eminence, whoſe faith in revelation is unqueſtionable, and who have been among its ableſt advocates, have concurred in opinion with Dr. Coward; and that ſuch men ſhould, on this account, have ever been ranked with unbelievers, can only have proceeded from the moſt contemptible ignorance and bigotry.

(*s*) Gent. Mag. *ubi ſupra.* From the Britiſh Muſeum.

We cannot diſmiſs this article without taking notice of a miſtake which was committed by the late Dr. Caleb Fleming; who, in the year 1758, publiſhed a treatiſe, entitled, "A Survey of the Search after Souls," imagining that he was writing againſt Dr. Coward. But the "Search after Souls" was the production of Henry Layton, Eſq; a Gentleman of an ancient family, and a handſome eſtate, at Rawden, in the county of York. Mr. Layton was educated at Oxford, and, ſtudying afterwards at Gray's Inn, was called to the bar; but never applied himſelf to the practice of the law. His knowledge of it, however, enabled him to do good offices among his neighbours, without fee or reward (*t*).] K.

(*t*) Hiſtorical View, *ubi ſup.* p. 182.

COWELL (JOHN), a learned Civilian in the latter end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth century, was born at Earnſborough in the pariſh of Swimbridge in Devonſhire (*a*), and educated at Eton-School, where he ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his good parts and agreeable induſtry, that he was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge (*b*), in the year 1570 [*A*]. Here he applied himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies, and by his learning and unblameable courſe of life, grew up to ſo much reputation and intereſt in the Univerſity, that he was elected Fellow of that Houſe: and after he had taken the two degrees in Arts, he had the honour to be choſen one of the Proctors for the year 1585 (*c*). He particularly turned his thoughts to the ſtudy of the Civil-Law, by the advice of that active Prelate Richard Bancroft Biſhop of London (*d*), who had judgment to find the genius of our Author, and knew the great neceſſity the Church was in, to have men of abilities and integrity in that profeſſion. He was regularly admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Laws in his own Univerſity (*e*); and in 1600 was incorporated into the ſame degree at Oxford (*f*). His Reputation was now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that he was made the King's Profeſſor of Civil Law in the Univerſity of Cambridge; and about the ſame time, Maſter of Trinity-Hall; which two ſtations had as much Honour and Profit, as could poſſibly be beſtowed, in that place, on a man of his Profeſſion (*g*). In 1603 and 1604 he executed the office of Vice-chancellor of Cambridge (*h*). His chief patron Biſhop Bancroft being advanced to the See of Canterbury in December 1604, and projecting many things which he thought would be for the intereſt and honour of Church and State, employed ſeveral men in their proper profeſſions; imagining that to be the moſt effectual way

(*a*) *Catal. Soc. Col. Reg. Cantab.* MS. mentioned in Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. London, 1708. *N. B.* It is not paged. Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 194. Fuller's Worthies in Devon, p. 262.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti, vol. i. col. 160, edit. Lond. 1721.

(*c*) *Ibid.* He was choſen through the recommendation of William Lord Burghley. Strype's Annals, edit. 1728. vol. iii. p. 268, 269.

(*d*) See Epiſtle Dedicat. to the Interpreter, 1607.

(*e*) Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. Lond. 1708.

(*f*) Wood, Faſti, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Preface, *ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 157.

[*A*] *He was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge, in the year* 1570.] And there, in all probability, put under the tuition of his name-ſake and relation John Cowell Fellow of that Houſe, who had been one of the Univerſity-Proctors in the year 1561 (1).

(1) *Faſti Cantab.* MS.

(i) Preface to the Doctor's Interpreter, edit. 1708.

way to promote the public ſervice (*i*). Among the reſt, he ſolicited Dr. Cowell [*B*] to ſhow himſelf an antiquary, and a uſeful man, by giving the interpretation of ſuch words and terms, as created moſt difficulty to the Students of our Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Common Laws. This laborious taſk the Doctor performed with ſo much application and diligence, that his work was finiſhed in about three years time, and publiſhed under the title of THE INTERPRETER [*C*]. By this book the Archbiſhop was ſo well ſatisfied with the author's parts, induſtry, and courage, that upon the death of Sir Edward Stanhope, Vicar General to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which happened on the 16th of March 1608, his Grace conferred that honourable place on Dr. Cowell, who had practiſed before as an Advocate in the Arches (*k*). In this ſtation, he carried himſelf with that fairneſs and integrity, that equity and honour, as raiſed him no enemies and loſt him no friends. If he was afterwards invidious as a writer, he was ſtill blameleſs as a judge: For, when the warmeſt objections were made againſt ſome expreſſions in his book, there was not any fault found with his adminiſtration of juſtice (*l*). For ſome time, his book paſſed uncenſured; but at laſt great offence was taken at it; becauſe, as was pretended, the author had ſpoken with too much liberty, and in too ſharp expreſſions, of the Common Law, and ſome eminent profeſſors of it, particularly Littleton. Moreover, he had recited Hottoman's reflections on his treatiſe of Tenures, and by reciting them was thought to make them his own. This eſpecially fired Sir Edward Coke, then Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, who was more particularly concerned for the honour of Littleton, whom he had commented upon; and valued himſelf as the Chief Advocate of his Profeſſion. Another thing ſeems to have put Dr. Cowell out of favour with this Judge: namely, within two years after the publication of the Interpreter, Archbiſhop Bancroft, ſenſible that the juriſdiction of the Spiritual Courts was perpetually obſtructed by the grant of Prohibitions from Weſtminſter-Hall, employed Dr. Cowell to draw up Reaſons and Exceptions againſt the too frequent grants of Prohibitions; which were delivered to King James I. in time of Parliament, under the title of *Articuli Cleri*, or the Clergy's Articles. Theſe Articles the King ordered to be argued by the Judges, and their Arguments are printed by Coke in his XIIth Report, who had the chief hand in them: and was now more and more incenſed againſt Dr. Cowell, whom he took for a profeſſed enemy to the Weſtminſter-Courts, and therefore directly or obliquely reflects upon him in ſeveral pages of his works [*D*]. But paper-reproofs not being ſatisfactory, Sir Edward Coke, who was of ſome authority with the King, and had good intereſt in the Houſe of Commons, repreſented Dr. Cowell as an enemy to both (*). He knew that nothing would ſo much excite the jealouſy of the King, who was very fond of Power, as to touch upon the point of Prerogative, and therefore he ſuggeſted, that Dr. Cowell 'had diſputed too nicely upon the 'myſteries of this our monarchy, yea in ſome points very derogatory to the ſupream power 'of this Crown (*m*);' and had aſſerted, 'That the King's prerogative is in ſome caſes 'limited (*n*).' The author, by touching upon ſo tender a point, was in great danger of being ruined; but, in all probability, was ſaved through the Archbiſhop's intereſt. His adverſaries hereupon turned the tables, and reſolved to make him a betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the People, thinking this accuſation would do more with the Parliament, than the other had done with the King. The Complaint againſt him in the Houſe of Commons was carried on by men of parts and intereſt, and it came to this iſſue, that the author was committed to cuſtody, and his book publicly burnt (*o*). Moreover the Commons complained of him to the Lords, as equally ſtruck at, who reſolved to cenſure his

(*) Preface, as above.

(*m*) King James Iſt's Proclamat. 25 March 1610.

(*n*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) Continuat. Hatcher's Ca. of Provoſts, F. lows, &c. of King's-Colle. Cambr. MS.

(*l*) Pref. to t. Interpreter, a. above.

(*o*) Pref. to t. Interpreter, a. above. The Common were very de. rous to proce. criminally again. him; nay even hang him, if t. King had no. interpoſed. See Memorials Affairs of Stat. &c. publiſhed b. Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; Lond. fol. 1725, vol. iii. p. 125, 131.

(3) W. Petyt's *Miſcellanea Par. ubi ſupra.* R. Coke's De. tion, edit. 1719, vol. i. p. 63.

[*B*] *Among the reſt, he ſolicited Dr. Cowell —— to give the interpretation of the difficult words in our Laws.*] This the Doctor hints at, in his Dedication of *The Interpreter* to the Archbiſhop, in theſe words. —'Yet the remembrance of thoſe your honourable 'Provocations, whereby at my coming to your Grace 'from the Univerſity, you firſt put me upon theſe 'Studies, at the laſt by a kind of neceſſity inforced me 'to this attempt; becauſe I could not ſee how well to 'avoid it, but by adventuring the hateful Note of 'Unthankfulneſs.'

[*C*] THE INTERPRETER.] The whole title of it was as follows, '*The Interpreter*, or Book 'containing the ſignification of Words: wherein is ſet 'forth the true meaning of all, or the moſt part of 'ſuch Words and Terms, as are mentioned in the 'Law-writers, or Statutes of this Victorious and re'nowned Kingdom, requiring any Expoſition or In'terpretation. A work not only Profitable, but 'Neceſſary for ſuch as deſire throughly to be in'ſtructed in the Knowledge of our Laws, Statutes, or 'other Antiquities. Collected by *John Cowell* Doctor, 'and the King's Majeſties Profeſſor of the Civil Law 'in the Univerſity of Cambridge. *In legum obſcuritate 'captio.*' At Cambridge, Printed by John Legate, Anno 1607, 4*to*. It was re-printed in 1609, and ſeveral times ſince, particularly in 1638, for which Archbiſhop Laud was reflected upon, and it was made an Article againſt him at his trial, as if the impreſſion of that book had been done by his authority, or at leaſt with his connivance, in order to countenance the King's arbitrary meaſures (*z*). In 1677, and 1684 it was publiſhed, with large Additions, by Tho. Manley of the Middle-Temple, Eſq and again in 1708 with very conſiderable improvements by another hand. In all theſe later Editions, thoſe paſſages that were dubious or offenſive have been corrected or omitted.

(2) Hiſt. of th. Troubles and Tryal of Arch. biſhop Laud, P. 235, Lond. 1695.

[*D*] *Sir Edward Coke reflects upon him in ſeveral pages of his Works.*] Being the grand Oracle of the Common Law, as Dr. Cowell was of the Civil, emulation produced ſo great an ill-will between theſe two great men; eſpecially becauſe the Doctor, who was well ſkilled in both Laws, practiſed frequently at Weſtminſter-hall as well as at Doctors Commons; that Sir Edward took all occaſions to affront him, and uſed to call him in deriſion Doctor *Cow-heel*. It is to be obſerved, that at that time the conteſt ran very high between the Civilians and Common-Lawyers, the latter of which were diſcountenanced by the Court (*).

(*) Fuller's Worthies in Devon. p. 262.

errors

Errors and Boldneſs [*E*]; but upon the interpoſition of the King, who declared that the man had miſtaken the fundamental points and conſtitutions of Parliament, and promiſed to condemn the Doctrines of the book as abſurd, together with the author of them, they proceeded no farther (*p*). However, the King publiſhed a Proclamation (*q*) on the 25th of March 1610 [*F*], wherein 'he not only prohibited the buying, uttering, or reading of 'the ſaid book, but alſo ſtraitly commanded all and ſingular perſons whatſoever, who had 'or ſhould have any of them in their hands or cuſtody, that upon pain of his high diſ-'pleaſure and the conſequence thereof, they deliver the ſame, preſently upon the pub-'lication thereof, to the Lord Mayor of London, if they or any of them were dwelling 'in or near that city; or otherwiſe to the Sheriff of the county where they ſhould reſide; 'and, in the two Univerſities, to the Chancellor or Vice-chancellor there, to the intent 'that further order might be given for the utter ſuppreſſing thereof [*G*].' When Dr. Cowell had thus felt the diſpleaſure of the King, and the indignation of the people, he took his leave of the preſs, and retired to his College and his private ſtudies, where he lived inoffenſively and in good repute; but not averſe however to ſerve the public, either with his advice, or any other way. It was his misfortune to be afflicted with the ſtone, for which being cut, that operation proved fatal to him; for he died of it on the eleventh of October, 1611; and was buried in the Chapel of Trinity-Hall under the Altar (*r*), where there is an inſcription to his memory [*H*]. He wrote other things beſides *the Interpreter* above-mentioned [*I*]. He was a conſiderable benefactor to the College of which he had

(*p*) *Miſcellanea Parliamentaria*, by W. Petyt, Eſq; p. 64.

(*q*) Which is inſerted in Preface to the Interpreter, edit. 1708.

(*r*) Preface, as above.

[*E*] *To cenſure his Errors and Boldneſs.*] The Errors charged upon him, were, That he had aſſerted, 1. 'That the King was *ſolutus à legibus*, and not 'bound by his Coronation-oath. 2. That it was not '*ex neceſſitate*, that the King ſhould call a Parliament 'to make Laws, but might do that by his abſolute 'Power; for *voluntas Regis* with him was *Lex populi*. '3. That it was a favour to admit the conſent of his 'ſubjects in giving of ſubſidies. 4. That he draws 'his Arguments from the Imperial Laws of the Roman 'Emperors, which are of no force in England (3). The Author of the Preface to the Edition of the Interpreter in 1708, obſerves, That theſe poſitions are ſo groſs and intolerable, that no Engliſhman would defend or excuſe them. But he ſays, that having run over moſt part of the firſt edition in 1607, 4*to.* he finds no ſuch abominable aſſertions in words at length, though there be many things too unadviſedly expreſſed which a wiſe author would have omitted, and a wiſe Government might have deſpiſed. But when a ſuſpected book is brought to the torture, it often confeſſeth all, and more than it knows.

(3) W. Petyt's *Miſcellanea Parliamentaria*, *ubi ſupra*. R. Coke's Detection, edit. 1719, vol. i. p. 63.

[*F*] *The King publiſhed a Proclamation on the 25th of March* 1610.] The beginning of this Proclamation is pretty remarkable, being as follows. 'This latter 'age and times of the World wherein we are fallen, 'is ſo much given to verbal profeſſion, as well of 'religion, as of all commendable moral virtues, but 'wanting the actions and deeds agreeable to ſo ſpe-'cious a profeſſion, as it hath bred ſuch an unſatiable 'curioſity in many mens ſpirits, and ſuch an itching in 'the Tongues and Pens of moſt men, as nothing is 'left unſearched to the bottom both in talking and 'writing. For from the very higheſt Myſteries in the 'God-head and the moſt inſcrutable counſels in the 'Trinity, to the very loweſt pit of hell, and the con-'fuſed actions of the devils there, there is nothing now 'unſearched into by the curioſity of men's brains. Men 'not being contented with the knowledge of ſo much 'of the will of God as it hath pleaſed him to reveal, 'but they will needs ſit with him in his moſt private 'cloſet, and become privy of his moſt inſcrutable 'counſels: and therefore it is no wonder, that men in 'theſe our days do not ſpare to wade in all the deepeſt 'myſteries that belong to the perſons and ſtate of 'Kings and Princes, that are Gods upon Earth: 'ſince we ſee (as we have already ſaid) that they 'ſpare not God himſelf.——

[G] *That further order might be given for the ſuppreſſing thereof.*] The reaſons alledged in the Proclamation for ſuppreſſing that book, are, That the author had fallen into many miſtakes; namely —— 'In ſome things diſputing ſo nicely upon the myſteries 'of this our Monarchy, that it may receive doubtful 'interpretations; yea in ſome points very derogatory 'to the ſupream power of this Crown: In other caſes 'miſtaking the true ſtate of the Parliament of this 'Kingdom and the fundamental conſtitutions and pri-'vileges thereof: And in ſome other points ſpeaking 'un-reverently of the Common Law of England, and 'the works of ſome of the moſt famous and ancient 'Judges therein: it being a thing utterly unlawful to 'any ſubject, to ſpeak or write againſt that Law 'under which he liveth.'—This whole Proclamation is manifeſtly in the ſtile of that pedantic Monarch, who then ſat upon the throne.

[*H*] *Where there is an inſcription to his memory.*] And which runs thus; *Johannes Cowell, L.L.D. Cuſtos hujus Collegii, Juris Civilis in hac Academia Cantab. Profeſſor Regius, Vicarius Generalis Cantuarienſis Provinciæ ſub Domino Richardo Bancroft, Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, hic expectat Reſurrectionem. Obiit undecimo die menſis Oct. Ann. Dom.* 1611. i. e. 'John Cowell 'L. L. D. Maſter of this College, the King's Profeſſor of Civil Law in this Univerſity of Cambridge, 'and Vicar General of the Province of Canterbury, 'under Richard Bancroft Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, waits here for the Reſurrection. He died 'the eleventh day of October, in the year of our Lord '1611 (4).'

(4) Pref. *ubi ſupra*.

[*I*] *He wrote other things beſides the Interpreter.*] In 1605, he publiſhed *Inſtitutiones juris Anglicani ad methodum & ſeriem inſtitutionum Imperialium compoſitæ & digeſtæ. Cantab.* 8*vo.* i. e. 'Inſtitutes of 'the Laws of England in the ſame method as 'Juſtinian's Inſtitutes (5).' He alſo compoſed 'A 'Tract *De Regulis Juris* [of the Rules of the Law] 'wherein his intent was, by collating the caſes of both 'Laws to ſhew, that they both be raiſed of one 'Foundation, and differ more in Language and Terms 'than in ſubſtance, and therefore were they reduced 'to one method (as they eaſily might) to be attained '(in a manner) with all one pains.' But it doth not appear that this laſt was ever publiſhed (6). M.

(5) Wood, Faſti, vol. i. col. 160.

(6) See Pref. to the Reader, in the beginning of The Interpreter.

*** [On the 27th of February, 1609-10, the Commons ſent a meſſage to the Lords, to acquaint them, 'That they had taken notice of a book lately publiſhed by one Dr. Cowell, which they conceive does contain matters of ſcandal and offence towards the High Court of Parliament, and is otherways of dangerous conſequence and example: That being deſirous there ſhould be a joint examination of the offenſive contents of the ſaid Book, and ſome courſe taken for the puniſhment of the perſon who publiſhed the ſame; they therefore deſire their Lordſhips to appoint a conference for that purpoſe.' To this meſſage the Lords returned a very civil anſwer, declaring, 'That they were willing to join with them in any cauſe proper to maintain the honour of that High Court, and to cheriſh a mutual correſpondence between both Houſes, which together make the body of the Parliament, whereof his Majeſty is the head.' Accordingly, a time and place were appointed for a conference, which having been held, the Report of it was made to the Peers on the third of March, when the

had been Fellow, to the Hall of which he was Maſter, and to the Univerſity of which he had been Governor.

the Lord Privy Seal (Henry Howard Earl of Northampton) informed them, 'That the Attorney General, in delivering the ſenſe of the Lower Houſe, did very modeſtly and diſcreetly lay open the offence taken againſt the party, and the dangerous conſequence of the Book.' Afterwards, the Biſhop of London (Dr. George Abbot) read the particular exceptions which the Commons had made to Dr. Cowell's work. Theſe were, 1. On the word *Subſidy*; 2. On the word *King*; 3. On the word *Parliament*; 4. On the word *Prerogative*. On all theſe words Dr. Cowell had enlarged himſelf in ſo unadviſed a manner, that the Commons regarded his aſſertions as very offenſive, and likely to be productive of pernicious effects. When this report was made, the Lords, having taken a little time to conſider of it, thought proper to ſend a meſſage to the other Houſe, to deſire another conference concerning the Book; and in the mean while ordered their Clerk to ſearch for Precedents with reſpect to the mode of proceeding in matters of this nature. The next day, the Lord Treaſurer informed the Peers, that his Majeſty had taken notice of the buſineſs, and had lately peruſed the places in the book to which exceptions were taken; that he had called Cowell before him, and heard his anſwers; and that having duly conſidered of the errors committed by the Author, he was graciouſly pleaſed to deliver his Judgment and Reſolution to the Lords, to be by them communicated to the Committee of the Commons. What the Reſolution was doth not appear; for here the affair ended, ſo far as it ſtands upon the Journals of the Houſe. The King's interference was undoubtedly intended to ſcreen Dr. Cowell from the effects of Parliamentary Cenſure and Reſentment. It is ſaid that James the Firſt had declared his approbation of the Doctor's Book; and that he had let fall ſome expreſſions at his Table, in Derogation of the Common Law of England, and highly extolling the Civil Law, as far preferable to the other. As the King had given ſufficient indications of his love of arbitrary Government, it was wiſe in Parliament to ſeize every becoming opportunity of ſuppreſſing ſuch a diſpoſition in him, and of teſtifying their averſion to principles which were hoſtile to the freedom of the conſtitution (7).] K.

(7) Parliamentary Hiſt. vol. 5. p. 221—225. 2d. edit.

COWLEY (ABRAHAM), one of our beſt Poets of the XVIIth century, was born at London (in Fleet-ſtreet, near the end of Chancery-lane, in the pariſh of St. Dunſtan in the Weſt) in the year 1618, and fifteenth of King James I. His father, who was a Grocer, dying before the birth of this his ſon, his mother, by the intereſt of her friends, procured him to be admitted a King's Scholar in Weſtminſter-ſchool (*a*). His firſt, and early, inclination to Poetry was occaſioned by accidentally reading Spenſer's *Fairy Queen* [*A*], a Poem fitter for the examination of men, than the conſideration of a child: but in him it met with a fancy the ſtrength of which was not to be judged by the number of his years (*b*). In the ſixteenth year of his age, being ſtill at Weſtminſter-ſchool, he publiſhed a collection of Verſes, under the title of *Poetical Bloſſoms* [*B*], in which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit [*C*]. It is remarkable of Mr. Cowley, what he himſelf tells us (*c*), that he had this defect in his memory, that

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 120.

(*b*) Sprat's Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, edit. Lond. 1721, 12*mo*. p. 3.

(*c*) In his Eſſay on himſelf. See his Works, vol. ii. p. 718.

[*A*] *His firſt, and early, inclination to Poetry was occaſioned by accidentally reading* Spenſer's Fairy Queen.] This we learn from our Poet himſelf. 'I believe, 'ſays he (1), I can tell the particular little chance 'that filled my head firſt with ſuch chimes of verſes, 'as have never ſince left ringing there: for I remember when I began to read, and take ſome pleaſure in 'it, there was wont to lye in my mother's parlour (I 'know not by what accident, for ſhe herſelf never in 'her life read any book but of devotion) but there was 'wont to lye *Spenſer's Works:* this I happened to fall 'upon, and was infinitely delighted with the ſtories of 'the knights, and giants, and monſters, and brave 'houſes, which I found every where (though my 'underſtanding had little to do with all this) and by 'degrees with the tinckling of the rhyme, and dance 'of the numbers; ſo that I think I had read him all 'over before I was twelve years old, and was thus 'made a Poet as immediately as a child is made an 'eunuch.'

(1) In his Eſſay on himſelf. See Mr. Cowley's Works, Lond. 1721, 12*mo*. vol. ii. p. 719.

[*B*] *He publiſhed a collection of verſes under the title of* Poetical Bloſſoms.] They were publiſhed at London in 1633 (2), and conſequently in Mr. Cowley's fifteenth year; ſo that Dr. Sprat is miſtaken in ſaying (3) this book came out in the thirteenth year of his age. It contains among other pieces, *Antonius and Melida*, and *The tragical hiſtory of Pyramus and Thiſbe*. The firſt is dedicated to Dr. Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, and the other to his maſter Mr. Lambert Oſbaldeſton. Before both is his picture, and his age ſet over it, *viz.* 13, but erroneous. There are prefixed ſome recommendatory verſes by ſome of his ſchool-fellows; and at the end are two *Elegies*, one on Dudley Lord Carleton, and the other on his kinſman Richard Clerk of Lincoln's-Inn; and *A Dream of Elyſium* (4).

(2) Wood, Faſti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 120.

(3) Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, p. 4.

(4) Wood, *ibid.*

[*C*] — *In which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit.*] Mr. Cowley himſelf has given us (5) a ſpecimen in the latter end of an Ode, written when he was but thirteen years of age. *The beginning of it*, ſays he, *is boyiſh, but of this part which I here ſet down, if a very little were corrected, I ſhould hardly now be much aſhamed.*

(5) In his Eſſay on himſelf, *ubi ſupra*, p. 718.

IX.

This only grant me, that my means may lye,
Too low for envy, for contempt too high.
Some honour I would have
Not from great deeds, but good alone:
The unknown are better than ill known.
Rumour can ope' the grave:
Acquaintance I wou'd have, but when't depends
Not on the number, but the choice of friends.

X.

Books ſhou'd, not buſineſs, entertain the light,
And ſleep, as undiſturb'd as death, the night:
My houſe a cottage, more
Than palace, and ſhou'd fitting be
For all my uſe, no luxury:
My garden painted o'er
With nature's hand, not art's; and pleaſures yield,
Horace might envy in his Sabine field.

XI.

Thus wou'd I double my life's fading ſpace,
For he that runs it well, twice runs his race.
And in this true delight,
Theſe unbought ſports, that happy ſtate,
I wou'd not fear, nor wiſh my fate;
But boldly ſay each night,
To-morrow let my ſun his beams diſplay,
Or in clouds hide them, I have liv'd to day.

You may ſee by it, adds Mr. Cowley, *I was even then acquainted with the Poets, for the concluſion is taken out of Horace; and perhaps it was the immature and immoderate love of them, which ſtampt firſt, or rather engraved, the characters in me: they were like letters cut in the bark of a young tree, which with the tree ſtill grow proportionably.*

his

his teachers could never bring him to retain the ordinary rules of grammar; the want of which however he abundantly supplied by an intimate acquaintance with the books themselves, whence those rules had been drawn. With these extraordinary hopes, he was removed to Trinity-college in Cambridge, being elected a Scholar of that House in 1636 (*d*). Here the continuance and progress of his wit gained him the love and esteem of the most eminent Members of that Society. His exercises of all kinds were highly applauded, with this peculiar praise, that they were fit, not only for the obscurity of an academical life, but to have appeared on the true theatre of the world. And here it was that he wrote, or at least laid the designs of most of those masculine works, which he afterwards finished. In 1638, he published his *Love's Riddle* [*D*], a pastoral comedy, and a Latin comedy intitled *Naufragium Joculare* [*E*], or the *Merry Shipwreck*. The first occasion of his entring into business, was, an *Elegy* he wrote *On the death of Mr. William Harvey* [*F*]; which brought him acquainted with Mr. John Harvey, the brother of his deceased friend, from whom he received many offices of kindness through the whole course of his life (*e*). In 1643, being then Master of Arts, he was, among many others, ejected from his College and the University; whereupon, retiring to Oxford, he settled in St. John's College, and, that same year, under the name of a Scholar of Oxford, published a Satire (*f*), intituled *The Puritan and the Papist* [*G*]. His affection to the Royal Cause engaged him in the service of the King, and he was present in several of his Majesty's journies and expeditions. By this means he gained an acquaintance and familiarity with the great men of the Court and the Gown, and particularly had the entire friendship of my Lord Falkland, one of the Principal Secretaries of State. During the heat of the Civil War, he was settled in the family of the Earl of St. Alban's [*H*], and accompanied the Queen-Mother, when she was obliged to retire into France. He was absent from his native country about ten years [*I*]; which were wholly spent either in bearing a share in the distresses of the Royal Family, or in labouring their affairs. To this purpose he took several dangerous journies into Jersey, Scotland, Flanders, Holland, and elsewhere; and was the principal instrument in maintaining a constant correspondence between the King and his Royal Consort, whose letters he cyphered and decyphered with his own hand (*g*). His Poems intituled *The Mistress*, were published at London in 1647, and his comedy called *The Guardian*, afterwards altered and published under the title of *Cutter of Coleman-street* [*K*], in 1650 (*h*). In 1656 (*i*), it

(*d*) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(*e*) Sprat's Account, &c. *ubi supra*, p. 4, 5.

(*f*) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(g) Life, &c. p. 5, 6, 7.
(*h*) Wood, *ib.*
(*i*) *Id. ibid.*

[*D*] *His* Love's Riddle.] It was written at the time of his being a King's Scholar in Westminster-School, and dedicated by a Copy of Verses to Sir Kenelm Digby, to whom he thus apologizes for it:

Take it as early fruits, which rare appear,
Though not half ripe, but worst of all the year;
And if it please your taste, my muse will say,
The birch, which crown'd her then, is grown a bay.

(6) Account of the English Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691, 8*vo*. p. 82.

Langbain pretends (6), it was first printed with his *Poetical Blossoms*, in 4*to*, London, 1633, and afterwards printed with the second volume of his works in *folio* 1681.

[*E*] *His Latin Comedy, intitled* Naufragium Joculare.] It was acted before the University of Cambridge by the members of Trinity-College, February the second, and printed the same year at London, in *octavo* (7).

(7) *Id. ib.* p. 86; and Wood, *ubi supra*, col. 121.

[*F*] *His* Elegy on the death of Mr. William Harvey.] There appears to have been the strictest and most intimate friendship between Mr. Cowley and that Gentleman (8):

(8) See the Elegy among Mr. Cowley's Miscellanies in vol. i. p. 20.

He was my friend, the truest friend on earth;
A strong and mighty influence joyn'd our birth;
Nor did we envy the most sounding name
By friendship given of old to fame.

Their conversation was chiefly employ'd in the improvement of their minds:

Say, for you saw us, ye immortal lights,
How oft unwearied have we spent the nights,
'Till the Ledæan stars so fam'd for Love
Wonder'd at us from above?

We spent them not in toys, in lusts, or wine;
But search of deep philosophy,
Wit, Eloquence, and Poetry,
Arts which I lov'd, for they, my friend, were thine.

Mr. Cowley tells us, he communicated his poems, as fast as he wrote them, to Mr. Harvey, for his approbation:

To him my muse made haste with ev'ry strain,
Whilst it was new, and warm yet from the brain:
He lov'd my worthless Rhimes, and like a friend
Wou'd find out something to commend.

[*G*] *He publish'd a Satire, intitled* The Puritan and the Papist.] It was printed in one sheet and a half in *quarto*, and re-published at London in 1682, in *quarto*, in a book intitled, *Wit and Loyalty revived in a Collection of some smart Satires in verse and prose on the late times*. The writer of the Preface to this book complains, that this Satire of Mr. Cowley's was not published by the Editor of his first Collection of Poems, for which he assigns two presumptive reasons. He wonders likewise, that the Poem called *Brutus*, and that upon the Bishop of Lincoln's *Enlargement from the Tower*, which he imagines not to have been written by Mr. Cowley (*), had met with such good fortune as to have a place there (9).

(*) They are inserted in all the editions of his Works.

(9) Wood, *ubi supra*.

[*H*] *He was settled in the family of the Earl of St.* Alban's.] Dr. Sprat tells us (10), Mr. Cowley was obliged for this settlement to Mr. John Harvey, brother of his deceased friend Mr. William Harvey (11). But Anthony Wood tells us (12), that when Mr. Cowley came to Paris, he fell into the acquaintance of Dr. Stephen Goffe, a brother of the Oratory, by whose means he was placed and preferred in that noble family.

(10) Life, &c. p. 5.
(11) See the remark [*F*].
(12) *Ubi supra*; and *Fasti Oxon.* vol. i. col. 271.

[*I*] *He was absent from his native country about ten years.*] I assign this space of time for Mr. Cowley's absence upon the authority of Mr. Wood, who assures us (13), he left Oxford a little before the surrender of that city to the Parliament; which being in the year 1646, and Mr. Cowley returning in 1656, he could not be absent a longer term; though the author of his *Life* pretends he was twelve years abroad.

(13) *Ubi supra*.

[*K*] *His Comedy called* The Guardian, *afterwards altered and published under the title of* Cutter of Coleman-street.] The *Guardian* was acted before Prince Charles at Trinity College in Cambridge, March the 12th, 1641, and printed at London, in 4*to*. in 1650 (14). Mr. Cowley, in the *Preface* to his *Poems* (15), complaining of the publication of some things of his without his consent or knowledge, and those so mangled and

(14) *Id. ibid.*
(15) Printed after his return into England. See his Works, vol. i. p. 44.

it was thought proper by thoſe, on whom Mr. Cowley depended, that he ſhould come over into England, and, under pretence of privacy and retirement, ſhould give notice of the poſture of affairs in this nation (*k*). Upon his return, he publiſhed a new edition of all his Poems, conſiſting of four parts; *viz.* I. *Miſcellanies* [*L*]: II. *The Miſtreſs, or Several Copies of Love-Verſes* [*M*]: III. *Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the Style and manner of Pindar* [*N*]: IV. *Davideis, a ſacred Poem of the troubles of David, in four books.*

(*k*) Life, &c. p. 7.

and imperfect, that he could neither with honour acknowledge, nor with honeſty quite diſavow them; adds: 'Of which ſort was a Comedy called *The* '*Guardian*, made and acted before the Prince, in his 'paſſage through Cambridge towards York, at the be- 'ginning of the late unhappy war; or rather neither 'made nor acted, but rough-drawn only and repeated: 'for the haſte was ſo great, that it could neither be 'reviſed or perfected by the author, nor learned with- 'out book by the Actors, nor ſet forth in any meaſure 'tolerably by the Officers of the College.' This Mr. Cowley thought fit to acquaint the Prince with in the Prologue addreſs'd to him (16), which concludes with theſe lines:

(16) It is printed together with the Epilogue, among his Miſcellanies.

Accept our haſty zeal; a thing that's play'd
E'er 'tis a Play, and acted e'er 'tis made.
Our ignorance, but our duty too we ſhow;
I would all ignorant people wou'd do ſo!
At other times expect our wit and art:
This comedy is acted by the heart.

And in the Epilogue:

But pow'r your grace can above nature give:
It can give pow'r to make abortives live;
In which if our bold wiſhes ſhou'd be croſt,
'Tis but the life of one poor week 't has loſt:
Though it ſhou'd fall beneath your mortal ſcorn,
Scarce cou'd it dye more quickly than 'twas born.

(17) Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. 44.

'After the repreſentation, *ſays our author* (17) (which 'I confeſs, was ſomewhat of the lateſt), I began to 'look it over, and changed it very much, ſtriking 'out ſome whole parts, as that of the *Poet* and the '*Soldier*: but I have loſt the copy, and dare not think 'it deſerves the pains to write it again, which makes 'me omit it in this publication, though there be ſome 'things in it, which I am not aſhamed of, taking the 'excuſe of my age, and ſmall experience in human 'converſation, when I made it. But, as it is, it is 'only the haſty firſt-ſitting of a picture, and therefore 'like to reſemble me accordingly.' This Comedy, Langbaine tells us (18), notwithſtanding Mr. Cowley's modeſt opinion of it, was acted, not only at Cambridge, but ſeveral times afterwards privately, during the prohibition of the Stage, and, after the King's return, publickly at Dublin, and always with applauſe. It was this, probably, which put the author upon reviſing it; after which he permitted it to appear publickly upon the Stage, under a new title, as indeed it was in a manner a new Play, calling it *Cutter of Coleman Street*. Under this name, it was acted at his Royal Highneſs's theatre, and printed at London in 1663, in 4*to*. It met with ſome oppoſition at firſt from ſome, who envied the author's unſhaken loyalty: but afterwards it was acted with univerſal applauſe, and was generally eſteemed an excellent Comedy.

(18) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 81.

[*L*] *His* Miſcellanies.] 'Some of theſe, *ſays our* '*author* (†), were made when I was very young, 'which it is perhaps ſuperfluous to tell the reader. I 'know not by what chance I have kept copies of them; 'for they are but a very few in compariſon with thoſe 'I have loſt, and I think have no extraordinary virtue 'in them, to deſerve more care in preſervation, than 'was beſtowed upon their brethren; for which I am 'ſo little concerned, that I am aſhamed of the arrogancy 'of the word, when I ſaid *I had loſt them*.' This Collection conſiſts of *Odes, Elegies*, &c. with ſome *imitations* of *Horace* and *Martial*; together with *eleven Anacreontiques*, or paraphraſtical imitations of Anacreon.

(†) *Ibid.* p. 51.

[*M*] *His* Miſtreſs, or ſeveral Copies of Love-verſes.] Let us firſt hear what our Poet himſelf ſays of this part of his compoſitions. 'Poets, *ſays he* (19),

(19) *Ibid.*

'are ſcarcely thought free-men of their company, 'without paying ſome duties, and obliging them- 'ſelves to be true to love. Sooner or later they muſt 'all paſs through that trial, like ſome Mahometan 'Monks, that are bound by their order, once at leaſt 'in their life, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

'In furias ignemque ruunt, amor omnibus idem.

'But we muſt not always make a judgment of their 'manners from their writings of this kind, as the 'Romaniſts uncharitably do of Beza for a few laſcivi- 'ous Sonnets compoſed by him in his youth. It is 'not in this ſenſe that Poeſie is ſaid to be a kind of 'painting: it is not the picture of the poet, but of 'things and perſons imagined by him. He may be 'in his practice and diſpoſition a philoſopher, and 'yet ſometimes ſpeak with the ſoftneſs of an amorous 'Sappho.

'Feret et rubus aſper amomum.

'He profeſſes too much the uſe of fable (though with- 'out the malice of deceiving) to have his teſtimony 'taken even againſt himſelf. Neither would I here 'be miſunderſtood, as if I affected ſo much gravity, as 'to be aſhamed to be thought really in love. On the 'contrary, I cannot have a good opinion of any man 'who is not at leaſt capable of being ſo. But I ſpeak 'it to excuſe ſome expreſſions (if ſuch there be) which 'may happen to offend the ſeverity of ſupercilious 'readers: for much exceſs is to be allowed in love, 'and even more in poetry, ſo we avoid the two un- 'pardonable vices in both, which are, obſcenity and 'profaneneſs, of which, I am ſure, if my words be 'ever guilty, they have ill repreſented my thoughts 'and intentions.' What opinion Dr. Sprat had of Mr. Cowley's *Miſtreſs* appears by the following paſſage (20). *If there needed any excuſe to be made that his Love-verſes take up ſo great a ſhare in his works, it may be alledged, that they were compoſed when he was very young. But it is a vain thing to make any kind of apology for that ſort of writings. If devout or virtuous men will ſuperciliouſly forbid the minds of the young, to adorn thoſe ſubjects about which they are moſt converſant, they would put them out of all capacity of performing graver matters, when they come to them. For the exerciſes of all mens wits muſt be always proper for their age, and never too much above it: and by practice and uſe in lighter arguments they grow up at laſt to excel in the moſt weighty. I am not therefore aſhamed to commend Mr.* Cowley's Miſtreſs. *I only except one or two expreſſions, which I wiſh I could have prevailed with thoſe that had the right of the other edition, to have left out. But of all the reſt I dare boldly pronounce, that never yet ſo much was written on a ſubject ſo delicate, that can leſs offend the ſevereſt rules of morality. The whole paſſion of Love is intimately deſcribed, with all its mighty train of hopes, and joys, and diſquiets. Beſides this amorous tenderneſs, I know not how in every copy there is ſomething of more uſeful knowledge very naturally and gracefully inſinuated, and every where there may be ſomething found, to inform the minds of wiſe men, as well as to move the hearts of young men or women.*

(20) See Life, &c. p. 15, 16.

[*N*] *His* Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the ſtyle and manner of Pindar.] The occaſion of Mr. Cowley's falling on the Pindaric way of writing, Dr. Sprat tells us (21), was, his accidentally meeting with Pindar's works, in a place where he had no other books to direct him. Having then conſidered at leiſure the height of his invention, and the majeſty of his ſtyle, he tried immediately to imitate it in Engliſh. And he performed it (ſays my author) without the danger that Horace preſaged to the man who ſhould dare

(21) *Ibid.* p. 16.

books [O]. Soon after his return, he was ſeized on, through a miſtake, the ſearch being intended

dare to attempt it. Dr. Sprat then vindicates the ſtyle and manner of Mr. Cowley's *Pindariques*. 'If any, 'ſays he, are diſpleaſed at the boldneſs of his meta-'phors, and length of his digreſſions, they contend 'not againſt Mr. Cowley, but Pindar himſelf, who 'was ſo much reverenced by all antiquity, that the 'place of his birth was preſerved as ſacred, when his 'native city was twice deſtroyed by the fury of two 'conquerors. If the irregularity of the numbers diſ-'guſt them, they may obſerve, that this very thing 'makes that kind of poetry fit for all manner of ſub-'jects; for the pleaſant, the grave, the amorous, the 'heroic, the philoſophical, the moral, the divine. 'Beſides this they will find, that the frequent alteration 'of the rhythm and feet affects the mind with a more 'various delight, while it is ſoon apt to be tired by 'the ſettled pace of one conſtant meaſure. But that, 'for which I think this inequality of numbers is chiefly 'to be preferred, is, its nearer affinity with proſe; 'from which all other kinds of Engliſh verſe are ſo 'far diſtant, that it is very ſeldom found, that the 'ſame man excels in both ways. But now this looſe 'and unconfined meaſure has all the grace and har-'mony of the moſt confined. And withal it is ſo 'large and free, that the practice of it will only 'exalt, not corrupt, our proſe: which is certainly 'the moſt uſeful kind of writing of all others; for it 'is the ſtyle of all buſineſs and converſation.' Mr. Cowley himſelf, ſpeaking of his Pindaric Odes (22), tells us, he is in great doubt whether they will be underſtood by moſt readers, nay, even by very many, who are well enough acquainted with the common roads and ordinary tracks of poeſie. *They either are*, ſays he, *or at leaſt were meant to be, of that kind of ſtyle, which Dion Halicarnaſſus calls* μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ ἡδὺ μετὰ δεινότητος, *and which he attributes to Alcæus. The digreſſions are many and ſudden, and ſometimes long, according to the faſhion of all* Lyriques, *and of* Pindar *above all men living. The figures are unuſual and bold, even to temerity, and ſuch as I durſt not have to do withal in any other kind of poetry. The numbers are various and irregular, and ſometimes (eſpecially ſome of the long ones) ſeem harſh and uncouth, if the juſt meaſures and cadencies be not obſerved in the pronunciation. So that almoſt all their ſweetneſs and numeroſity (which is to be found, if I miſtake not, in the roughеſt, if rightly repeated) lies in a manner wholly at the mercy of the reader.* Mr. Cowley adds: 'I have briefly de-'ſcribed the nature of theſe verſes, in the *Ode* in-'titled *The Reſurrection:* and though the liberty of 'them may incline a man to believe them eaſy to be 'compoſed, yet the undertaker will find it otherwiſe:

(22) Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. 52.

——— Ut ſibi quivis
Speret idem, ſudet multum, fruſtraque laboret
Auſus idem.

The verſes our author refers to are theſe:

Stop, ſtop, my muſe, allay thy vigorous heat
Kindled at a hint ſo great.
Hold thy *Pindarique Pegaſus* cloſely in,
Which does to *rage* begin,
And this ſteep hill wou'd gallop up with violent courſe.
'Tis an unruly and a *hard-mouth'd* horſe
Fierce and unbroken yet,
Impatient of the *ſpur* or *bit:*
Now *prances* ſtately, and anon *flies* o'er the place,
Diſdains the *ſervile law* of any *ſettled* pace,
Conſcious and proud of his own *natural force:*
'Twill no unſkilful touch endure,
But flings *writer* and *reader* too that ſits not ſure.

Two of our greateſt poets, at the ſame time that they allow Mr. Cowley to have been a very ſucceſsful Imitator of Pindar, yet find fault with his numbers. Mr. Dryden, having told us (23), that *our author brought* Pindaric *verſe as near perfection as was poſſible in ſo ſhort a time*, adds: 'But if I may be allowed to ſpeak 'my mind modeſtly, and without injury to his ſacred 'aſhes, ſomewhat of the purity of Engliſh, ſomewhat 'of more equal thoughts, ſomewhat of ſweetneſs 'in the numbers, in one word, ſomewhat of a finer 'turn and more Lyrical verſe is yet wanting.' And Mr. Congreve, having excepted againſt the irregularity of the meaſure of the Engliſh Pindaric Odes, yet obſerves (24), that *the beauty of* Mr. Cowley's *verſes are an atonement for the irregularity of his Stanzas*; and that *though he did not imitate Pindar in the ſtrictneſs of his numbers, he has very often happily copied him in the force of his figures, and ſublimity of his ſtyle and ſentiments.*

(23) Preface to the firſt Part of Miſcellany Poems, Lond. 1716, 12mo. p. 32, 33.

(24) Preface to his Pindarique Ode to the Queen. See his Works, vol. iii. p. 344, 345, edit. Lond. 1716, 12mo.

[O] *His* Davideis, a ſacred Poem of the troubles of David in four books.] Our poet tells us himſelf (25), he deſign'd to have written this poem in *twelve books*, not for the ſake of the *twelve tribes*, but after the pattern of Virgil, and to have cloſed it with that moſt poetical and admirable Elegy of David's on the death of Saul and Jonathan. 'This, *ſays he*, was the *whole* 'deſign, in which there are many noble and fertile 'arguments behind; as, The barbarous Cruelty of 'Saul to the Prieſts at Nob, the ſeveral flights and 'eſcapes of David, with the manner of his living in 'the wilderneſs, the Funeral of Samuel, the Love of 'Abigail, the ſacking of Ziklag, the loſs and recovery 'of David's wives from the Amalekites, the witch of 'Endor, the war with the Philiſtines, and the Battle 'of Gilboa; all which I meant to interweave upon 'ſeveral occaſions, with moſt of the illuſtrious ſtories 'of the Old Teſtament, and to embelliſh with the 'moſt remarkable Antiquities of the Jews, and of other 'nations before or at that age. But I have had nei-'ther leiſure hitherto, nor have appetite at preſent to 'finiſh the work, or ſo much as to reviſe that part, 'which is done, with that care, which I reſolved to 'beſtow upon it, and which the dignity of the matter 'deſerves.' After diſplaying the great excellence and dignity of his ſubject, Mr. Cowley complains very pathetically of the great proſtitution of poetry to mean and unworthy purpoſes, and recommends the choice of *divine ſubjects* in terms, which, ſurely, merit the ſerious conſideration of every ſon of Apollo. 'It is not without grief and indignation, *ſays he*, that 'I behold that *divine Science* employing all her inex-'hauſtible riches of wit and eloquence, either in 'wicked and beggarly flattery of great perſons, or 'the unmanly idolizing of fooliſh women, or the 'wretched affectation of ſcurril laughter, or at beſt 'on the confuſed antiquated dreams of ſenſeleſs fa-'bles and metamorphoſes. Amongſt all holy and 'conſecrated things, which the devil ever ſtole and 'alienated from the ſervice of the Deity, as, altars, 'temples, ſacrifices, prayers, and the like, there is 'none that he ſo univerſally and ſo long uſurped, as 'Poetry. It is time to recover it out of the tyrant's 'hands, and to reſtore it to the kingdom of God, who 'is the father of it. There wants, methinks, but 'the converſion of that, and the Jews, for the accom-'pliſhment of the kingdom of Chriſt.—I do not 'wonder that the old poets made ſome rich crops 'out of theſe grounds (*); the heart of the ſoil was 'was not then wrought out with continual tillage. 'But what can we expect now, who come a gleaning, 'not after the firſt reapers, but after the very beggars? 'Beſides, though thoſe mad ſtories of the Gods and 'Heroes ſeem in themſelves ſo ridiculous, yet they 'were then the whole body (or rather chaos) of the 'Theology of thoſe times. They were believed by 'all, but a few Philoſophers, and perhaps ſome 'Atheiſts, and ſerved to good purpoſe among the 'vulgar (as pitiful things as they are) in ſtrengthening 'the authority of Law with the terrors of conſcience, 'and expectation of certain rewards and unavoidable 'puniſhments. There was no other religion, and 'therefore that was better than none at all. But to 'us, who have no need of them, to us who deride their 'folly, and are wearied with their impertinences, 'they ought to appear no better arguments for verſe, 'than thoſe of their worthy ſucceſſors the Knights-'errant. What can we imagine more proper for the 'ornaments of wit and learning in the ſtory of

(*) The fabulous Stories of Paganiſm.

(25) Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. 53, 54.

tended after another gentleman of conſiderable note in the King's party. The Uſurpers would fain have brought over Mr. Cowley to their intereſt, but, all their attempts proving fruitleſs, he was committed to a ſevere reſtraint, and with ſome difficulty at laſt obtained his liberty, upon the hard terms of a thouſand pounds bail, which burthen Dr. Scarborough very honourably took upon himſelf. Under theſe bonds he continued till the general redemption; when, taking the opportunity of the confuſions that followed upon Cromwell's death, he ventured back into France, and there remained in the ſame ſtation as before, 'till near the time of the King's return (*l*). This account is a ſufficient vindication of Mr. Cowley's unſhaken loyalty, which ſome endeavoured to call in queſtion [*P*]. During his ſtay in England, he wrote his *Two Books of Plants*, publiſhed firſt in 1662; to which he afterwards added *four books* more; and all ſix, together with his other Latin Poems, were printed at London in 1678 [*Q*]. It appears by Mr. Wood's *Faſti Oxonienſes* that

(*l*) *Ibid.*

'*Deucalion*, than in that of *Noah*? Why will not 'the actions of *Sampſon* afford as plentiful matter as 'the labours of *Hercules*? Why is not *Jephthah's* 'daughter as good a woman as *Iphigenia*? and the 'friendſhip of *David* and *Jonathan* more worthy 'celebration, than that of *Theſeus* and *Pirithous*? Does 'not the paſſage of *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* into the '*Holy Land*, yield incomparably more poetical variety, 'than the voyages of *Ulyſſes* or *Æneas*? Are the 'obſolete thread-bare tales of *Thebes* and *Troy*, half ſo 'ſtored with great, heroical, and ſupernatural actions '(ſince verſe will needs find, or make ſuch) as the wars 'of *Joſhua*, of the *Judges*, of *David*, and divers 'others? Can all the *Tranſformations* of the *gods* 'give ſuch copious hints to flouriſh and expatiate on 'as the *true miracles* of *Chriſt*, or of his *Prophets* and '*Apoſtles*? Why do I inſtance in theſe few particulars? All the Books of the *Bible* are either already 'moſt admirable and exalted pieces of Poeſie, or are 'the beſt materials in the world for it.' Mr. Cowley's Davideis *was written*, ſays Dr. Sprat (26), *in ſo young an age, that, if we ſhall reflect on the vaſtneſs of the argument and his manner of handling it, he may ſeem like one of the miracles, that he there adorns, like a boy attempting Goliah.—This perhaps may be the reaſon, that in ſome places there is more youthfulneſs and redundance of fancy, than his riper judgment would have allowed—But for the main of it, I will affirm, that it is a better inſtance and beginning of a Divine Poem, than ever I yet ſaw in any language. The contrivance is perfectly antient, which is certainly the true form of heroic poetry, and ſuch as was never yet out-done by any new devices of modern wits. The ſubject was truly divine, even according to God's own heart. The matter of his invention, all the treaſures of knowledge and hiſtories of the Bible. The model of it comprehended all the learning of the Eaſt. The characters lofty and various: the numbers firm and powerful: the digreſſions beautiful and proportionable: the deſign, to ſubmit mortal wit to heavenly truths. In all there is an admirable mixture of human virtues and paſſions, with religious raptures.* (26) Life, &c. p. 18.

'The truth is, adds the Lifewriter (27), methinks, 'in other matters his wit excelled moſt other mens; 'but in his Moral and Divine works it out-did itſelf. 'And no doubt it proceeded from this cauſe, that, 'in the lighter kinds of poetry, he chiefly repreſented the humours and affections of others; but in 'theſe he ſat to himſelf, and drew the figure of his 'own mind.' We have the *Firſt Book* of the *Davideis* tranſlated out of Engliſh into very elegant Latin verſe by Mr. Cowley himſelf. (27) *Ibid.* p. 19.

[*P*] *Mr. Cowley's loyalty was called in queſtion.*] This, Dr. Sprat tells us (28), was occaſioned by a few lines in the preface to one of his books. 'The ob-'jection, *ſays he*, I muſt not paſs by in ſilence, be-'cauſe it was the only part of his life that was liable 'to miſinterpretation, even by the confeſſion of thoſe 'that envyed his fame. In this caſe perhaps it were 'enough to alledge for him to men of moderate minds, 'that what he there ſaid was publiſhed before a book 'of poetry, and ſo ought rather to be eſteemed as a 'problem of his fancy and invention, than as a real 'image of his judgment. But his defence in this 'matter may be laid on a ſurer foundation. This is 'the true reaſon to be given of his delivering that 'opinion. Upon his coming over, he found the ſtate 'of the royal party very deſperate. He perceived 'the ſtrength of their enemies ſo united, that, 'till it 'ſhould begin to break within itſelf, all endeavours 'againſt it were like to prove unſucceſsful. On the 'other ſide, he beheld their zeal for his Majeſty's 'cauſe to be ſtill ſo active, that it often hurried them 'into inevitable ruin. He ſaw this with much grief; 'and though he approved their conſtancy as much as 'any man living, yet he found their unſeaſonable 'ſhewing it did only diſable themſelves, and give 'their adverſaries great advantages of riches and 'ſtrength by their defeats. He therefore believed 'that it would be a meritorious ſervice to the king, 'if any man, who was known to have followed his 'intereſt, could inſinuate into the uſurpers minds 'that men of his principles were now willing to be 'quiet, and could perſwade the poor oppreſſed Roy-'aliſts to conceal their affections for better occaſions. 'And as for his own particular, he was a cloſe priſoner 'when he wrote that againſt which the exception is 'made; ſo that he ſaw it was impoſſible for him to 'purſue the ends for which he came hither, if he did 'not make ſome kind of declaration of his peaceable 'intentions. This was then his opinion; and the 'ſucceſs of the thing ſeems to prove that it was not 'very ill grounded. For certainly it was one of the 'greateſt helps to the King's affairs, about the latter 'end of that tyranny, that many of his beſt friends 'diſſembled their counſels, and acted the ſame deſigns, 'under the diſguiſes and names of other parties.' *This Sir*, adds the Life-writer, addreſſing himſelf to Mr. Martin Clifford, *you can teſtify to have been the innocent occaſion of theſe words, on which ſo much clamour was raiſed. Yet ſeeing his good intentions were ſo ill interpreted, he told me, the laſt time that ever I ſaw him, that he would have them omitted in the next impreſſion, of which his friend Mr. Cook is a witneſs. However, if we ſhould take them in the worſt ſenſe of which they are capable, yet methinks, for his maintaining one falſe tenet in the political philoſophy, he made a ſufficient atonement by a continual ſervice of twenty years, by the perpetual loyalty of his diſcourſe, and by many of his other writings, wherein he has largely defended and adorned the royal cauſe. And, to ſpeak of him not as our friend, but according to the common laws of humanity, certainly that life muſt needs be very unblameable, which had been tried in buſineſs of the higheſt conſequence, and practiſed in the hazardous ſecrets of Courts and Cabinets; and yet there can nothing diſgraceful be produced againſt it, but only the error of one paragraph, and a ſingle metaphor.* (28) *Ibid.* p. 8.

[*Q*] His *Books of Plants*, and his other *Latin Poems*, &c.] The occaſion of his chooſing the ſubject of his ſix books of *Plants*, Dr. Spratt tells us (29), was this. When he returned into England, he was adviſed to diſſemble the main intention of his coming over, under the diſguiſe of applying himſelf to ſome ſettled profeſſion: and that of Phyſic was thought moſt proper. To this purpoſe, after many anatomical diſſections, he proceeded to the conſideration of Simples; and having furniſhed himſelf with books of that nature, he retired into a fruitful part of Kent, where every field and wood might ſhew him the real figures of thoſe Plants of which he read. Thus he ſpeedily maſtered that part of the Art of Medicine. But then, as one of the Antients did before him in the ſtudy of the Law, inſtead of employing his ſkill for practice and profit, he preſently digeſted it into that form which we behold. The *two firſt* books treat of Herbs, in a ſtyle reſembling the Elegies of Ovid and Tibullus, (29) *Ibid.* p. 21.

(m) Vol. ii. col. 120.

(m), that our Poet was created Doctor of Phyſic at Oxford [*R*], December 2, 1657. After the King's reſtoration, Mr. Cowley, being then paſt the fortieth year of his age, the greateſt part of which had been ſpent in a various and tempeſtuous condition, reſolved to paſs the remainder of his life in a ſtudious retirement [*S*]. At firſt he was but ſlenderly provided for ſuch a retreat, by reaſon of his travels, and the diſtreſſes of his party, which had put him quite out of the road of gain. But, upon the ſettlement of the peace of the nation, he obtained a plentiful eſtate through the favour of his principal patrons the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of St. Albans. Thus furniſhed for his retreat, he ſpent the laſt ſeven or eight years of his life in his beloved obſcurity [*T*], and poſſeſſed that ſolitude, which from his very childhood he had moſt paſſionately deſired (*n*). He choſe for the ſeats of his declining life, two or three villages on the banks of the Thames (*o*); particularly Chertſey, where he had a leaſe of a farm held of the Queen (*p*). This great Poet died [*U*] at a houſe called

(*n*) Life, &c. p. 10, 11, 12.
(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 12.
(*p*) *Ubi ſupra.*

Tibullus, in the ſweetneſs and freedom of the verſe, but excelling them in the ſtrength of the fancy and vigour of the ſenſe. The *third* and *fourth* diſcourſe of *Flowers*, in all the variety of Catullus and Horace's numbers: for the laſt of which authors he had a peculiar reverence, and imitated him, not only in the numerous and ſtately pace of his Odes and Epodes, but in the familiar eaſineſs of his Epiſtles and Diſcourſes. The *two laſt* ſpeak of *Trees*, in the way of Virgil's Georgicks. Of theſe the *ſixth* book is wholly dedicated to the honour of his country. For, making the Britiſh Oak to preſide in the Aſſembly of the Foreſt Trees, upon that occaſion he enlarges on the hiſtory of our late troubles, the King's affliction and return, and the beginning of the Dutch War; and manages all in a ſtyle, that (to ſay all in a word) is equal to the greatneſs and valour of the Engliſh nation. Of Mr. Cowley's *Latin Poetry* in general the Life-writer gives this character (30), that in them 'he has 'expreſſed to admiration all the numbers of verſe, 'and figures of poeſie, that are ſcattered up and down 'amongſt the antients;' and that 'there is hardly to 'be found in them any good faſhion of ſpeech, or 'colour of meaſure, but he has comprehended it, and 'given inſtances of it, according as his ſeveral arguments required either a majeſtic ſpirit, or a paſſionate, or a pleaſant. This (*he obſerves*) is the 'more extraordinary, in that it was never yet performed by any ſingle poet of the antient Romans 'themſelves.'

(30) Life, &c. p. 19.

[*R*] *He was created Doctor of Phyſic at Oxford.*] Anthony Wood pretends (31), Mr. Cowley had this degree conferred upon him by virtue of a *Mandamus* from the then government. 'Afterwards (ſays he) 'complying with the men then in power (which was 'much taken notice of by the Royal party) he ob'tained an order to be created Doctor of Phyſic.' Allowing this ſtate of the fact to be true, though the Life-writer ſays not a word of it, Mr. Cowley's *compliance with the men then in power* could only be *ſeemingly* ſuch, for the better carrying on the deſign of his coming over under the pretence of ſtudying Phyſic.

(31) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*S*] *He reſolved to paſs the remainder of his life in a ſtudious retirement.*] Anthony Wood (32) aſcribes this reſolution to diſappointment, *in not finding that preferment conferred upon him, which he expected, while others for their money carried away moſt places.* But Dr. Sprat (33) repreſents his retirement as the effect of choice, not of diſcontent. 'He now thought, '*ſays that author*, he had ſacrificed enough of his 'life to curioſity and experience. He had enjoyed 'many excellent occaſions of obſervation. He had 'been preſent in many great revolutions, which in 'that tumultuous time diſturbed the peace of all our 'neighbour ſtates, as well as our own. He had nearly 'beheld all the ſplendor of the higheſt part of mankind. He had lived in the preſence of princes, and 'familiarly converſed with greatneſs in all its degrees, 'which was neceſſary for one that would contemn it 'aright: for to ſcorn the pomp of the world before a 'man knows it, does commonly proceed rather from 'ill manners than a true magnanimity. He was now 'weary of the vexations and formalities of an active 'condition. He had been perplexed with a long compliance to foreign manners. He was ſatiated with 'the arts of Court; which ſort of life, though his 'virtue had made innocent to him, yet nothing could 'make it quiet. Theſe were the reaſons that moved 'him to forego all public employments, and to follow 'the violent inclination of his own mind, which, in 'the greateſt throng of his former buſineſs, had ſtill 'called upon him, and repreſented to him the true 'delights of ſolitary ſtudies, of temperate pleaſures, 'and of a moderate revenue, below the malice and 'flatteries of fortune.'

(32) *Ibid.*

(33) Life, &c. p. 10.

[*T*] *His beloved obſcurity.*] Mr. Cowley's Works, eſpecially his *Eſſays in proſe and verſe*, abound with the praiſes of ſolitude and retirement. His three firſt Eſſays are on the ſubjects of *Liberty*, *Solitude*, and *Obſcurity*; and moſt of the tranſlations are of ſuch paſſages of the Claſſic authors as relate to the pleaſures of a country life: particularly, Virgil's *O fortunatos nimium*, &c. Horace's *Beatus ille qui procul*, &c. The ſame author's *Country Mouſe*; Claudian's *Old Man of Verona*; and Martial's *Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem*, &c. To theſe are ſubjoined the following epitaph, by the author, on himſelf, while living.

Epitaphium Vivi Auctoris.

Hic, O Viator, ſub Lare parvulo
Couleius hic eſt conditus, hic jacet
Defunctus humani laboris
Sorte, ſupervacuaque vita;
Non indecora pauperie nitens
Et non inerti nobilis otio,
Vanoque dilectis popello
Divitiis animoſus hoſtis.
Poſſis ut illum dicere mortuum,
En terra jam nunc quantula ſufficit!
Exempta ſit curis, viator,
Terra ſit illa levis, precare.
Hic ſparge flores, ſparge breves roſas,
Nam vita gaudet mortua floribus;
Herbiſque odoratis corona
Vatis adhuc cinerem calentem.

[*U*] *He died.*] His ſolitude, from the very beginning, had never agreed ſo well with the conſtitution of his body, as of his mind. The chief cauſe of it was, that, out of haſte to be gone away from the tumult and noiſe of the city, he had not prepared ſo healthful a ſituation in the country, as he might have done, if he had made his choice more at leiſure. Of this he ſoon began to find the inconvenience at *Barn-elms*, where he was afflicted with a dangerous and lingering fever. After that he ſcarcely ever recovered his former health, though his mind was reſtored to its perfect vigour. Shortly after his removal to *Chertſey*, he fell into another conſuming diſeaſe. Having languiſhed under this for ſome months, he ſeemed to be pretty well cured of its ill ſymptoms. But, in the heat of the ſummer, by ſtaying too long amongſt his labourers in the meadows, he was taken with a violent defluxion, and ſtoppage in his breaſt and throat. This he at firſt neglected as an ordinary cold, and refuſed to ſend for his uſual phyſicians, 'till it was paſt all remedies; and ſo, in the end, after a fortnight's ſickneſs, it proved mortal to him (34). 'Who can here 'forbear exclaiming on the weak hopes, and frail 'condition of human nature? For as long as Mr. 'Cowley was purſuing the courſe of ambition, in an 'active life, which he ſcarce eſteemed his true life, 'he never wanted a conſtant health and ſtrength of 'body. But as ſoon as ever he had found an opportunity of beginning indeed to live, and to enjoy himſelf

(34) *Ibid.* p. 32.

called The Porch-houſe, towards the Weſt end of the town of Chertſey in Surrey, July 28, 1667, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His body, accompanied by a great number of perſons of the moſt eminent quality, was interred, the third of Auguſt following, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, near the aſhes of Chaucer and Spenſer, the two moſt famous Engliſh Poets of former times (*q*). King Charles II. was pleaſed to beſtow upon him the beſt epitaph, when, upon the news of his death, his Majeſty declared, that *Mr. Cowley had not left a better man behind him in England* (*r*). A monument was erected to his memory, in May 1675, by George Duke of Buckingham, with a Latin inſcription written by his friend Dr. Thomas Sprat [*W*], author of the *Account of Mr. Cowley's Life and Writings*, prefixed to his *Works*, and afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter. Beſides Mr. Cowley's Works, already mentioned, we have by the ſame hand, *A Propoſition for the Advancement of Experimental Philoſophy* [*X*]; *A Diſcourſe by way of Viſion concerning the government of* Oliver Cromwell [*Y*]; and *Several Diſcourſes by way of Eſſays in proſe and verſe* [*Z*]. Mr. Cowley had deſigned alſo a *Diſcourſe* concerning *Style* [*AA*], and a *Review* of the *principles* of the *primitive Chriſtian Church* [*BB*], but was prevented by death (*s*). A ſpurious piece, entitled

(*q*) Life, &c. p. 32, 33; and Wood, *ubi ſupra*.
(*r*) Life, &c. p. 34.
(*s*) *Ib.* p. 30, 31.

' himſelf in ſecurity, his contentment was firſt broken ' by ſickneſs, and at laſt his death was occaſioned by ' his very delight in the country and the fields, which ' he had long fancied above all other pleaſures (35).'

(35) Life, &c. p. 32.

[*W*] *An inſcription on his monument, written by his friend Dr. Thomas Sprat.*] It is this:

Abrahamus *Couleius*, Anglorum Pindarus, Flaccus, Maro, Deliciæ, Decus, Deſiderium, ævi ſui, hic juxta ſitus eſt.

Aurea dum volitant late tua ſcripta per orbem,
Et fama æternum vivis, divine Poeta,
Hic placida jaceas requie: cuſtodiat urnam
Cana Fides, vigilentque perenni lampade Muſæ.
Sit ſacer iſte locus, nec quis temerarius auſit
Sacrilega turbare manu venerabile buſtum.
Intacti maneant, maneant per ſæcula, dulcis
Couleii cineres, ſerventque immobile ſaxum.

Sic vovit, votumque ſuum apud poſteros ſacratum eſſe voluit, qui viro incomparabili poſuit ſepulchrale marmor, *Georgius* Dux *Buckinghamiæ*.

Exceſſit e vita anno ætatis ſuæ 49, et honorifica pompa elatus ex ædibus Buckinghamianis, viris illuſtribus omnium ordinum exequias celebrantibus, ſepultus eſt die 3 M. Auguſti, Anno Domini 1667.

[*X*] A Propoſition for the advancement of Experimental Philoſophy.] It is by a *College*, conſiſting of *Profeſſors*, *Scholars*, *Chaplains*, and other officers. Their buſineſs, to uſe Mr. Cowley's own words (36), ſhould be, *to ſtudy the improvement and advantage of all other profeſſions, from that of the higheſt General, even to the loweſt artiſan——to employ their whole time, wit, learning, and induſtry, to theſe four, the moſt uſeful that can be imagined, and to no other ends: Firſt, to weigh, examine, and prove, all things of nature delivered to us by former ages; to detect, explode, and ſtrike a cenſure through all falſe monies, with which the world has been paid and cheated ſo long, and, as I may ſay, to ſet the mark of the college upon all true coins, that they may paſs hereafter without any farther tryal: Secondly, to recover the loſt inventions, and, as it were, drowned lands of the antients: Thirdly, to improve all arts, which we now have; and laſtly, to diſcover others, which we yet have not.*

(36) Works, &c. vol. ii. p. 577.

[*Y*] A Diſcourſe by way of Viſion concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell.] Our author, having been a ſpectator of Cromwell's funeral proceſſion (*which*, to his thinking, *ſomewhat repreſented the life of him for whom it was made: much noiſe, much tumult, much expence, much magnificence, much vain-glory; briefly a great ſhow, and yet, after all this, but an ill fight*;) tells us, he was rocked aſleep by the different motions and agitations of his mind, and at laſt fell into this viſion. He finds himſelf on the top of a famous hill in the iſland of *Mona*, whence he had a proſpect of Great Britain and Ireland. After ſome melancholy reflections, and a poetical complaint of the preſent unhappy condition of theſe kingdoms, he is interrupted by a ſtrange and terrible apparition of the figure of a man, riſing out of the earth, taller than any giant. This phantom, which is there deſcribed at length, calls himſelf the *North Weſt Principality*, and *Protector* of the *Common-wealth* of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and undertakes the defence of Cromwell's character and government, againſt the ſevere cenſures and keen invectives of the author, who repreſents both in the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable colours. At laſt, the Evil Angel's fury being raiſed, the author is in great danger, but is preſerved by the deſcent of a good angel, the poetical deſcription of which concludes the viſion.

[*Z*] Several Diſcourſes, by way of Eſſays, in proſe and verſe.] Theſe, which are upon ſome of the graveſt ſubjects that concern the contentment of a virtuous mind, he intended, Dr. Sprat tells us (37), as a real character of his own thoughts upon the point of his retiring (38). Accordingly, it is obſervable, that, in the proſe of them, there is little curioſity of ornament; but they are written in a lower and humbler ſtyle than the reſt, and, as an unfeigned image of the ſoul ſhould be drawn, without flattery. He deſigned to have added many others to them, and to have dedicated them all to the Earl of St. Alban's, as a teſtimony of his entire reſpect to him, and a kind of apology for having left human affairs in the ſtrength of his age, while he might ſtill have been ſerviceable to his country.

(37) Life, &c. p. 24.
(38) See the remark [*T*].

[*AA*] *He deſigned* A Diſcourſe *concerning* Style.] In this he had deſigned to give an account of the proper ſorts of writing, that were fit for all manner of arguments; to compare the perfections and imperfections of the authors of antiquity with thoſe of the moderns; and to accommodate the whole to the particular uſe of the Engliſh Genius and Language (39). ' This ' ſubject, *adds* Dr. Sprat, he was very fit to perform, ' it being moſt proper for him to be the judge, who ' had been the beſt practiſer. But he ſcarce lived to ' draw the firſt lines of it. All the footſteps that I ' can find remaining of it, are only ſome indigeſted ' characters of antient and modern authors. And ' now for the future, I almoſt deſpair ever to ſee it ' well accompliſhed.'

(39) Life, &c. p. 30.

[*BB*]——*and a* Review *of the* principles *of the* primitive Chriſtian Church.] Though Mr. Cowley was in his practice exactly obedient to the uſages and precepts of the Church of England, nor was inclined to any uncertainty and doubt, as abhorring all contention in indifferent things, and much more in ſacred; yet, beholding the diviſions of Chriſtendom, and obſerving how many controverſies had been introduced by zeal and ignorance, and continued by faction; he had therefore an earneſt intention, for the eſtabliſhing his own mind in the faith he profeſſed, to look back to the original principles of the primitive Church; believing that every true Chriſtian had no better means to ſettle his ſpirit, than that which was propoſed to Æneas and his followers, to be the end of their wandrings, *Antiquam exquirite matrem*. This examination he purpoſed ſhould reach to our Saviour's and the Apoſtles lives, and their immediate ſucceſſors, for four or five Centuries, till intereſt and policy prevailed over Devotion. He hoped to have abſolutely compaſſed it in three or four years, and, when

intituled *The Iron Age*, was publiſhed under Mr. Cowley's name [*CC*], during his abſence; and, in Mr. Dryden's *Miſcellany Poems* (*t*), we find *A Poem on the Civil War*, ſaid to be written by our author [*DD*], but not extant in any edition of his works. Dr. Sprat mentions, as very excellent in their kind, Mr. Cowley's *Letters to his private friends* [*EE*], none of which were publiſhed (*u*). That author gives us a moſt advantageous character of Mr. Cowley, both as a man [*FF*], and as a Poet [*GG*]. Mr. Addiſon has celebrated his

(*t*) P. iii. p. 225. edit. 1716.

(*u*) Life, &c. p. 23.

when that was done, there to have fixed for ever, without any ſhaking or alteration in his judgment (40). 'Indeed, *adds* Dr. Sprat, it was a great damage to our Church, that he lived not to perform it. For very much of the primitive light might have been expected from a mind that was endued with the primitive meekneſs and innocence. And beſides, ſuch a work, coming from one that was no Divine, might have been very uſeful for an age, wherein it is one of the principal cavils againſt religion, that it is only a matter of intereſt, and only ſupported for the gain of a particular profeſſion.'

(40) Life, &c. p. 31.

[*CC*] *A ſpurious piece, intituled* The Iron age, *was publiſhed under Mr. Cowley's name.*] He ſpeaks of it himſelf (41), with ſome aſperity and concern. 'I wondered, *ſays he*, how one, who could be ſo fooliſh to write ſuch ill verſes, ſhould yet be ſo wiſe to ſet them forth as another man's rather than his own; though perhaps he might have made a better choice, and not fathered the baſtard upon ſuch a perſon, whoſe ſtock of reputation is, I fear, little enough for maintainance of his own numerous legitimate off-ſpring of that kind. It would have been much leſs injurious, if it had pleaſed the author to put forth ſome of my writings under his own name, rather than his own under mine. He had been in that a more pardonable Plagiary, and had done leſs wrong by robbery, than he does by ſuch a bounty: for no body can be juſtified by the imputation even of another's merit: our own coarſe cloaths are like to become us better than thoſe of another man, though never ſo rich. But theſe, to ſay the truth, were ſo beggarly, that I myſelf was aſhamed to wear them. It was in vain for me, that I avoided cenſure by the concealment of my own writings, if my reputation could be thus executed in effigy; and impoſſible it is for any good name to be ſafe, if the malice of witches have the power to conſume and deſtroy it in an image of their own making. This indeed was ſo ill made, and ſo unlike, that I hope the charm took no effect.'

(41) In the Preface to his Poems. See his Works, vol. i.

[*DD*] *A* Poem on the Civil War, *ſaid to be written by our author.*] It was printed, firſt, at London, in *quarto*, in 1679 (42). The publiſher tells us (43), that, meeting accidentally with this poem in manuſcript, and being informed that it was a piece of the incomparable Mr. Abraham Cowley's, he thought it unjuſt to hide ſuch a treaſure from the world. '*I remembered*, ſays he, *that our author, in the Preface to his Works, makes mention of ſome poems, written by him on the late Civil Wars, of which the following is unqueſtionably a part. In his moſt imperfect and unfiniſhed pieces you will diſcover the hand of ſo great a maſter. And* (*whatever his own modeſty might have adviſed to the contrary*) *there is not one careleſs ſtroke of his, but what ſhould be kept ſacred to all poſterity. He could write nothing that was not worth the preſerving, being habitually a poet, and always inſpired. In this piece the judicious reader will find the turn of verſe to be his; the ſame copious and lively imagery of fancy, the ſame warmth of paſſion, and delicacy of wit, that ſparkles in all his writings. And certainly no labour of a Genius ſo rich in itſelf, and ſo cultivated with learning and manners, can prove an unwelcome preſent to the World.*' The paſſage of Mr. Cowley's Preface, here pointed at, is this. I 'have caſt away all ſuch pieces as I wrote during the time of the late troubles, with any relation to the differences that cauſed them; as among others, *Three Books of the Civil War* itſelf, reaching as far as the firſt Battle of Newbury, where the ſucceeding misfortunes of the party ſtopped the work.'

(42) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(43) In the Pref.

[*EE*] *His* Letters to his private friends.] Let us hear Dr. Sprat. 'In theſe he always expreſſed the native tenderneſs and innocent gaiety of his mind. 'I think, Sir (*), you and I have the greateſt collection of this ſort. But I know you agree with me, that *nothing of this nature ſhould be publiſhed:* and herein you have always conſented to approve the modeſt judgment of our countrymen, above the practice of ſome of our neighbours, and chiefly of the French. I make no manner of queſtion, but the Engliſh, *at this time*, are infinitely improved this way, above the ſkill of former ages, nay of all the countries round about us, that pretend to greater eloquence. Yet they have been always judiciouſly ſparing in printing ſuch compoſures, while ſome other witty nations have tired all their preſſes, and readers, with them. The truth is, the letters that paſs between particular friends, if they are written as they ought to be, can ſcarce ever be fit to ſee the light. They ſhould not conſiſt of fulſome compliments, or tedious politicks, or elaborate elegancies, or general fancies: but they ſhould have a native clearneſs and ſhortneſs, a domeſtic plainneſs, and a peculiar kind of familiarity; which can only affect the humour of thoſe for whom they were intended. The very ſame paſſages which make writings of this nature delightful among friends, will loſe all manner of taſte, when they come to be read by thoſe that are indifferent. In ſuch letters the ſouls of men ſhould appear undreſſed: and in that negligent habit they may be fit to be ſeen by one or two in a chamber, but not to go abroad into the ſtreets (44).'

(*) Addreſſing himſelf to Mr. Clifford.

(44) Life, &c. p. 23, 24.

[*FF*] *His character, as a man.*] He had a perfect natural goodneſs, which neither the uncertainties of his condition, nor the largeneſs of his wit could pervert. Nothing vain or fantaſtical, nothing flattering or inſolent, appeared in his humour. Nor was there any thing affected or ſingular in his habit, or perſon, or geſture. He underſtood the forms of good breeding enough to practiſe them, without burthening himſelf or others. He never had any emulation for fame, or contention for profit, with any man. His modeſty and humility were ſo great, that, if he had not had many other equal virtues, they might have been thought diſſimulation. His converſation was ſuch, as was rather admired by his familiar friends, than by ſtrangers at firſt ſight. In his ſpeech, neither the pleaſantneſs excluded gravity, nor was the ſobriety of it inconſiſtent with delight. He governed his paſſions with great moderation. Whatever he diſliked in others, he only corrected it by the ſilent reproof of a better practice. His wit was ſo tempered, that no man had ever reaſon to wiſh it had been leſs. He never willingly recited any of his writings; and none but his intimate friends ever diſcovered he was a great poet by his diſcourſe. His learning was large and profound, and fat exceeding cloſe and handſome upon him: it was not emboſſed on his mind, but enamelled. He never guided his life by the whiſpers, or opinions of the world. He was a paſſionate lover of liberty, and freedom from reſtraint both in actions and words. But what honeſty others receive from the direction of laws, he had by native inclination. He performed all his natural and civil duties with admirable tenderneſs. His friendſhips were inviolable: his thoughts never above nor below his condition. In a word, he was accompliſhed with all manner of abilities, for the greateſt buſineſs, if he would but have thought ſo himſelf (45).

(45) *Ibid.* p. 36, 37, 38.

[*GG*] —*as a* Poet.] In all the ſeveral ſhapes of his ſtyle, there is very much of the likeneſs and impreſſion of the ſame mind; the ſame unaffected modeſty, and natural freedom, and eaſy vigour and chearful paſſions, and innocent mirth, which appeared in all his manners. If he was not wonderfully curious in the choice and elegance of his words, on the other ſide he had no manner of affectation in them, but took them as he found them made to his hands. If his verſes in

his praiſes with a mixture of blame [*HH*]. Sir John Denham has given us a fine copy of verſes *on his death and burial among the antient Poets* [*II*]; and Mr. Pope has

ſome places ſeem not as ſoft and flowing, as ſome would have them, it was his choice, not his fault. Where the matter required it, he was as gentle as any man; but where higher virtues were chiefly to be regarded, an exact numeroſity was not then his main care. He had a perfect maſtery in both the languages in which he wrote, and excelled both in proſe and verſe. Though his fancy flowed with great ſpeed, he never runs his reader, nor his argument, out of breath, but always leaves off in ſuch a manner, that it appears it was in his power to have ſaid more. His invention is powerful, but ſeems all to ariſe out of the nature of the ſubject, and to be juſt fitted for the thing of which he ſpeaks. The variety of arguments that he has managed is ſo large, that there is ſcarcely any particular of the paſſions of men, or works of nature and providence, which he has paſſed by undeſcribed: yet to all theſe matters, ſo wide aſunder, he ſtill proportions a due figure of ſpeech, and a proper meaſure of wit (46). Whether Mr. Cowley's works have been always viewed in the ſame favourable light, will be ſeen in the following remark.

(46) *Ibid.* p. 13, 14, 15.

[*HH*] *Mr.* Addiſon *celebrates his praiſes with a mixture of blame.*] It is in his *Account of the greateſt Engliſh Poets*, addreſſed to Mr. Henry Sacheverell, April 3, 1694 (47). The Lines are theſe.

(47) See Mr. Addiſon's Works, edit. 12*mo.* 1726, vol. i. p. 35.

Great Cowley then, a mighty Genius, wrote,
O'errun with wit, and laviſh of his thought:
His turns too cloſely on the reader preſs;
He more had pleas'd us, had he pleas'd us leſs.
One glittering thought no ſooner ſtrikes our eyes
With ſilent wonder, but new wonders riſe;
As in the milky way a ſhining white
O'erflows the heav'ns with one continued light;
That not a ſingle ſtar can ſhew his rays,
Whilſt jointly all promote the common blaze.
Pardon, great poet, that I dare to name
Th' unnumber'd beauties of thy verſe with blame.
Thy fault is only wit in its exceſs;
But wit like thine in any ſhape will pleaſe.
What Muſe but thine can equal hints inſpire,
And fit the deep mouth'd Pindar to thy lyre?
Pindar, whom others in a labour'd ſtrain,
And forc'd expreſſions, imitate in vain.
Well-pleas'd in thee he ſoars with new delight,
And plays in more unbounded verſe, and takes a nobler flight.
Bleſt man! whoſe ſpotleſs life and charming lays
Employ'd the tuneful prelate in thy praiſe.
Bleſt man! who now ſhall be for ever known
In *Sprat*'s ſucceſsful labours and thy own.

In one of the *notes* on this author's *tranſlations* from Ovid's *Metamorphoſes* (48), we have the following account of the nature of *mixed wit*, of which Ovid, he tells us, among the antients, was the greateſt admirer, as our Cowley was among the moderns. 'Mr. Locke, 'in his *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, has given us 'the beſt account of wit in ſhort that can any where 'be met with. *Wit*, ſays he, *lyes in the aſſemblage of 'Ideas, and putting thoſe together with quickneſs and 'variety, wherein can be found any reſemblance or 'congruity, thereby to make up pleaſant pictures and 'agreeable viſions in the fancy.* Thus does true wit, 'as this incomparable author obſerves, conſiſt in the 'likeneſs of Ideas, and is more or leſs wit, as this 'likeneſs is more ſurprizing and unexpected. But as '*true wit* is nothing elſe but a ſimilitude in Ideas, ſo 'is *falſe wit* the ſimilitude in words, whether it lyes 'in the likeneſs of letters only, as in anagram and 'acroſtic; or of ſyllables, as in Doggrel rhimes; or 'whole words, as Puns, Echo's and the like. Be'ſides theſe two kinds of falſe and true wit, there is 'another of a middle nature, that has ſomething of 'both in it: when in two Ideas, that have ſome re'ſemblance with each other, and are both expreſſed 'by the ſame word, we make uſe of the ambiguity of 'the word, to ſpeak that of one Idea included under 'it, which is proper to the other. Thus, for example, 'moſt languages have hit on the word which properly 'ſignifies *Fire*, to expreſs *Love* by, (and therefore we 'may be ſure there is ſome reſemblance in the Ideas 'mankind have of them;) from hence the witty poets 'of all languages, when they have once called Love a 'Fire, conſider it no longer as the paſſion, but ſpeak 'of it under the notion of a real fire, and, as the turn 'of wit requires, make the ſame word in the ſame 'ſentence ſtand for either of the ideas that is annexed 'to it. When Ovid's Apollo falls in love, he burns 'with a new flame; when the Sea-nymphs languiſh 'with this paſſion, they kindle in the water: the 'Greek Epigrammatiſt fell in love with one that flung 'a ſnow-ball at him, and therefore takes occaſion to 'admire how fire could be thus concealed in ſnow. 'In ſhort whenever the poet feels any thing in his love 'that reſembles ſomething in fire, he carries on this 'agreement into a kind of allegory: but if, as in the 'preceding inſtances, he finds any circumſtances in 'his love contrary to the nature of fire, he calls his 'love a fire, and by joining this circumſtance to it, 'ſurprizes his reader with a ſeeming contradiction.' Mr. Addiſon tells us elſewhere (49), that this ſort of wit abounds in *Cowley*, more than in any other author that ever wrote; and he gives us ſome examples of it, all borrowed from our Poet's *Miſtreſs*. He remarks, that 'Cowley, obſerving the cold regard of his 'miſtreſs's eyes, and at the ſame time their power of 'producing love, in him, conſiders them as burning-'glaſſes made of ice; and finding himſelf able to live 'in the greateſt extremities of love concludes the tor'rid zone to be habitable. When his miſtreſs has 'read his letter written in juice of lemon, by holding 'it to the fire, he deſires her to read it over a ſecond 'time by love's flames. When ſhe weeps, he wiſhes 'it were inward heat that diſtilled thoſe drops from 'the limbeck. When ſhe is abſent, he is beyond 'eighty, that is, thirty degrees nearer the pole, than 'when ſhe is with him. His ambitious love is a fire, 'that naturally mounts upwards; his happy love is 'the beams of heaven, and his unhappy love flames 'of hell. When it does not let him ſleep, it is a 'flame, that ſends up no ſmoke; when it is oppoſed 'by counſel and advice, it is a fire, that rages the 'more by the wind's blowing upon it. Upon the 'dying of a tree, in which he had cut his loves, he 'obſerves, that his written flames had burnt up and 'withered the tree. When he reſolves to give over 'his paſſion, he tells us, that one burnt like him for 'ever dreads the fire. His heart is an Ætna, that 'inſtead of Vulcan's ſhop incloſes Cupid's forge in 'it. His endeavouring to drown his love in wine, 'is throwing oil upon the fire. He would inſinuate 'to his miſtreſs, that the fire of love, like that of the 'ſun, (which produces ſo many living creatures) 'ſhould not only warm, but beget. Love, in another 'place, cooks pleaſure at his fire. Sometimes the 'poet's heart is frozen in every breaſt, and ſometimes 'ſcorched in every eye. Sometimes he is drowned 'in tears, and burnt in love, like a ſhip ſet on fire in 'the middle of the ſea.' *The reader may obſerve*, concludes Mr. Addiſon, *in every one of theſe inſtances, that the poet mixes the qualities of fire with thoſe of love; and in the ſame ſentence ſpeaking of it both as a paſſion and as a real fire, ſurprizes the reader with theſe ſeeming reſemblances or contradictions, that make up all the wit in this kind of writing.* He acknowledges, however, that the poet, out of whom he had taken theſe examples of *mixed wit*, had as much *true wit* as any author that ever wrote, and indeed all other talents of an extraordinary genius.

(48) *Ib.* p. 248.

(49) Spectator, vol. i. No. 62.

[*II*] *Sir John Denham's verſes* on Mr. Cowley's death and burial among the antient poets.] They contain the following Elegy on our bard (50).

(50) Denham's Poems, p. 90.

Old mother wit, and nature gave
Shakeſpeare and *Fletcher* all they have;
In *Spenſer* and in *Jonſon*, Art
Of flower nature got the ſtart.

But

has paid the tribute of verſe to his memory, in his *Windſor-Foreſt* [*KK*].

But both in him ſo equal are,
None knows which bears the happieſt ſhare.
To him no author was unknown,
Yet what he wrote was all his own:
He melted not the antient gold,
Nor, with *Ben Jonſon*, did make bold
To plunder all the Roman ſtores,
Of Poets and of Orators.
Horace's wit, and *Virgil*'s ſtate
He did not ſteal, but emulate;
And when he wou'd like them appear,
Their garb, but not their cloaths, did wear.
He not from *Rome* alone, but *Greece*,
Like *Jaſon*, brought the Golden Fleece.
On a ſtiff gale (as *Flaccus* ſings)
The *Theban* Swan extends his wings,
When thro' th' ætherial clouds he flies:
To the ſame pitch our Swan doth riſe;
Old *Pindar*'s flights by him new reach'd,
When on that gale his wings are ſtretch'd.

[*KK*] *Mr. Pope has paid the tribute of verſe to his memory, in his* Windſor-Foreſt.] The lines are theſe (51):

(51) Pope's Works, 12*mo.* edit. 1736, vol. i. p. 78.

Here his firſt lays majeſtic Denham ſung;
There the laſt numbers flow'd from *Cowley*'s tongue (‖).
O early loſt! what tears the river ſhed,
When the ſad pomp along his banks was led!
His drooping ſwans on ev'ry note expire,
And on his willows hung each Muſe's lyre.
Since fate relentleſs ſtopp'd their heav'nly voice,
No more the foreſts ring, or groves rejoice.
Who now ſhall charm the ſhades, where *Cowley* ſtrung
His living harp, and lofty Denham ſung?

B.

(‖) Mr. Cowley died at Chertſey on the borders of the foreſt.

*** [From the numerous lives which have been written of Cowley, there are very few facts to be collected that are not recorded in the preceding article. Almoſt the whole of what has been done by Dr. Johnſon in this reſpect, is his having given, from the ſtrength and ſagacity of his mind, a new aſpect to ſome of the occurrences which he relates. But before we enter into theſe circumſtances, it will be proper to correct a miſtake into which the Doctor has fallen by having recourſe only to Biſhop Sprat. Following that author, he hath aſſerted, that a volume of Cowley's Poems was not only written but printed in his thirteenth year. But it has been ſhewn by Wood, and the writers of the Great General Dictionary, as well as by our predeceſſor, in Note [*B*], that this was not the caſe.

Dr. Johnſon hath treated with ridicule the account of Sprat, concerning Cowley's defect of memory at Weſtminſter School being ſo great, that his teachers never could bring it to retain the ordinary rules of Grammar. "This is an inſtance," ſays the Doctor, "of the natural deſire of man to propagate a wonder. "It is ſurely very difficult to tell any thing as it was "heard, when Sprat could not refrain from amply-"fying a commodious incident, though the book to "which he prefixed his narrative contained its confu-"tation. A memory admitting ſome things, and "rejecting others, an intellectual digeſtion that con-"cocted the pulp of learning, but refuſed the huſks, "had the appearance of an inſtinctive elegance, of a "particular proviſion made by nature for literary "politeneſs. But in the Author's own honeſt rela-"tion, the marvel vaniſhes. He was, he ſays, ſuch "an enemy to all conſtraint, that his maſter could "never prevail on him to learn the rules without "book. He does not tell that he could not learn "the rules, but that, being able to perform his ex-"erciſes without them, and being an enemy to con-"ſtraint, he ſpared himſelf the labour (52)."

(52) Johnſon's Lives of the moſt eminent Engliſh Poets, vol. i. p. 14.

Dr. Johnſon unites with Sprat in vindicating Mr. Cowley from Anthony Wood's charge, of his having complied with the men in power, when he returned to England in 1656. The Doctor obſerves that even in Wood's repreſentation not much wrong can be diſcovered. "How far Cowley complied with the "men in power, is to be enquired before he can "be blamed. It is not ſaid that he told them any "ſecrets, or aſſiſted them by intelligence, or any "other act. If he only promiſed to be quiet, that "they in whoſe hands he was might free him from "confinement, he did what no law of ſociety "prohibits (53)."

(53) *Ibid.* p. 13, 14.

When Cowley's "Cutter of Coleman-Street" was firſt repreſented on the ſtage, it was treated with great ſeverity; and was afterwards cenſured as a ſatire on the King's party. Dryden and Sprat were preſent at the exhibition; and upon their informing Cowley how little favour had been ſhewn him, he received the news of his ill ſucceſs, not with ſo much firmneſs as might have been expected from ſo great a man.

"For the rejection of this play, ſays Dr. Johnſon, it is difficult now to find the reaſon: it certainly has, in a very great degree, the power of fixing attention and exciting merriment. From the charge of diſ-affection he exculpates himſelf in his preface, by obſerving how unlikely it is that, having followed the Royal Family through all their diſtreſſes, "he ſhould "chuſe the time of their reſtoration to begin a quar-"rel with them." It appears, however, from the Theatrical Regiſter of Downes the prompter, to have been popularly conſidered as a ſatire on the royaliſts. That he might ſhorten this tedious ſuſpenſe, he publiſhed his pretenſions and his diſcontent, in an Ode called "The Complaint;" in which he ſtiles himſelf the *melancholy* Cowley. This met with the uſual fortune of complaints, and ſeems to have excited more contempt than pity. Theſe unlucky incidents are brought, maliciouſly enough, together in ſome ſtanzas, written about that time, on the choice of a laureat; a mode of ſatire, by which, ſince it was firſt introduced by Suckling, perhaps every generation of poets has been teazed.

"Savoy-miſſing Cowley came into the court,
Making apologies for his bad play;
Every one gave him ſo good a report,
That Apollo gave heed to all he could ſay:
Nor would he have had, 'tis thought, a rebuke,
Unleſs he had done ſome notable folly;
Writ verſes unjuſtly in praiſe of Sam Tuke,
Or printed his pitiful Melancholy (54)."

(54) *Ibid.* p. 19, 20.

In the ſixth Number of the Rambler, Dr. Johnſon hath made ſome admirable reflections on Mr. Cowley's vehement deſire of retirement. How unfortunately his retreat from the world ſucceeded, will be evident from the following letter, which has been preſerved by Peck.

"To Dr. Thomas Sprat.

"Chertſey, 21 May, 1665.

"The firſt night that I came hither I caught ſo "great a cold, with a defluxion of rheum, as made "me keep my chamber ten days. And, two after, "had ſuch a bruiſe on my ribs with a fall, that I am "yet unable to move or turn myſelf in my bed. "This is my perſonal fortune here to begin with. "And beſides, I can get no money from my tenants, "and have my meadows eaten up every night by "cattle put in by my neighbours. What this ſigni-"fies, or may come to in time, God knows; if it be "ominous, it can end in nothing leſs than hanging. "Another misfortune has been, and ſtranger than "all the reſt, that you have broke your word with "me, and failed to come, even though you told Mr. "Bois that you would. This is what they call "*Monſtri ſimile.* I do hope to recover my late hurt "ſo farre within five or ſix days (though it be un-"certain yet whether I ſhall ever recover it) as to "walk about again. And then, methinks, you and "I and *the Dean* might be very merry upon S. "Anne's Hill. You might very conveniently come "hither the way of Hampton Town, lying there one "night. I write this in pain, and can ſay no more: "*Verbum ſapienti* (55)."

(55) *Ibid.* p. 22, 23.

If

If Mr. Cowley thought that the Swains of Surrey had the innocence of thoſe of Sydney's Arcadia, he was ſoon undeceived by the perverſeneſs and debauchery of his own workmen, with whom, as we learn from Dr. Warton, it is ſaid that he was ſome times ſo far provoked, as even to be betrayed into an oath. "His income was about three hundred pounds a "year. Towards the latter part of his life, he ſhew-"ed an averſion to the company of women, and "would often leave the room if any happened to "enter whilſt he was preſent; but ſtill he retained a "ſincere affection for Leonora." The ingenious and learned writer to whom we are endebted for theſe circumſtances, has given us a new account of the cauſe of Mr. Cowley's death. It was occaſioned, he ſays, by a ſingular accident. "He paid a viſit on "foot with his friend Sprat to a Gentleman in the "neighbourhood of Chertſey, which they prolonged "till midnight. On their return home they miſtook "their way, and were obliged to paſs the whole "night expoſed under a hedge, where Cowley caught "a ſevere cold, attended with a fever, that termi-"nated in his death (56)." Dr. Warton hath not favoured the public with the authority on which this anecdote is grounded. This, however, would have been deſirable; as the ſtory is ſo very different from the account given by Dr. Sprat himſelf of the cauſe of Mr. Cowley's deceaſe, and which is inſerted in note [*U*].

(56) Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. ii. p. 108—110. 1ſt. edit.

Sprat's inſcription on the monument of his friend has not eſcaped criticiſm. An anonymous writer, in an Eſſay on Epitaphs, publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine, has expreſſed himſelf in the following terms. "All alluſions to the heathen mythology "are abſurd, and all regard for the ſenſeleſs remains "of a dead man impertinent and ſuperſtitious. One "of the firſt diſtinctions of the primitive Chriſtians, "was their neglect of beſtowing garlands on the "dead, in which they are very rationally defended "by their apologiſt in Minutius Felix. *We laviſh "no flowers nor odours on the dead*, ſays he, *becauſe "they have no ſenſe of fragrance or of beauty*. We "profeſs to reverence the dead not for their ſake but "for our own. It is, therefore, always with indig-"nation or contempt that I read the Epitaph on "Cowley, a man whoſe learning and poetry were "his loweſt merits.—To pray that the aſhes of a "friend may lie undiſturbed, and that the divinities "that favoured him in this life, may watch for ever "round him, to preſerve his tomb from violation, "and drive ſacrilege away, is only rational in him "who believes the ſoul intereſted in the repoſe of "the body, and the powers which he invokes for its "protection able to preſerve it. To cenſure ſuch "expreſſions as contrary to religion, or as remains "of Heathen ſuperſtition, would be too great a de-"gree of ſeverity. I condemn them only as unin-"ſtructive and unaffecting, as too ludicrous for re-"verence or grief, for Chriſtianity and a tem-"ple (57)."

(57) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. x. p. 594. The whole Eſſay deſerves to be read.

The moral character of Mr. Cowley appears, from every account of it, to have been very excellent. "He is repreſented by Dr. Sprat," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "as the moſt amiable of mankind; and this "poſthumous praiſe may be ſafely credited, as it has "never been contradicted by envy or by fac-"tion (58)."

(58) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 24.

Mr. Cowley's diſpoſition of mind is well diſplayed in the following lines of the late Mr. Robert Lloyd.

"Nor, Cowley, be thy Muſe forgot! which ſtrays
"In wit's ambiguous flowery maze,
"With many a pointed turn, and ſtudied art:
"Tho' affectation blot thy rhyme,
"Thy mind was lofty and ſublime,
"And manly honour dignified thy heart:
"Though fond of wit, yet firm to Virtue's plan,
"The *Poet*'s trifles ne'er diſgrac'd the *Man*.

"Well might thy morals ſweet engage
"Th' attention of the mitred ſage,
"Smit with the plain ſimplicity of truth.
"For not ambition's giddy ſtrife,
"The gilded toys of public life,
"Which ſnare the gay unſtable youth,
"Could lure thee from the ſober charms,
"Which lapt thee in retirement's arms,
"Whence thou, untainted with the pride of ſtate,
"Could'ſt ſmile with pity on the buſtling great (59)."

(59) Lloyd's Poetical Works, vol. i. p. 152, 153.

Though Mr. Cowley's character is, in general, ſo well known, yet it is highly probable that we ſhould have ſeen much more of the peculiar turn of his mind, if a number of his private letters had been given to the world. Dr. Sprat's opinion, expreſſed at large in note [*EE*], that *nothing of this nature ſhould be publiſhed*, is remarkable; and the more ſo, as it is totally contrary to the ſentiments of the preſent Age. Mr. Maſon and Mr. Knox have very juſtly declared their diſapprobation of Dr. Sprat's notions and conduct in this reſpect (60). Indeed, the letters of eminent men are often inſtructive, intereſting, and entertaining; in which caſe the publication of them is a benefit to the community. But to retail every epiſtle, and every ſcrap of a deceaſed author, however trifling and inſignificant, can only be the reſult of a taſteleſs avidity, and only gratify a childiſh curioſity. We might enlarge upon the ſubject; but perhaps it may come more properly before us in the courſe of our future lucubrations.

(60) Maſon's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Gray, p. 4, 2d. edit. Knox's Eſſays, vol. ii. p. 365.

While ſo little can be added with regard to the facts of Mr. Cowley's life, much hath been written concerning his genius and literary merit. Dryden's opinion of him, delivered at a period when he was ſtill often ſpoken of with indiſcriminate praiſe, is too ſenſible to be omitted. The name of Cowley is not, indeed, mentioned by Dryden; but there can be no doubt to whom he refers. "One of our late great "Poets," ſays he, "is ſunk in his reputation, be-"cauſe he could never forgive any conceit which "came in his way; but ſwept, like a drag-net, "great and ſmall. There was plenty enough, but "the diſhes were ill ſorted; whole pyramids of "ſweet-meats, for boys and women; but little of "ſolid meat for men. All this proceeded not from "any want of knowledge, but of judgment; neither "did he want that in diſcerning the beauties and "faults of other Poets; but only indulged himſelf "in the luxury of writing; and perhaps knew it was "a fault, but hoped the reader would not find it. "For this reaſon, though he muſt always be thought "a great Poet, he is no longer eſteemed a good "writer: and for ten impreſſions, which his works "have had in ſo many ſucceſſive years, yet at preſent "a hundred books are ſcarcely purchaſed once a "twelvemonth: for, as my laſt Lord Rocheſter ſaid, "though ſomewhat profanely, *not being of God, he "could not ſtand* (61)."

(61) Johnſon's Poets, vol. xv. p. 26, 27. This paſſage was pointed out to us by a learned Correſpondent.

Later authors in general have eſtimated Cowley with more critical exactneſs than was commonly done in and a little after his own time; and ſome of them have detracted too much from his merit. Of this number we may reckon Mr. Hume. "Cowley," ſays this ingenious hiſtorian, "is an author extremely "corrupted by the bad taſte of his age; but had he "lived in the pureſt times of Greece and Rome, he "muſt always have been a very indifferent Poet. "He had no ear for harmony; and his verſes are "only known to be ſuch by the rhyme, which ter-"minates them. In his rugged untuneable num-"bers are conveyed ſentiments the moſt ſtrained and "violent; long ſpun allegories, diſtant alluſions, and "forced conceits. Great ingenuity, however, and "force of thought, ſometimes break out amidſt theſe "unnatural conceptions: a few Anacreontics ſurprize "us by their eaſe and gaiety: his proſe writings "pleaſe, by the honeſty and goodneſs which they "expreſs; and even by their ſpleen and melancholy. "This author was much more praiſed and admired "during his life-time, and celebrated after his "death, than the great Milton (62)." We are far from agreeing with Mr. Hume in his aſſertion, that if Cowley had "lived in the pureſt times of Greece "and Rome, he muſt always have been a very indif-"ferent Poet." Such an aſſertion could only proceed from a want of candour or of judgment: for ſurely Cowley's genius would have enabled him to riſe to no ſmall degree of poetical excellence, had he not been miſled by the falſe taſte of the age.

(62) Hiſtory of England, vol. vii. p. 354.

Another author, almoſt as ſevere upon our Poet as Mr. Hume, is Mr. Knox.

" It was the lot, ſays this ingenious Eſſayiſt, of Cowley to be handed down to poſterity by a writer who was famous in his day for eloquence. Dr. Sprat probably undertook the office of a biographer, with a deſign to diſplay his talents in a ſpecies of oratory which the Roman rhetoricians called the demonſtrative. He diſcharged it well as an artiſt, but failed as an accurate hiſtorian. By placing Cowley in the firſt rank of poets, he has in effect degraded him from the ſubaltern ſtation which he had elſe preſerved unmoleſted. Dr. Sprat owed much of his own fame to the Poet who had compared his ſtyle to the gentle and majeſtic current of the Thames; and returned the compliment, perhaps from other motives than thoſe of gratitude; for the higher Cowley was exalted, the greater honour was reflected on thoſe whom he had commended. Of this celebrated Biſhop of Rocheſter, Lord Orrery has ſaid, few men have gained a greater character for elegance and correctneſs, and few men have deſerved it leſs. And of the Poet whom he praiſed, the great Dryden has with diffidence remarked, that ſomewhat of the purity of Engliſh, ſomewhat of more equal thoughts, ſomewhat of ſweetneſs in the numbers; in one word, ſomewhat of a finer turn and more lyrical verſe, is yet wanting.

" Whatever are his defects, no poet has been more liberally praiſed. Lord Clarendon has ſaid, he made a flight above all men; Addiſon, in his account of the Engliſh Poets, that he improved upon the Theban bard; the Duke of Buckingham upon his Tombſtone, that he was the Engliſh Pindar, the Horace, the Virgil, the Delight, the Glory, of his Times. And with reſpect to the harſhneſs of his numbers, the eloquent Sprat tells us, that if his verſes in ſome places ſeem not as ſoft and flowing as one would have them, it was his choice, and not his fault.

" Such is the applauſe laviſhed on a writer who is now ſeldom read. That he could ever be eſteemed as a pindaric poet, is a curious literary phænomenon. He totally miſtook his own genius, when he thought of imitating Pindar. He totally miſtook the genius of Pindar, when he thought his own incoherent ſentiments and numbers bore the leaſt reſemblance to the wild, yet regular ſublimity of the Theban. He neglected even thoſe forms, the ſtrophe, antiſtrophe, and epode, which even imitative dulneſs can copy. Sublime imagery, vehement pathos, poetic fire, which conſtitute the eſſence of the Pindaric Ode, are incompatible with witty conceits, accurate antitheſes, and vulgar expreſſion. All theſe imply the coolneſs of deliberate compoſition, or the meanneſs of a little mind; both of them moſt repugnant to the truly Pindaric Ode, in which all is rapturous and noble. Wit of any kind would be improperly diſplayed in ſuch compoſition; but to increaſe the abſurdity, the wit of Cowley is often falſe.

" If the end of poetry is to pleaſe, harmony of verſe is eſſential to poetry, for, without it, poetry cannot pleaſe. It is not poſſible, that any whoſe ear has been attuned to the melody of good compoſition, ſhould read a ſingle ode of Cowley without being ſhocked with diſcord. There is often nothing left but the jingle at the end to diſtinguiſh poems renowned for their ſublimity, from affected proſe. Such poetry may juſtly incur the ridiculous title of Proſe run mad.

" Yet is there ſometimes interwoven a purple patch, as Horace calls it; a fine expreſſion, a truly poetical thought, an harmonious couplet; but it occurs not often enough to repay the reader for the toilſome taſk of wading through a tedious aſſemblage of diſproportioned and diſcordant ſtanzas. Of ſuch conſiſt his Pindarics; which, though they procured him the greateſt ſhare of his reputation, deſerved it leaſt. Many of his other poems, if we conſider the rude ſtate of verſification, and the bad taſte of the times, have great merit; and had he made Tibullus his model, inſtead of Pindar, his claim to the firſt rank of poets had not been called in queſtion. The tenderneſs of love, and the ſoft language of complaint, were adapted to his genius. But he choſe to tread in the footſteps of Alcæus, as he ſays himſelf, who, according to the Halicarnaſſian, combined the μεγαλοφυες και ηδυ, or adopted the grand, as well as the ſweet.

" That he had a taſte for Latin poetry, and wrote in it with elegance, the well-known Epitaph on himſelf, upon his retirement, and an admirable imitation of Horace, are full proofs. But, ſurely, his rhetorical biographer makes uſe of the figure hyperbole, when he affirms that Cowley has excelled the Romans themſelves. He was inferior to many a writer of leſs fame in the Muſæ Anglicanæ. But ſtill he had great merit; and I muſt confeſs I have read his Latin verſes with more pleaſure, than any of his Engliſh can afford (63)."

(63) Knox's Eſſays, vol. ii. p. 363—365.

To Cowley's compoſitions in proſe Mr. Knox hath paid a very honourable teſtimony. He ſays that in this department he is an elegant, a pleaſing, a judicious writer; and that it is much to be lamented that he did not devote a greater part of his time to a kind of writing which appeared natural to him, and in which he excelled (64).

(64) *Ibid.*

Dr. Joſeph Warton obſerves, that it is no caricature of Cowley, to repreſent him as being poſſeſſed of a ſtrained affectation of ſtriving to be witty upon all occaſions. " It is painful," adds this excellent critic, " to cenſure a writer of ſo amiable a mind, " ſuch integrity of manners, and ſuch a ſweetneſs of " temper. His fancy was brilliant, ſtrong, and " ſprightly; but his taſte falſe and unclaſſical, even " though he had much learning. In his Latin " compoſitions, his ſix books on plants, where the " ſubject might have led him to a contrary practice, " he imitates Martial, rather than Virgil, and has " given us more epigrams than deſcriptions (65)." This opinion concerning Cowley's Latin Poetry, is not conſonant to that of Dr. Johnſon. " If the " Latin performances," ſays the Doctor, " of " Cowley and Milton be compared, for May I hold " to be ſuperior to both, the advantage ſeems to lie " on the ſide of Cowley. Milton is generally con- " tent to expreſs the thoughts of the ancients in their " language; Cowley, without much loſs of purity or " elegance, accommodates the diction of Rome to his " own conceptions (66)." In one reſpect, Dr. Warton pays a tribute to the ability of Cowley in Latin compoſition. " I do not remember, ſays he, " to have ſeen it obſerved, that Cowley had a moſt " happy talent of imitating the eaſy manner of " Horace's epiſtolary writings: I muſt, therefore, " inſert a ſpecimen of this his excellence.

(65) Warton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 104, 105.

(66) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 17.

" Ergo iterum verſus? dices. O Vane! quid ergo
" Morbum ejuraſti toties, tibi qui inſidet altis,
" Non evellendus, vi vel ratione, medullis?
" Numne poetarum (merito dices) ut amantum
" Deriſum ridere deum perjuria cenſes?
" Parcius hæc ſodes, neve inclementibus urge
" Infelicem hominem dictis; nam fata trahunt me
" Magna reluctantem, et velut equum in vincla
" minacem.
" Helleborum ſumpſi fateor, pulchreque videbar
" Purgatus morbi; ſed luna potentior herbis
" Inſanire iterum jubet, et ſibi vendicat a-
" grum (67)."

(67) Warton, *ubi ſupra*.

Dr. Beattie has characterized Cowley in the following terms. " I know not whether any nation " ever produced a more ſingular genius than Cowley. " He abounds in tender thoughts, beautiful lines, " and emphatical expreſſions. His wit is inexhauſ- " tible, and his learning extenſive; but his taſte is " generally barbarous, and ſeems to have been form- " ed upon ſuch models as Donne, Martial, and the " worſt parts of Ovid: nor is it poſſible to read his " longer poems with pleaſure, while we retain any " reliſh for the ſimplicity of ancient compoſition. If " this author's ideas had been fewer, his conceits " would have been leſs frequent; ſo that in one re- " ſpect learning may be ſaid to have hurt his genius. " Yet it does not appear that Greek and Latin did " him any harm; for his imitations of Anacreon are " almoſt the only parts of him that are now remem- " bered or read. His Davideis, and his tranſlations " of Pindar, are deſtitute of harmony, ſimplicity, " and every other claſſical grace. Had his inclina- " tions led him to a frequent peruſal of the moſt " elegant authors of antiquity, his poems would cer- " tainly have been the better for it (68)." Dr. Beattie, in his laſt remark, is undoubtedly miſtaken.

(68) Beattie's Eſſays, p. 742.

It is evident from Mr. Cowley's writings, that no man could be more converſant with the moſt elegant authors of antiquity; but, notwithſtanding this, he was led aſtray by the falſe taſte of the age in which he flouriſhed.

The fate of Cowley's Pindaric Odes is a curious circumſtance in our literary hiſtory. We have ſeen, in the preceding quotations, how much they are now condemned; and Dr. Warton's cenſure of them may be added, who ſays, that they cannot be peruſed with common patience by a lover of antiquity (69). And yet, for nearly a century, they were received with almoſt boundleſs admiration; and they were as fooliſhly imitated as they were extravagantly praiſed. For a long time, the world was over-run with irregular compoſitions, under the name of Pindaric Odes. "This lax and lawleſs verſification," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "ſo much concealed the deficiencies of the bar-"ren, and flattered the lazineſs of the idle, that it "immediately overſpread our books of poetry; all "the boys and girls caught the pleaſing faſhion, and "they that could do nothing elſe could write like "Pindar. The rights of antiquity were invaded, "and diſorder tried to break into the Latin. A "Poem on the Sheldonian Theatre, in which all "kinds of verſe are ſhaken together, is unhappily "inſerted in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ* (70)." Dr. Watts is an eminent inſtance of the ſeduction produced by Cowley's example; for the poetical works of that ingenious and pious Divine abound with irregular Odes. Congreve had the good ſenſe to ſee and to repreſent how contrary ſuch Odes are to the whole mode of compoſition which was made uſe of by Pindar; but his obſervations, though approved of by the learned and the judicious, did not meet with all the attention they deſerved. It was reſerved for Mr. Gilbert Weſt entirely to diſpel the deluſion, and to ſet the matter in ſo clear a light as to produce a general reformation. Since that time, ſome Odes have appeared, in the true ſpirit, as well as in the form of Pindar; and ſince that time, other Odes have been publiſhed, which, while they have marched on in the regular order of Strophe, Antiſtrophe, and Epode, have not been eminently Pindaric.

(69) Warton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 106.

(70) Johnſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 73.

So many of Cowley's productions being now eſteemed ſcarcely worthy of a peruſal, while others of them are diſtinguiſhed by their beauty, Dr. Hurd (the preſent Biſhop of Worceſter) thought proper to make a ſelection of them, which he publiſhed, in 1772, under the title of "Select Works of Mr. Abraham Cowley; "in two Volumes: with a Preface and Notes by the "Editor." The preface is as follows:

"It would be uſing moſt writers of name very ill, to treat them with that freedom, which I have preſumed to take with Mr. Cowley. But every thing he wrote, is either ſo good or ſo bad, that, in all reaſon, a ſeparation ſhould be made; leſt the latter, which, unhappily, is the greater part, ſhould, in the end, ſtifle and overlay the former.

"The reaſon of this ſtriking difference in the compoſitions of the ſame man, whoſe genius and learning are unqueſtionable, is, That he generally followed the taſte of his time, which was the worſt imaginable; and rarely his own, which was naturally excellent: as may be ſeen in the few pieces of his poetry, here ſelected from the reſt; and eſpecially, in his proſe works, which (except the notes on his *Pindaric Odes*, and *Davideis*) are given entire, and have no common merit.

"But the talents, by which he is diſtinguiſhed, as a polite writer, are the leaſt of his praiſe. There is ſomething in him, which pleaſes above his wit, and in ſpite of it. It is that moral air, and tender ſenſibility of mind, which every one perceives and loves in reading Mr. Cowley. And this character of his genius, though it be expreſſed, indeed, in his other writings, comes out eſpecially, and takes our attention moſt, in ſome of his *ſmaller poems and eſſays*; which, therefore, it ſeemed to be for the Author's credit, and the convenience of his Readers, to draw near to each other, and place together in one view. I have ſaid — *for the convenience of his Readers:* for, though all are capable of being entertained, perhaps inſtructed, by the image of a good mind, when ſet before them, yet few will be at the pains to ſeek that inſtruction or entertainment for themſelves, through the ſcattered works of ſo unequal and voluminous a Writer.

"To do juſtice to the memory of Mr. Cowley, in theſe two reſpects, I mean, in his capacity both of a polite and moral Writer, is the ſole end of this publication. Every man of taſte and virtue will read it with pleaſure. There are, indeed, many lines diſperſed through his other poems, which deſerve praiſe. But, on the whole, it is enough if this ſmall collection go down to poſterity: in that caſe, neither they, nor the Author, will have any great loſs, though the reſt be forgotten (71)."

(71) Select Works, Preface, p. v—viii.

In the account of this publication, which was given in the Monthly Review, Dr. Hurd's conduct was ſtrongly objected to, and various reaſons were urged againſt taking ſuch liberties with eminent writers. What the Critic has advanced with regard to Cowley in particular, is ſo ingenious, and throws ſo much light on ſome of his now neglected beauties, that it deſerves to be tranſcribed.

"All that can be ſaid in favour of the liberties Dr. Hurd has taken with Mr. Cowley's works, is, that he has, in general, ſhewn a proper judgment in his ſelection, and that he does not by any means hold forth this publication as a precedent for others of the like nature. The opening of his preface declares againſt it.

"When Mr. Pope aſks,

"Who now reads Cowley?"——

He aſſigns ſuch reaſons as occur to him, why he is ſtill read, viz. his moral, and the language of his heart.

"Who now reads Cowley? if he pleaſes yet,
His moral pleaſes, not his pointed wit.
Forgot his Epic, nay Pindaric art,
Yet ſtill, we love the language of his heart."

"Dr. Hurd likewiſe, following Mr. Pope in his idea, aſcribes Mr. Cowley's power of pleaſing to that moral air, and tender ſenſibility of mind, which are diſcoverable in his writings; and both the poet and the critic are right ſo far, that Mr. Cowley's writings do bear thoſe agreeable characteriſtics. But the real cauſe why they ſtill pleaſe is what Mr. Pope could not judge of, becauſe he was a ſtranger to it. It is enthuſiaſm; the genuine ſpirit of enthuſiaſm that breathes through all thoſe pages, where the poet is not profeſſedly in chace of wit.

"In that fine poem to the memory of Mr. William Harvey there are ſtrong traits of it. On peruſing this poem we could not but wonder that his Editor, who is likewiſe his Annotator, ſhould take no notice of that ſtriking paſſage in the thirteenth ſtanza, which has ſuch a peculiar felicity in the idea, that nothing in the poet's whole writings could be more worthy of his obſervation:

"So ſtrong a wit did nature to him frame,
As all things, but his judgment, overcame;
His judgment, like the heav'nly moon, did ſhow,
Temp'ring that mighty ſea below.'

There cannot be any thing, either in ancient or in modern poetry, ſuperior to the image conveyed in the two laſt lines. It is equally juſt, ſimple, and ſublime. The unruly ebullitions of wit are moſt happily repreſented by a tumultuous ſea; and judgment is no leſs beautifully depictured by a ſerene moon that ſeems to temper its inquietude. But though this diſtinguiſhed paſſage has been honoured with no ſtricture by the Annotator, he has let fall an obſervation, at the end of the poem, which might eaſily have been diſpenſed with. Cowley ſays of his departed friend,

"Thou doſt with holy pity ſee
Our dull and earthly poeſy,
Where grief and miſery can be join'd with verſe.'

The Critic ſays, the Poet here meant 'to inſinuate the prepoſterous levity and vanity of earthly poets, who can afford to be witty even on their own miſeries.' Now, with his good leave, the Poet certainly never meant to inſinuate the impropriety of a thing for

for which no man was more notorious than himſelf. All he intended was, to lament the comparative inferiority of the earthly poetry, which was made the vehicle of ſorrow, while the heavenly poetry muſt be employed only on themes of happineſs.—Does the Critic mean, by poets being witty on their own miſeries, that there is an abſurdity in the idea of elegiac poetry? That, we preſume, he can hardly intend; for nothing can be more obvious than that there is a ſpecies of poetry, as well as of muſic, adapted to the expreſſion both of melancholy and of miſery. Indeed, if the learned Editor had in view only thoſe elegiac poets who are diſtinguiſhed for

" ——Flowery grief and impotence of pain,

his cenſure is not unjuſt, otherwiſe it is certain that there are many circumſtances and ſubjects where, without any impropriety,

" —— Grief and miſery may be join'd with verſe.

" Dr. Hurd has thought proper to preſerve Mr. Cowley's imitation of Martial's *Si Tecum mihi*, &c. which, the firſt ſix lines excepted, is ſo much inferior to the original. Indeed, the latter part of it is both idle and abſurd. Cowley complains to his friend, in imitation of the Roman poet, that, for want of a proper allotment of their time, and employing it, among other objects, with

" A gentle Miſtreſs and a gentle Muſe,
They ſaw good ſuns, of which they were to give
A ſtrict account, ſet and march thick away.

The Poet was led into this abſurdity of being called to a *ſtrict account*, for want of employing his time with a *gentle Miſtreſs*, moſt probably, by Martial's *imputantur*, which he had conſtrued *charged to his account*, inſtead of *reckoned in the tale of life*. His Editor would have done well to have ſaved him the diſcredit of it.

" But with reſpect to what Dr. Hurd has admitted, we have much leſs reaſon to be diſſatisfied than for what he has rejected. Every thing in that collection of poems, which we have under the denomination of *the Miſtreſs*, is thrown out of this edition. It is true, that in thoſe poems are many exceptionable, many looſe and nugatory pieces, which could not poſſibly do honour to Cowley, in the idea of any age; but then there are many beautiful parts which might have been ſelected, many marks of tenderneſs, ingenuity, and enthuſiaſm that might have been preſerved, independently of the title, and the licentious idea of *the Miſtreſs*. The ſeverity of the Editor's virtue appears, in this matter, to have prevailed over his judgment. For he has publiſhed ſome poems, among the reſt, *the Praiſe of Pindar*, &c. which ought to have given place to many extracts from *the Miſtreſs*.

" Wherefore ſhould poſterity, by any arbitrary deciſion, be contented to loſe (what the Editor ſays would be no loſs) the native enthuſiaſm and poetical beauties of

THE WISH.

I.

" Well then, I now do plainly ſee
This buſy world and I ſhall ne'er agree;
The very honey of all earthly joy
Does, of all meats, the ſooneſt cloy.
And they, methinks, deſerve my pity
Who for it can endure the ſtings
The crowd, and buz, and murmurings,
Of this great hive, the city.

II.

" Ah! yet, ere I deſcend the grave,
May I a ſmall houſe, and large garden have!
And a few friends, and many books, both true,
Both wiſe, and both delightful too.
And ſince love ne'er will from me flee,
A Miſtreſs moderately fair
And good as guardian angels are,
Only belov'd and loving me!

III.

" Oh! Fountains, when in you ſhall I
Myſelf eas'd of unpeaceful thoughts, eſpy?
O fields! O woods! when, when ſhall I be made
The happy tenant of your ſhade?
Here's the ſpring-head of pleaſure's flood,
Where all the riches lie that ſhe
Hath mark'd and ſtamp'd for good.

IV.

" Pride and ambition here
Only in far-fetch'd metaphors appear;
Here nought but winds can hurtful murmurs ſcatter;
And nought but Echo flatter.
The gods, when they deſcended, hither
From heaven did always chuſe their way;
And therefore we may boldly ſay,
That 'tis the way too thither.

V.

" How happy here ſhould I
And one dear ſhe live, and embracing die?
She, who is all the world, and can exclude
In deſarts ſolitude!——
* * * *

" And ſhould we ſuffer nothing by loſing ſuch a poem as

THE DESPAIR.

I.

" Beneath this gloomy ſhade,
By Nature only for my ſorrows made,
I'll ſpend this voice in cries,
In tears I'll waſte theſe eyes
By love ſo vainly fed!
* * *
Ah wretched youth! ſaid I,
Ah wretched youth! twice did I ſadly cry:
Ah wretched youth! the fields and floods reply.

II.

" When thoughts of love I entertain,
I meet no words but *never*, and *in vain*.
Never, alas! that dreadful name
Which fewels the internal flame.
Never, my time to come muſt waſte;
In vain, torments the preſent and the paſt.
In vain! In vain! ſaid I,
In vain, In vain, twice did I ſadly cry;
In vain, In vain, the fields and floods reply.

III.

" No more ſhall fields, or floods do ſo;
For I to ſhades more dark and ſilent go:
All this world's noiſe appears to me
A dull, ill acted comedy:
No comfort to my wounded ſight,
In the ſun's buſy and impertinent light.
Then down I laid my head,
Down on cold earth, and for awhile was dead;
And my freed ſoul to a ſtrange *ſomewhere* fled.

IV.

" Ah, ſottiſh ſoul! ſaid I,
When back to its cage again I ſaw it fly;
Fool to reſume her broken chain
And row her galley here again.
Fool, to that body to return,
Where it condemn'd, and deſtin'd is to burn!
* * * * *

" There is in the two laſt ſtanzas ſomething ſo ſtrongly pictureſque and expreſſive of the ſubject, ſomething ſo morally mournful, that it could not poſſibly eſcape the celebrated Richardſon, who has given them a place in his Clariſſa.

" Should the harmony, the delicious ſweetneſs of the following ſtanza in THE CHANGE be for ever forgot!

" Love in her ſunny eyes does baſking play;
Love walks the pleaſant mazes of her hair;
Love does on both her lips for ever ſtray,
And ſows and reaps a thouſand kiſſes there.

" Something of the ſame beautiful image, in Mrs. Greville's ode to Indifference, where ſhe ſays that her heart

" ——— like the needle true,
Turns at the touch of joy, or woe,
But, turning, trembles too——

we find in that poem in Cowley's Miſtreſs, called, *Reſolved to be beloved*,

" The needle trembles ſo, and turns about,
Till it the northern pole find out.

" The late very ingenious Mr. Gray, too, has frequently borrowed from Cowley, and it is not in vain he has read this line in The Miſtreſs,

" Words that weep, and tears that ſpeak.

He has almoſt copied it in one of his odes.—Will it bear a queſtion, whether treaſures ſuch as theſe, from which the beſt and greateſt poets have ſo freely drawn, ſhould be conſigned to oblivion? If men of their taſte could be pleaſed with, and copy their beauties, what ſhould we think of that criticiſm which would pronounce 'the total loſs of them to be no loſs to the world?'

" And is "*The Heart fled again*" likewiſe to be loſt, becauſe it is found in the Miſtreſs?

I.

" Falſe, fooliſh heart, didſt thou not ſay,
That thou wouldſt never leave me more?
Behold, again 'tis fled away!
Fled as far from me as before!
I ſtrove to bring it back again,
I cried and hallooed after it in vain.

II.

" Even ſo the gentle Tyrian dame,
When neither grief, nor love prevail,
Saw the dear object of her flame,
Th' ingrateful Trojan hoiſt his ſail:
Aloud ſhe call'd to him to ſtay,
The wind bore him, and her loſt words away.

III.

" The doleful Ariadne ſo,
On the wide ſhore forſaken ſtood:
Falſe Theſeus, whither doſt thou go?
Afar falſe Theſeus cut the flood.
But Bacchus came to her relief;
Bacchus himſelf's too weak to eaſe my grief.

IV.

" Ah ſenſeleſs heart, to take no reſt,
But travel thus eternally:
Thus to be ſcorch'd in every breaſt!
And froze in every eye!
* * *

" The Editor has preſerved very few verſes equal to the many beautiful lines in this little poem. But when he who reads Cowley's *Miſtreſs*, finds that, in this edition, the poems *for Hope* and *againſt Hope*, are omitted, he will conclude all further objections to its reception unneceſſary, and recollect at the ſame time, not without ſome concern, what poor Cowley himſelf ſays of that Miſtreſs,

" Then ſhall thy name through all my verſe be ſpread,
Thick as the flowers in meadows lie,
And when, in future times, they ſhall be read,
(As SURE I THINK THEY WILL NOT DIE)
If any CRITIC doubt that they be mine—
* * *
Cætera deſiderantur (72)."

(72) Monthly Review, vol. xlviii. p. 13—18.

Another writer, in the Gentleman's Magazine, who has drawn a " Literary Portrait of Dr. Hurd," has likewiſe diſapproved of the Biſhop's ſelection from Cowley. " Sure I am, too," ſays this Critic, " that " his Lordſhip's " Select Works of Cowley" have " prevented us from acknowledging the ſuperiority " of his judgment upon that author. Though he " has cleared the works from many falſe thoughts, " ill-placed wit, and great puerilities, yet ſurely he " has deprived us of many flights of true poetry, and " of ſome peculiar marks which diſtinguiſh him " (Cowley) from every other Poet (73)."

(73) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 46, p. 115.

On this occaſion, the Biſhop was not without a zealous and able advocate. A writer, in the ſame publication, made the following remarks upon the " Literary Portrait." " If the Painter of the Literary Portrait, in your Magazine for March, had " really entertained a regard for the critic and the " ſcholar, he would never have cenſured an edition " ſo critical and ſo ſcholar-like as that of Cowley " by Dr. Hurd. That edition evinces in no ſmall " degree the critical acumen of the Editor, and is in " every reſpect ſuch a ſelection as a judicious admirer " of Cowley would wiſh to be given to the world. I " heſitate not to affirm, that there is no compoſition " of Cowley's, The Cutter of Coleman-ſtreet ex- " excepted, ſufferable as a whole, which is not pre- " ſerved in this edition. How, then, does the Edi- " tor's judgment ſtand impeached? and where are " the marks of its inferiority to be found? That " there are many lines in the entire Cowley, written " in the true ſpirit of poetry, which have no place " in this ſelection, I am ſo far from denying, that " it was with pleaſure I committed them to my " Common Place Book; and nothing but the want " of your approbation, Mr. Urban, ſhall prevent my " tranſferring them to your miſcellany. But, in " every work, it is indiſpenſably neceſſary to regard " the Writer's end; and had it been any part of his " Lordſhip's to detach ſplendid paſſages, the remark, " that " he has deprived us of many flights of true " poetry," would have been well founded: as it was " not, it appears wanton and inſidious, and will " therefore fall to the ground. But wantonneſs of " cenſure is not the only fault in this literary por- " trait. The author, unfortunate alike in cenſure " and in praiſe, gives Hurd credit for what he never " once attempted to perform. That he has detected " many falſe thoughts, much ill-placed wit, and " many puerilities, I am ready to acknowledge: but " that he has cleared them of theſe deformities I am " conſtrained to deny. In juſtice, therefore, to his " Lordſhip, the more diſcriminating traits in whoſe " literary character your correſpondent ſeems either " deſtitute of genius to pencil or taſte to eſpy, you " will allot a portion of your approved collection to this free-will offering from Elidurus (74)."

(74) *Ibid.* p. 267.

Mr. Knox's ſentiments are in uniſon with theſe remarks. " A Critic, ſays he, whoſe genius and " judgment keep pace with each other, and who il- " luminates every ſubject on which he treats, has " allotted Cowley his juſt ſpecies of praiſe, and has " given the world, in a judicious ſelection of his " works, all that they poſſeſſed of real value (75)."

(75) Knox's Eſſay, vol. ii. p. 366.

Though the concluding aſſertion of this paſſage is not ſufficiently guarded, we cannot but expreſs our general agreement with the two preceding writers, in their approbation of Biſhop Hurd's ſelection. That ſelection is all that, for our own part, we ever wiſh to read again of Cowley. Nevertheleſs, it may not be amiſs for young perſons to peruſe, once at leaſt, the whole of his poems, that they may judge for themſelves, and be ſenſible of the occaſional beauties that are diſperſed amidſt his moſt defective compoſitions.

But of all the criticiſms on Cowley, thoſe of Dr. Johnſon are entitled to the principal regard. His life of this celebrated Poet is written with particular attention, and is only exceeded in importance by the articles of Milton, Dryden, and Pope. The Doctor's account of the metaphyſical Poets is uncommonly ingenious and curious; and what he has advanced upon the ſubject in general we ſhall lay before our readers. " Cowley, ſays he, like other poets who have written with narrow views, and inſtead of tracing intellectual pleaſure to its natural ſources in the mind of man, paid their court to temporary prejudices, has been at one time too much praiſed, and too much neglected at another. Wit, like all other things ſubject by their nature to the choice of man, has its changes and faſhions, and at different times takes different forms. About the beginning of the ſeventeenth century appeared a race of

of writers that may be termed the metaphyſical poets; of whom, in a criticiſm on the works of Cowley, the laſt of the race, it is not improper to give ſome account.

"The metaphyſical poets were men of learning, and to ſhew their learning was their whole endeavour; but, unluckily reſolving to ſhew it in rhyme, inſtead of writing poetry, they only wrote verſes, and very often ſuch verſes as ſtood the trial of the finger better than of the ear; for the modulation was ſo imperfect, that they were only found to be verſes by counting the ſyllables. If the father of criticiſm has rightly denominated poetry τέχνη μιμητικὴ, *an imitative art*, theſe writers will, without great wrong, loſe their right to the name of poets; for they cannot be ſaid to have imitated any thing; they neither copied nature nor life; neither painted the forms of matter, nor repreſented the operations of intellect. Thoſe however who deny them to be poets, allow them to be wits. Dryden confeſſes of himſelf and his contemporaries, that they fall below Donne in wit, but maintains that they ſurpaſs him in poetry. If Wit be well deſcribed by Pope, as being "that which has "been often thought, but was never before ſo well "expreſſed," they certainly never attained, nor ever ſought it; for they endeavoured to be ſingular in their thoughts, and were careleſs of their diction. But Pope's account of wit is undoubtedly erroneous: he depreſſes it below its natural dignity, and reduces it from ſtrength of thought to happineſs of language. If by a more noble and more adequate conception that be conſidered as Wit, which is at once natural and new, that which, though not obvious, is, upon its firſt production, acknowledged to be juſt; if it be that, which he that never found it, wonders how he miſſed; to wit of this kind the metaphyſical poets have ſeldom riſen. Their thoughts are often new, but ſeldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they juſt; and the reader, far from wondering that he miſſed them, wonders more frequently by what perverſeneſs of induſtry they were ever found. But Wit, abſtracted from its effects upon the hearer, may be more rigorouſly and philoſophically conſidered as a kind of *diſcordia concors*; a combination of diſſimilar images, or diſcovery of occult reſemblances in things apparently unlike. Of wit, thus defined, they have more than enough. The moſt heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together; nature and art are ranſacked for illuſtrations, compariſons, and alluſions; their learning inſtructs, and their ſubtilty ſurpriſes; but the reader commonly thinks his improvement dearly bought, and though he ſometimes admires is ſeldom pleaſed. From this account of their compoſitions it will be readily inferred, that they were not ſucceſsful in repreſenting or moving the affections. As they were wholly employed on ſomething unexpected and ſurpriſing, they had no regard to that uniformity of ſentiment which enables us to conceive and to excite the pains and the pleaſure of other minds: they never enquired what, on any occaſion, they ſhould have ſaid or done; but wrote rather as beholders than partakers of human nature; as Beings looking upon good and evil, impaſſive and at leiſure; as Epicurean deities making remarks on the actions of men, and the viciſſitudes of life, without intereſt and without emotion. Their courtſhip was void of fondneſs, and their lamentation of ſorrow. Their wiſh was only to ſay what they hoped had been never ſaid before. Nor was the ſublime more within their reach than the pathetic; for they never attempted that comprehenſion and expanſe of thought which at once fills the whole mind, and of which the firſt effect is ſudden aſtoniſhment, and the ſecond rational admiration. Sublimity is produced by aggregation, and littleneſs by diſperſion. Great thoughts are always general, and conſiſt in poſitions not limited by exceptions, and in deſcriptions not deſcending to minuteneſs. It is with great propriety that Subtlety, which in its original import means exility of particles, is taken in its metaphorical meaning for nicety of diſtinction. Thoſe writers who lay on the watch for novelty could have little hope of greatneſs; for great things cannot have eſcaped former obſervation. Their attempts were always analytick; they broke every image into fragments; and could no more repreſent, by their ſlender conceits and laboured particularities, the proſpects of nature, or the ſcenes of life, than he, who diſſects a ſun-beam with a priſm, can exhibit the wide effulgence of a ſummer noon. What they wanted however of the ſublime, they endeavoured to ſupply by hyperbole; their amplification had no limits; they left not only reaſon but fancy behind them; and produced combinations of confuſed magnificence, that not only could not be credited, but could not be imagined. Yet great labour, directed by great abilities, is never wholly loſt: if they frequently threw away their wit upon falſe conceits, they likewiſe ſometimes ſtruck out unexpected truth: if their conceits were far-fetched, they were often worth the carriage. To write on their plan, it was at leaſt neceſſary to read and think. No man could be born a metaphyſical poet, nor aſſume the dignity of a writer, by deſcriptions copied from deſcriptions, by imitations borrowed from imitations, by traditional imagery, and hereditary ſimilies, by readineſs of rhyme, and volubility of ſyllables. In peruſing the works of this race of authors, the mind is exerciſed either by recollection or inquiry; either ſomething already learned is to be retrieved, or ſomething new is to be examined. If their greatneſs ſeldom elevates, their acuteneſs often ſurpriſes; if the imagination is not always gratified, at leaſt the powers of reflection and compariſon are employed; and in the maſs of materials which ingenious abſurdity has thrown together, genuine wit and uſeful knowledge may be ſometimes found, buried perhaps in groſſneſs of expreſſion, but uſeful to thoſe who know their value; and ſuch as, when they are expanded to perſpicuity, and poliſhed to elegance, may give luſtre to works which have more propriety, though leſs copiouſneſs of ſentiment. This kind of writing, which was, I believe, borrowed from Marino and his followers, had been recommended by the example of Donne, a man of very extenſive and various knowledge, and by Jonſon, whoſe manner reſembled that of Donne more in the ruggedneſs of his lines than in the caſt of his ſentiments. When their reputation was high, they had undoubtedly more imitators, than time has left behind. Their immediate ſucceſſors, of whom any remembrance can be ſaid to remain, were Suckling, Waller, Denham, Cowley, Cleveland, and Milton. Denham and Waller ſought another way to fame, by improving the harmony of our numbers. Milton tried the metaphyſick ſtile only in his lines upon Hobſon the Carrier. Cowley adopted it, and excelled his predeceſſors, having as much ſentiment, and more muſick. Suckling neither improved verſification, nor abounded in conceits. The faſhionable ſtile remained chiefly with Cowley; Suckling could not reach it, and Milton diſdained it (76)."

(76) Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 25—32.

Theſe critical remarks Dr. Johnſon has admirably illuſtrated by a variety of examples (77); after which he proceeds to examine particularly the works of Cowley, who was almoſt the laſt of the metaphyſical race of poets, and undoubtedly the beſt. As it would extend this article too far to follow our great Biographer minutely through his ſeveral obſervations, we muſt content ourſelves with adverting to a few paſſages, which occur in the courſe of his criticiſm.

(77) *Ibid.* p. 32—53.

Of Cowley's Miſcellanies Dr. Johnſon ſays, that ſuch an aſſemblage of diverſified excellence no other Poet has hitherto afforded. Speaking of the "Chronicle," the Doctor aſſerts that it is a compoſition unrivalled and alone. "Such gaiety of fancy, ſuch "facility of expreſſion, ſuch varied ſimilitude, ſuch "a ſucceſſion of images, and ſuch a dance of words, "it is in vain to expect except from Cowley. His "ſtrength always appears in his agility; his volatility "is not the flutter of a light, but the bound of an "elaſtic mind. His levity never leaves his learning "behind it; the Moraliſt, the Politician, and the "Critic mingle their influence even in this airy frolic "of genius. To ſuch a performance Suckling could "have brought the gaiety but not the knowledge; "Dryden could have ſupplied the knowledge, but "not the gaiety."

"The Verſes to Davenant," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "which are vigorouſly begun, and happily concluded, contain ſome hints of criticiſm very juſtly conceived and happily expreſſed. Cowley's critical "abilities

" abilities, have not been ſufficiently obſerved: the " few deciſions and remarks which his prefaces and " his notes on the Davideis ſupply, were at that time " acceſſions to Engliſh literature, and ſhew ſuch ſkill " as raiſes our wiſh for more examples."

Of the " Anacreontiques" Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that " theſe little pieces will be found more finiſhed " in their kind than any other of Cowley's works. " The diction ſhews nothing of the mould of time, " and the ſentiments are at no great diſtance from " our preſent habitudes of thought. Real mirth " muſt be always natural, and nature is uniform. " Men have been wiſe in very different modes; but " they always laughed the ſame way.——The Ana- " creontiques, therefore, of Cowley give now all " the pleaſure which they ever gave. If he was " formed by nature for one kind of writing more " than for another, his power ſeems to have been " greateſt in the familiar and the feſtive."

Concerning Cowley's " Miſtreſs," the Doctor remarks, that ſhe has " no power of ſeduction; ſhe " plays round the head, but comes not at the heart. " Her beauty and abſence, her kindneſs and cruelty, " her diſdain and inconſtancy, produce no correſ- " pondence of emotion. His poetical account of " the virtues of plants, and colours of flowers, is not " peruſed with more ſluggiſh frigidity. The compo- " ſitions are ſuch as might have been written for " penance by a hermit; or for hire by a philoſophi- " cal rhymer who had only heard of the other ſex; " for they turn the mind only on the writer, whom, " without thinking on a woman but as the ſubject " for his taſk, we ſometimes eſteem as learned, and " ſometimes deſpiſe as trifling, always admire as in- " genious, and always condemn as unnatural."

After a particular examination of the Pindarique Odes, Doctor Johnſon comes to the following concluſion. " The Pindarique Odes have ſo long en- " joyed the higheſt degree of poetical reputation, " that I am not willing to diſmiſs them with un- " abated cenſure; and ſurely, though the mode " of compoſition be erroneous, yet many parts de- " ſerve at leaſt that admiration which is due to great " comprehenſion of knowledge, and great fertility of " fancy. The thoughts are often new, and often " ſtriking; but the greatneſs of one part is diſgraced " by the littleneſs of another; and total negligence " of language gives the nobleſt conceptions the ap- " pearance of a fabric auguſt in the plan, but mean " in the materials. Yet ſurely thoſe verſes are not " without a juſt claim to praiſe, of which it may be " ſaid with truth, that no man but Cowley could " have written them."

The ſilence and neglect with which the Davideis has been treated, our biographical Critic ſhews to have ariſen partly from the choice of the ſubject, and partly from the performance of the work. After making ſeveral very judicious obſervations upon it in both theſe reſpects, not greatly to its honour, he ſays: " In the peruſal of the Davideis, as of all Cowley's " works, we find wit and learning unprofitably " ſquandered. Attention has no relief; the affec- " tions are never moved; we are ſometimes ſurpriz- " ed, but never delighted; and find much to admire, " but little to approve. Still, however, it is the " work of Cowley; of a mind capacious by nature, " and repleniſhed by ſtudy."

In taking a general review of Cowley's Poetry, Dr. Johnſon diſplays his uſual ſagacity. " It will be " found, ſays the Doctor, that he wrote with abun- " dant fertility, but negligent or unſkilful ſelection; " with much thought, but with little imagery; that " he is never pathetic, and rarely ſublime, but always " either ingenious or learned, either acute or " profound."

Cowley's proſe is diſtinguiſhed by a high encomium. " After ſo much criticiſm on his Poems, the " Eſſays which accompany them muſt not be for- " gotten. What is ſaid by Sprat of his converſa- " tion, that no man could draw from it any ſuſpi- " cion of his excellence in poetry, may be applied to " theſe compoſitions. No author ever kept his verſe " and his proſe at a greater diſtance from each " other. His thoughts are natural, and his ſtyle has " a ſmooth and placid equability, which has never " yet obtained its due commendation. Nothing is " far-ſought, or hard-laboured; but all is eaſy " without feebleneſs, and familiar without groſſneſs."

We ſhall finiſh this long addition to the article of our learned predeceſſor, with Dr. Johnſon's concluding paragraph in reſpect to Cowley. " It may be " affirmed, without any encomiaſtic fervour, that he " brought to his poetic labours a mind replete with " learning, and that his paſſages are embelliſhed " with all the ornaments which books could ſupply; " that he was the firſt who imparted to Engliſh " numbers the enthuſiaſm of the greater ode, and " the gaiety of the leſs; that he was qualified for " ſprightly ſallies, and for lofty flights; that he was " among thoſe who freed tranſlation from ſervility, " and, inſtead of following his author at a diſtance, " walked by his ſide; and that if he left verſification " yet improvable, he left likewiſe from time to time " ſuch ſpecimens of excellence as enabled ſucceeding " poets to improve it (78)."] K.

(78) *Ibid.* p. 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, 64, 74, 88, 99, 100.

*** [COWPER (WILLIAM), Earl Cowper, Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain, was deſcended from an antient family [*A*], and ſon to Sir William Cowper, Baronet [*B*], who was Member of Parliament for the town of Hertford, in the reigns of Charles

[*A*] *Deſcended from an antient family.*] 'He was 'deſcended from John Cowper of Strode, in the 'county of Suſſex, who lived in the time of Edward 'IV. William, one of his anceſtors, was firſt a 'Baronet of Nova Scotia, and afterwards created a 'Baronet of England by King Charles I. He was 'the firſt of the family that was poſſeſſed of Hertford-'Caſtle, where he ended his days in peace, after he 'had been impriſoned in Ely-Houſe in Holborn, for 'his loyalty to King Charles I (1).' This Gentleman was great grandfather to Earl Cowper.

(1) Chronological Diary, in the Hiſtorical Regiſter for the Year 1723, p. 46.

[*B*] *Son to Sir William Cowper, Bart.*] This Gentleman 'was choſen one of the Members for 'Hertford, in the two laſt Parliaments called by 'Charles II. and was one, who, with the Earls of 'Shafteſbury and Huntingdon, with other Lords, 'preſented reaſons to the Grand Jury of Middleſex, 'June 16, 1680, for the indictment of James, Duke 'of York, for not coming to Church. He alſo 'ſerved in Parliament for the town of Hertford, in 'the firſt year of King William and Queen Mary, 'and in two other Parliaments in the reign of King 'William (2).' He married Sarah, daughter to Sir Samuel Holled, of London, by whom he had two ſons, William, the ſubject of this article, and Spencer Cowper, Eſq; who, 'on the acceſſion of George I. 'to the Throne, was appointed Attorney-General to 'the Prince of Wales, and on July 12, 1717, conſti- 'tuted Chief Juſtice of Cheſter. In 1727, he was 'made Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaſter; 'and on October 14 following, called to the degree 'of Serjeant at Law, and afterwards made one of the 'Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. He firſt 'married Pennington, daughter of John Goodere, 'Eſq; ſecondly Theodora, widow of John Stepney, 'Eſq; and departed this life at his Chambers in 'Lincoln's Inn, on December 10, 1728, leaving 'iſſue, by his firſt wife, three ſons, 1. William 'Cowper, Eſq; Clerk of the Houſe of Lords, who 'died at his houſe in the Old Palace Yard, Weſt- 'minſter, in Feb. 1739-40;—2. The Rev. Mr. John 'Cowper, Rector of Great Berkhamſtead in Hert- 'fordſhire, and one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to 'his Majeſty; and 3. Aſhley Cowper, Eſq; Coun- 'ſellor at Law, and Clerk of the Houſe of Lords (3).' (3) *Ibid.*

(2) Collins's Peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 352. edit. 1779.

Spencer Cowper, Eſq; brother to the Chancellor, who has been juſt mentioned in this note, was permitted, by the particular favour of the King, to hold

Charles II. and William III. He is ſuppoſed to have been born in the Caſtle of Hertford, of which his family had been a conſiderable time in poſſeſſion; but of the place, or time of his birth, or where he was educated, we have not been able to obtain any certain information [C]. It appears, however, that being brought up to the ſtudy of the law, he made ſo great a proficiency in it, that, ſoon after he was called to the Bar, he was choſen Recorder of Colcheſter (a). His eloquence, and ſkill in his profeſſion, rendered him very conſpicuous in it; and in the reign of King William, he was appointed one of his Majeſty's Council learned in the law (b). In 1695, he was choſen one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for the town of Hertford [D]; his father, at the ſame time, being elected the other Member for that borough (c). The following year, he appeared as Council for the Crown on the trials of Sir William Perkins (d), Brigadier Rookwood (e), Major Lowick (f) and Charles Cranburne (g), who were convicted of high treaſon, for being concerned in the plot to aſſaſſinate King William. The ſame year, he was alſo Council for the Crown on the trial of Captain Thomas Vaughan, for high treaſon on the high ſeas (h); and he likewiſe ſupported, in Parliament, the Bill of Attainder againſt Sir John Fenwick (i) [E]. In 1704, he made a Speech in the Houſe of Commons, in the famous caſe of Aſhby and White, in which he maintained, that an action did lie at common law, for an elector, who had been denied his vote for Members of Parliament (k). His practice and reputation continued greatly to increaſe; on the acceſſion of Queen Anne he was again appointed one of the Counſel to the Crown; and on the 11th of October, 1705, he was conſtituted Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England [F] (l). Biſhop Burnet, ſpeaking of this promotion, expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: 'The ſeals being 'ſent for, they were given to Cowper, a Gentleman of a good family, of excellent parts, 'and of an engaging deportment, very eminent in his profeſſion; and who had for many 'years been conſidered, as the man who ſpoke the beſt of any in the Houſe of Commons. 'He was a very acceptable man to the Whig party. They had been much diſguſted with 'the Lord-Treaſurer, for the coldneſs he expreſſed, as if he would have maintained a 'neutrality between the two parties; though the one ſupported him, while the other 'deſigned to ruin him. But this ſtep went a great way towards the reconciling the 'Whigs to him (m).' A few days after Mr. Cowper's promotion, Queen Anne addreſſed both Houſes of Parliament in a Speech, which was well received, and which was ſaid to be written by the new Lord-keeper (n) [G]. The

(a) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 352. edition 1779.
(b) *Id. ibid.*
(c) Whitworth's Succeſſion of Parliaments, p. 207.
(d) State Trials, vol. iv. p. 641.
(e) *Ibid.* p. 654. 674.
(f) *Ibid.* p. 708, 709.
(g) *Ibid.* p. 687. 689.
(h) State Trials, vol. v. p. 22, 23.
(i) *Ibid.* p. 132, 133.
(k) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. iv. p. 89—98.
(l) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 353.
(m) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 426. edit. folio, 1734.
(n) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 718. edit. fol. 1751.

hold to the end of his life the office of one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, together with the office of Chief Juſtice of Cheſter. Before his promotion to either of theſe offices, he had been tried for murder at Hertford Aſſizes, but was acquitted. Vid. State Trials, Vol. v. p. 232. Mr. William Cowper, afterwards the Chancellor, attended this trial as a witneſs in behalf of his brother, as did alſo his Lady.

[C] *We have not been able to obtain any certain information.*] We travelled to Hertford, merely with a view of procuring ſome information about Lord Chancellor Cowper, his birth, &c. and were ſurprized to find, that not the leaſt memorial had been preſerved of him, by a family which owes to him ſo much of its ſplendour, in Hertingfordbury Church, near Hertford, in which he was interred. In that Church is a ſplendid mauſoleum for the family, in which is a very fine monument to the memory of the ſecond Earl Cowper, the Chancellor's ſon, and a ſmaller one in memory of Judge Cowper, the Chancellor's brother; but not the leaſt inſcription in memory of the Chancellor himſelf, who was by much the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſon of the family.

We examined alſo the pariſh Regiſters of the two Churches at Hertford, but could find no entry of the Chancellor's birth. In the Church-yard of Hertingfordbury is a monument to the memory of his mother, Sarah, Lady Cowper, who died in 1719, aged ſeventy-ſix. The monument was erected by her two ſons, the Chancellor and the Judge.

[D] *Choſen one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the town of Hertford.*] It has been obſerved, that on 'the very firſt day he ſat in the Houſe of Com-'mons, he had occaſion to ſpeak three times, and 'came off with univerſal applauſe (4).'

(4) Chronol. Diary, in the Hiſtorical Regiſter for the year 1723, p. 43.

[E] *The Bill of Attainder againſt Sir John Fenwick.*] There ſeems little reaſon to doubt, but that Sir John Fenwick was really guilty of the treaſonable practices with which he was charged; but as there was not legal evidence ſufficient for his conviction, the proceedings againſt him, in a legal and conſtitutional point of view, appear to have been extremely indefenſible. Mr. Cowper, however, was led, like many others, by his zeal for the Revolution, to ſupport the eſtabliſhment which then took place, in a manner not perfectly conſiſtent with the principles which gave riſe to that great event.

[F] *Conſtituted Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.*] He ſucceeded Sir Nathan Wright, of whoſe removal the Ducheſs of Marlborough expreſſes herſelf in the following terms: 'I prevailed with her 'Majeſty to take the Great Seal from Sir Nathan 'Wright, a man deſpiſed by all parties, of no uſe to 'the Crown, and whoſe weak and wretched conduct 'in the Court of Chancery, had almoſt brought his 'very office into contempt. His removal, however, 'was a great loſs to the Church, for which he had 'ever been a warm ſtickler. And this loſs was the 'more ſenſibly felt, as his ſucceſſor, my Lord Cow-'per, was not only of the Whig party, but of ſuch 'abilities and integrity, as brought a new credit to it 'in the nation (5).'

(5) Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Ducheſs of Marlborough, p. 147.

Dr. Smollett, ſpeaking of Cowper's promotion, ſays, he was 'a Lawyer of good extraction, ſuperior 'talents, engaging manners, and eminence in his 'profeſſion. He was ſtaunch to Whig principles, 'and for many years had been conſidered as one of 'their beſt Speakers in the Houſe of Commons (6).'

(6) Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 61.

Mr. Cunningham, in his "Hiſtory of Great Britain," ſays, 'Mr. Cowper, a man highly renown-'ed for his maſterly eloquence and ſkill in the law, 'and who was naturally inclined to ſteadineſs, juſtice, 'and moderation, was firſt made Lord-keeper of the 'Great Seal, and afterwards Lord Cowper, and Lord 'High Chancellor of the kingdom (*).' And in another place the ſame writer, ſpeaking of Lord Cowper, ſays, that in him 'all the ornaments and 'graces of eloquence were diſplayed in the greateſt 'perfection (†).'

(*) Hiſt. of Gt. Britain, vol. i. p. 458.

(†) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 79.

[G] *Said to be written by the new Lord-Keeper.*] Mr. Macpherſon ſays, 'The Queen addreſſed to the 'two Houſes a Speech, penned by Cowper, the new 'Lord-Keeper, which, though ſuitable to the times, 'ſhewed that the meaſures of the Court were no 'longer guided by Tory principles. She urged, 'with earneſtneſs, the neceſſity of proſecuting the 'war, to reſtore the balance of power, which, ſhe 'ſaid, the poſſeſſion of Spain by the Houſe of Bourbon 'had

The following year, Commiſſioners having been appointed for England and Scotland, to treat concerning an Union of the two kingdoms [*H*], they met, for the firſt time, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on the 16th of April; when the Lord-Keeper Cowper, who had been appointed one of the Commiſſioners for England, made a Speech to the Lords Commiſſioners for Scotland, in which he obſerved to their Lordſhips, that the Parliament of England were actuated by the ſtrongeſt deſire to attain that Union, which had been ſo long thought neceſſary, by all that wiſhed well to the proſperity of both nations; and that the Engliſh Commiſſioners now met thoſe for Scotland, with hearts fully reſolved to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to remove all difficulties in the treaty, and to prevent all miſunderſtandings; to have the general and joint good of both kingdoms ſolely in their view, and not the ſeparate intereſt of either; and determined to act as if they were already united in intereſt, and had nothing left to conſider, but what ſettlements and proviſions were moſt likely to conduce to the common ſafety and happineſs of the whole iſland of Great Britain (*o*). He attended a variety of other meetings in the management of this important buſineſs; and on the 23d of July waited upon the Queen, at St. James's, with the articles agreed upon between the Commiſſioners of both kingdoms, as the terms or conditions upon which the intended Union was to take place. He was accompanied by the other Commiſſioners; and, in their names, made a Speech to her Majeſty on the occaſion (*p*). Another Speech was afterwards made, by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, in behalf of the Commiſſioners for that kingdom, who attended at the ſame time: and the Articles of Union, agreed upon by the Commiſſioners, with ſome few alterations, were afterwards ratified by the Parliaments both of England and Scotland.

(*o*) Defoe's Hiſt. of the Union, p. 115. edit. 1786.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 194, 195.

Before that event had taken place, an extraordinary manœuvre of the Tories in Parliament, had thrown the Whigs, at leaſt ſuch of them as were in power, into ſome degree of embarraſſment. A motion was made by the Tory party in the Houſe of Peers, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the Queen, requeſting her Majeſty to invite the Princeſs Sophia, as preſumptive Heir to the Crown, to come and reſide in England. The Tories knew, that if the miniſtry ſupported this meaſure, they would give great offence to the Queen; and if they oppoſed it, they would probably be ſuſpected of being enemies to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The motion was, however, oppoſed by the Whigs; and rejected by a great majority. But two Bills were afterwards brought in, and paſſed, which were deemed a great ſecurity to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. By the firſt, a Regency was appointed [*I*] on the event of the Queen's death; and the ſecond was a Bill for the naturalization of the Princeſs Sophia, and the iſſue of her body, being Proteſtants (*q*). When theſe Bills had received the Royal Aſſent, the Earl of Halifax was ſent with them to the Court of Hanover; and he alſo carried with him letters from the leaders of the Whig party, and in particular one from the Lord-Keeper to the Elector [*K*], expreſſive of the ſincerity of his attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion (*r*).

(*q*) Macpherſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 332. Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 25; and Smollet's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 62, 63.

(*r*) Macpherſon's Original Papers, *ubi ſupra*, p. 32.

In

'had deſtroyed. She demanded the neceſſary ſup-
'plies, for ſupporting the operations of the allies, as
'well as for exerting the force of her own king-
'doms. She informed them of the act paſſed in
'Scotland, for treating concerning a Union; and ſhe
'concluded, with taking an obvious part with the
'Whigs, by declaring that the Church was in no
'danger; a circumſtance urged with vehemence by
'the Tories, to arm the prejudices of the populace to
'favour their own deſigns. This Speech was ſo
'ſuitable to the ſentiments of the prevailing party,
'and the ſubject in general ſo popular, that an addreſs
'of thanks was voted by the commons, without either
'debate, or one diſſenting voice (7).'

(7) Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 331, 2d. edit.

[*H*] *Commiſſioners—to treat concerning an Union of the two kingdoms.*] It has been aſſerted of the Lord-Keeper Cowper, that 'his prudence and dexterity 'ſhone in the management of the famous Treaty of 'Union between England and Scotland; the whole 'weight of which arduous affair he ſuſtained almoſt 'alone, on the part of the Engliſh Commiſſioners (8).'

(8) Hiſtorical Regiſter for the Year 1723, Chron. Diary, p. 43.

[*I*] *By the firſt, a Regency was appointed*, &c.] Mr. Macpherſon remarks, that 'this Bill, by forming an 'eventual Regency, of the Firſt Officers of State, 'upon the death of the Queen, effectually ſecured 'the kingdom, by providing a continuation of legal 'government, till the ſucceſſor ſhould arrive, and 'aſſert his own authority (9).'

(9) Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 334.

[*K*] *One from the Lord-Keeper to the Elector.*] The letter was as follows:

London, April 11, 1706.

'May it pleaſe your Electoral Highneſs,

'When I was firſt, by her Majeſty's great good-
'neſs, raiſed to the ſtation I am now in, I could not
'perſuade myſelf, that a ſubject of ſo little import-
'ance, would have then excuſed my preſumption in
'troubling your Electoral Highneſs in this manner
'upon that occaſion, though with the ſincereſt aſſur-
'ances, that my heart ſhould ever continue moſt
'firmly devoted to the ſervice of your E. H. and
'your E. H. ſerene houſe. But now, ſince I hope it
'is allowable for me, to expreſs to your E. H. the
'very great ſatisfaction I have, with every good Eng-
'liſhman, received from the effectual ſecurities lately
'provided by the Parliament, for the Proteſtant ſuc-
'ceſſion to the Crown of England; I beg leave
'humbly to preſent to your E. H. at the ſame time,
'his moſt faithful promiſe of a moſt ardent zeal for
'your E. H's. proſperity, and promiſe never to neglect
'any thing in my little power, that may poſſibly
'conduce to it;' being fully perſuaded, it is impoſ-
'ſible to be in the true intereſt of England, and not
'to be a faſt friend to that ſucceſſion, which the ſenſe
'of the kingdom hath ſo often declared to be its
'only defence from the moſt deplorable condition a
'people can be reduced to. I was one of thoſe, who
'have had the honour, for a long time paſt, conſtantly
'to have adhered to that opinion, for excluding a
'Romiſh ſucceſſor, even while it was unfaſhionable,
'and decried by thoſe that were in authority; and,
'therefore, that the ſame perſons ſhould now con-
'tinue firm to the ſame, when it is owned by the
'legiſlative authority, and the general bent of the
'people, can admit, I think, of no queſtion. This
'I choſe to mention, as an evidence of my ſincerity
'in what I profeſs, rather than multiply expreſſions,
'which are in every one's power to make; not that I
'am at all apprehenſive of thoſe endeavours, which
'have been uſed to render your E. H. and your E. H.
'ſerene

In conſideration of the Lord-Keeper's merit and ſervices, he was advanced, on the 9th of November, 1706, to the dignity of a Peer of this kingdom, by the ſtyle and title of Lord Cowper, Baron Cowper of Wingham in Kent (*s*); and on the 4th of May, 1707, her Majeſty in Council declared him Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain (*t*). When the ſecond Parliament of Great Britain aſſembled, on the 16th of November, 1708, which was ſoon after the death of Prince George of Denmark, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord-Chancellor Cowper, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Steward, and the Maſter of the Horſe, were appointed to repreſent her Majeſty in Parliament; and on this occaſion both Houſes were addreſſed in a Speech by Lord Cowper (*u*). On the firſt of March, 1708-9, by order of the Houſe of Peers, he returned thanks to the Duke of Marlborough, who had then returned from abroad, and taken his place in the Houſe, for the important ſervices performed by him during the preceding campaign (*w*); and the following year his Lordſhip preſided at the trial of Dr. Sacheverell. The ſame year, in conſequence of the intrigues of Harley and Mrs. Maſham, the Earl of Sunderland, ſon-in-law to the Duke of Marlborough, was removed from the office of Secretary of State; and it being apprehended, that this event would give ſo much diſguſt to that great general, that he might be induced to quit the command of the army, a joint letter was ſent to his Grace by Lord Cowper, the Dukes of Newcaſtle and Devonſhire, Lords Somers, Oxford, and Halifax, and Mr. Henry Boyle, then Secretary of State, in which they conjured him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, not to quit his command [*L*]. But ſoon after, on the 8th of Auguſt, 1710 (*x*), the Earl of Godolphin

(*s*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 353.
(*t*) *Id. ibid.*

(*u*) Tindal's Continuation, vol. iv. p. 105, 106.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 117.

(*x*) Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 304.

'ſerene houſe diſguſted, with thoſe who have the 'trueſt concern for your ſervice; ſince it is impoſſible, 'that ſo excellent a judgment as that of your E. H. 'ſhould ever prefer the ſurprizing ſtarts of a ſudden 'unnacountable zeal, contrary to known principles, 'affected merely for popularity, and ſhewing itſelf in 'one particular only, (while all other means tending 'to the ſame are neglected) to a ſteady, uninterrupted, and uniform courſe of acting for the Proteſtant 'ſucceſſion, and flowing from principles, that were 'owned, when moſt diſcountenanced. But theſe 'endeavours in me to give your E. H. any ſatisfaction of this kind, are perfectly unneceſſary, ſince 'my Lord Halifax, who is ſo able and thoroughly 'verſed in all the affairs of this kingdom, and ſo acquainted with the inclinations and practices of all 'men in buſineſs here, is to be for ſome time in your 'E. H's Court, where none can ſo well diſperſe all 'unfair repreſentations of facts; and when that is 'done, your E. H. cannot but make the wiſeſt concluſion, and ſuch as next, under the bleſſing of 'God, may beſt tend to make yet more effectual, 'thoſe prudent proviſions which the wiſdom of this 'kingdom hath, on mature deliberation, thought fitteſt 'to be made for the intereſt and honour of your E. 'H's ſerene houſe and the public happineſs.

'I am, &c.

'WILLIAM COWPER (10).'

(10) Macpherſon's Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 32, 33.

To this letter his Electoral Highneſs wrote an anſwer, of which the following is a tranſlation:

'My Lord, June 20, 1706.

'I am very much obliged to you for the letter 'which you were at the trouble of writing to me; 'and for the aſſurances which it contains of your affection for me, and of your zeal for the intereſts of 'my family. I approve, more than any one, of the 'choice which the Queen made of a man of your 'merit, for an employment ſo conſiderable as that 'which ſhe truſted to you. I am already ſufficiently 'acquainted with your principles, and with the conſtancy with which you followed them in the moſt 'difficult times, to be perſuaded that her Majeſty 'could not place that employment in better hands. 'You are in the right to believe, that it will be 'always eaſy for me to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are truly 'zealous for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. I know the 'rank which you hold among them, and the confidence which they place in you; and I ſhall be always 'very happy to find opportunities of ſhewing you 'how much I am,

'My Lord, &c (11).'

(11) *Ibid.* p. 54.

[*L*] *They conjured him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, not to quit his command.*] In this letter was the following paſſage: 'We are fully convinced, that it is impoſſible for your Grace to quit the ſervice at this 'time, without the utmoſt hazard to the whole alliance. And we muſt therefore conjure you, by the 'glory you have already obtained, by the many ſervices you have done your Queen and country, by 'the expectation you have juſtly raiſed in all Europe, 'and by all that is dear and tender to you at home, 'whoſe chief dependance is upon your ſucceſs, that you 'would not leave this great work unfiniſhed, but 'continue at the head of the army. This we look 'upon as the moſt neceſſary ſtep that can be taken to 'prevent the diſſolution of this Parliament. Your 'Grace's compliance with this our earneſt requeſt 'would be the greateſt obligation to us, and all that 'wiſh well to our country (12).'

(12) Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Ducheſs of Marlborough, p. 258, 259.

It has been aſſerted, that a ſcheme was formed to make the Duke of Marlborough General for life, and that it was prevented only by the refuſal of Lord Cowper to put the Great Seal to the commiſſion. Dr. Johnſon, ſpeaking of Dean Swift's "Conduct of the Allies," which was publiſhed in 1712, ſays, 'That is now no longer doubted, of which the 'nation was then firſt informed, that the war was 'unneceſſarily protracted to fill the pockets of Marlborough; and that it would have continued without 'end, if he could have continued his annual plunder. 'But Swift, I ſuppoſe, *did not yet know* what he has '*ſince written*, that a commiſſion was drawn which 'would have appointed him general for life, had it 'not become ineffectual by the reſolution of Lord 'Cowper, who refuſed the ſeal (13).' The account given by Swift, to which Johnſon alludes, is as follows: 'Upon the admiſſion of theſe men (the Whig 'miniſtry) into employments, the Court ſoon ran 'into extremity of Low Church meaſures; and although, in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Harley, 'Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. St. John, and ſome 'others, made great and bold ſtands in defence of the 'conſtitution, yet they were always borne down by a 'majority. It was, *I think*, during this period of 'time, that the Duke of Marlborough, whether by a 'motive of ambition, or a love of money, or the raſh 'counſels of his wife the Ducheſs, made that bold 'attempt of deſiring the Queen to give him a Commiſſion to be General for life. Her Majeſty's anſwer was, "That ſhe would take time to conſider "of it;" and, in the mean while, the Duke adviſed 'with the Lord Cowper, then Chancellor, about the 'form in which the Commiſſion ſhould be drawn. 'The Chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to diſſuade the Duke from engaging in ſo 'dangerous an affair; and proteſted, "he would "never put the Great Seal to ſuch a Commiſſion "(14)." It appears from this quotation, that Dr. Johnſon's ſtatement from Swift is not quite accurate; and that no ſuch Commiſſion *was drawn*, it being merely, ſuppoſing Swift's account to be true, a project

(13) Biographical Prefaces, vol. viii. Swift, p. 32. 1ſt. edit.

(14) Swift's Works, vol. xv. p. 16. edit. 8vo. 1775.

Godolphin was removed from the poſt of Lord-Treaſurer, and the other Whig Miniſters reſigned [*M*]. The Queen ſignified her inclination, notwithſtanding the change of miniſtry, that Lord Cowper ſhould ſtill continue in the poſt of Chancellor: but he alſo reſigned, as he did not chooſe to remain in office, when an adminiſtration was formed, conſiſting of men whoſe political ſentiments and views were totally different from his own [*N*]. Soon after the new Miniſtry came into office, Mr. Harley being at the head of the Treaſury, ſome inquiries were ſet on foot in order to criminate the late Adminiſtration; and a vote of cenſure was paſſed relative to the management of the war in Spain. Lord Cowper took an active part in the debates occaſioned by theſe inquiries [*O*]; and he joined in

ject of the Duke himſelf; and it is perfectly conformable to Lord Cowper's character, that he ſhould firmly refuſe to put the Great Seal to ſo illegal and unconſtitutional a Commiſſion.

[*M*] *The other Whig Miniſters reſigned.*] Dr. Smollet ſays, 'There was not one Whig left in any office 'of State, except the Duke of Marlborough, who 'would have renounced his command, had not he 'been earneſtly diſſuaded by his particular friends 'from taking ſuch a ſtep as might have been prejudicial to the intereſt of the nation (15).'

(15) Hiſtory of England, from the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 178.

[*N*] *He did not chooſe to remain in office*, &c.] It is ſaid by one writer, that in the high ſtation of Lord-Chancellor of Great Britain, Lord Cowper's 'integrity, moderation, candour, humility, and diſintereſtedneſs, gained him the eſteem of all good men, 'and the particular regard and favour of his Royal 'Miſtreſs, who found in him the greateſt comfort ſhe 'had among all her ſervants, upon the loſs of her 'dear conſort. The Queen had ſo high an opinion 'of his virtue and merit, that when, by a train of 'Court-intrigues, and an inſuperable averſion to the 'Earl of Sunderland, ſhe had fixed a reſolution 'to change her Miniſters, and call a new Parliament, 'ſhe uſed all endeavours to bring the Lord Cowper 'into her meaſures. But his Lordſhip rightly foreſeeing, that the new ſcheme not only tended to the 'making a peace derogatory from the engagements 'of the grand alliance, but likewiſe to the weakening 'of the ſettlement of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, which 'he ever had firmly at heart, reſiſted all temptations, 'and voluntarily reſigned the Seals; and, in the moſt 'difficult and dangerous junctures, acted with the 'utmoſt vigour, in concert with the ſtaunchеſt ſticklers for the moſt ſerene Houſe of Hanover (16).'

(16) Chron. Diary, in the Hiſtorical Regiſter for the Year 1723. p. 43, 44.

Mr. Macpherſon ſays, that "the Queen ſignified "her inclination, that the Lord Cowper ſhould con-"tinue Chancellor. He derived, perhaps, this favour "from his *inſignificance* (17)." The idea of Lord Cowper's inſignificance ſeems never to have entered the head of any man, but that of Mr. Macpherſon. Few circumſtances are better aſcertained in the hiſtory of this period, than that Lord Cowper was in high eſtimation with his own party. Mr. Macpherſon's repreſentation is undoubtedly contrary to the real ſtate of things; and, indeed, inconſiſtent with the facts ſtated in his own hiſtory (18). But this writer ſeems to have conceived a great prejudice againſt this Nobleman, of whom he ſays in another place, that he was "a man of heavy and confuſed parts (19)." He appears to have no other ground for this aſſertion, but Cowper's letter to the Elector of Hanover, which has been given in note [*K*]. That letter is not entitled to much commendation; but a formal letter of that kind is too ſlight a foundation for making ſuch a ſtatement of the abilities of the writer. His Lordſhip's letters to Mr. Hughes, as publiſhed by Mr. Duncombe, exhibit him in a very amiable light, and are written with perſpicuity and good ſenſe. It may be admitted, that Lord Cowper's abilities were not of the firſt rate; but they have certainly been very improperly and unjuſtly degraded by Mr. Macpherſon. This nobleman was perſonally known to Biſhop Burnet and Sir Richard Steele; and Burnet ſays of him, that he was conſidered, for many years, as the beſt Speaker in the Houſe of Commons; and Steele, ſpeaking of Lord Cowper, in the 130th number of the *Tatler*, ſays, 'Who is not pleaſed to ſee a 'perſon in the higheſt ſtation in the law, who was 'the moſt eminent in his profeſſion, and the moſt 'accompliſhed Orator at the Bar?' Is it credible, that a Nobleman, who is ſpoken of in ſuch terms, by Burnet and by Steele, could be "a man of heavy and "confuſed parts?"

(17) Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 464.

(18) Vid. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 531. 596; and Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 380. 482. 489.

(19) Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 25.

[*O*] *Took an active part in the debates occaſioned by theſe inquiries.*] Lord Galway and Lord Tyrawley were both examined before the Houſe of Peers, concerning the management of the war in Spain. Lord Galway readily anſwered the queſtions that were put to him, and gave in an account of his conduct in Spain to the Houſe in writing; but Lord Tyrawley declined anſwering, deſiring previouſly to be informed whether there was any accuſation againſt him. His Lordſhip inſiſted, that no man was obliged to accuſe himſelf; and that if he were accuſed, he ought to make his defence according to the forms of Courts of Judicature. Lord Cowper maintained, that 'the 'Houſe ought to declare, clearly and plainly, whether there was, or was not, any accuſation againſt 'the Lords Galway and Tyrawley. That the reputation of men of honour was their liberty and 'property; and that if the inquiry that was inſtituted 'tended to cenſure the reputation of the Lords Galway and Tyrawley, by what name ſoever it might 'be called, it was an accuſation. They, therefore, 'had a right to require it in writing, and ought to 'be allowed time to make good their anſwers.' He added, 'That he did not ſpeak this ſo much in favour of thoſe two Gentlemen, as for the honour of 'that illuſtrious Aſſembly (20).' His Lordſhip alſo aſſerted, in a ſubſequent debate, that, in that Houſe, 'in things eſſential to juſtice, the ordinary form of 'Courts of Judicature ought to be obſerved (21).'

(20) Parliamentary Debates, vol. v. p. 347. Hiſt. and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, vol. ii. p. 301.

(21) Parliamentary Debates, *ubi ſupra*, p. 359.

A reſolution being afterwards moved by the Earl of Scarſdale, importing, that the deſign of an offenſive war in Spain had been approved and directed by the Cabinet Council, which had contributed to the misfortunes in Spain; and the words *Cabinet-council* in the motion being afterwards altered to *miniſters*, and this alteration giving riſe to ſome debate, Lord Cowper ſaid, 'That the word *miniſters* was of an 'uncertain ſignification, and *Cabinet-council* a phraſe 'unknown in our law. That if that auguſt Aſſembly 'proceeded to a cenſure upon men, the world ought 'to know who they were. That he hoped the Lord 'who propoſed this queſtion would explain himſelf; 'and hoped, at the ſame time, that if any body were 'accuſed, it would appear to be without ground. 'That he had the honour to be one of the Miniſtry, 'and did not know whether it was deſigned to involve 'him in the ſame cenſure; but he proteſted, with the 'utmoſt ſincerity, that, while he was in that poſt, he 'gave his advice, and acted to the beſt of his underſtanding, and with an honeſt intention to ſerve the 'Queen and his country (22).'

(22) *Ibid.* p. 375.

A vote of cenſure having been propoſed againſt the late Miniſtry, on account of their having ſupported an offenſive war in Spain, Lord Cowper ſaid, that it was at that time the popular opinion; 'every body in 'England being then for an offenſive war. That he 'wiſhed every Member of that auguſt Aſſembly 'would lay his hand upon his heart, and ſay, in 'conſcience, whether he would not have been of the 'ſame opinion? That to have adviſed a lingering, 'expenſive, defenſive war, would, no doubt, have 'now been more criminal than this charge. That 'the raiſing the ſiege of Toulon could not, in reaſon, 'be imputed to the offenſive war in Spain, and to the 'loſs of the battle of Almanza; but rather to the 'expedition to Naples, the ſlow march of the German recruits through the country of the Griſons, 'and other unforeſeen accidents, which attend all 'human affairs. But if this queſtion ſhould paſs 'into a reſolution, it will be the comfort of thoſe on 'whom

in ſeveral proteſts againſt the determinations of the Houſe of Peers concerning the conduct of that war (*y*). When Prince Eugene was in England, he is ſaid to have been conſulted about ſome dangerous ſchemes formed by that Prince and the Duke of Marlborough [*P*]. It may reaſonably be queſtioned, whether any ſuch ſchemes were ever really formed

(*y*) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, vol. ii. p. 331, 333, 344, 345.

'whom the cenſure will fall, that the world will 'judge, that it is founded on ſtrained deductions, 'and forced conſequences, foreign from the premiſes. 'My Lords, all Engliſhmen love action: it is their 'temper and inclination (23).'

(23) *Ibid.* p. 383.

The vote againſt the late Miniſtry, however, paſſed, by the influence of the new Miniſtry, united with the Tory party; but even Dr. Smollet acknowledges, that theſe reſolutions "were not the proceedings of "candour and national juſtice, but the ebullitions "of party zeal and rancorous animoſity (24)."

(24) Hiſtory of England, *ubi ſupra*, p. 182.

[*P*] *Some dangerous ſchemes formed by that Prince and the Duke of Marlborough.*] Of the nature of theſe ſchemes it may be here proper to give ſome account. Mr. Macpherſon ſays, that 'the Prince of Savoy 'had formed no doubt of being able to defeat the 'Treaty of Peace, by embarraſſing the Britiſh Mi'niſtry with ſplendid offers of advantage for conti'nuing the war. He had reſolved to propoſe, in the 'name of the Emperor, to leave Great Britain in 'abſolute poſſeſſion of the Commerce of Spain and 'America; to induce the King of Denmark and the 'Czar of Muſcovy to join in the grand confederacy; 'to make up the Imperial forces in Spain to thirty 'thouſand men; to pay one million of crowns, out 'of four, to be expended in the military operations 'on that ſide. Should either Houſe of Parliament 'accept theſe terms, in oppoſition to the Miniſtry, 'the Elector of Hanover was to have paſſed into 'Great Britain with an army. A revolution to be 'made in favour of that Prince would enable him to 'carry on the war to the laſt extremity againſt the 'Houſe of Bourbon. But when Prince Eugene per'ceived, that the Commons were firm in the ſupport 'of the Miniſtry; that a majority had been ſecured 'in the Houſe of Lords; that the Duke of Marlbo'rough was diſgraced, and rendered incapable to 'ſecond his views; that the Whigs, though obſtinate 'in their oppoſition, were divided in their Councils; 'that men of influence and property were inclined 'to a peace; that the mob of London were only cla'morous for war; he reſolved to ſpare no ſort of vio'lence to accompliſh his views.

'In forming his meaſures, the Prince of Savoy re'ſolved to conſult chiefly the Duke of Marlborough 'and the Baron de Bothmar, the Hanoverian Envoy 'at the Court of London. The Duke, at their firſt 'interview, chided the Prince for the unfortunate de'lay in his journey. His arrival, he ſaid, might 'have been of great advantage to the party, about a 'month before. He aſcribed his dilatorineſs to that 'Auſtrian gravity, which had been often fatal to the 'affairs of the Imperial family. He told him, that, 'at the opening of the Seſſion, their friends had a 'majority in the Houſe of Lords. That they could 'have ſent two or three of the oppoſite party to the 'Tower, without any difficulty. That their vacant 'places might be ſupplied with men willing to con'tinue the war. That now the whole ſtate of affairs 'was changed; that twelve new Peers had been cre'ated; that the Scottiſh Peers were arrived; that 'they muſt have recourſe to violence, or drop alto'gether their deſign; that three or four perſons, to'gether with the Lord-Treaſurer, who poſſeſſed the 'confidence of a *filly woman*, and governed her at 'pleaſure, muſt be removed. That the Prince muſt, 'in the mean time, behave himſelf with great mode'ration and diſcretion. That he ſhould endeavour 'to gain the good opinion of the Miniſter, and in'duce the Commons to grant ample ſupplies; and 'that the whole party ſhould watch ſuch accidents 'as might ariſe in the progreſs of time.

'The Duke deſcended from theſe particular facts 'to reflections more general. He affirmed, that the 'ſtate of the kingdom at preſent reſembled its ſitua'tion at the late Revolution; that the diſorders were 'ſimilar, and demanded the ſame remedies; that 'ſhould a Prince of the Electoral Family appear in 'Great Britain, under the cover of a manifeſto, ſet'ting forth, that the Pretender was coming with a 'Popiſh army, the mob might be deceived, and 'Queen Anne, like her father, would ſteal away to 'France. That then the Crown might be ſettled by 'the Whigs, and the war be carried on with redoub'led vigour. Theſe obſervations devolved the diſ'courſe on the Baron de Bothmar. He averred, that 'though the diſorders might be the ſame, the ſame 'remedies were impracticable; that the nation was 'not ſufficiently prepared for a revolution; that the 'prejudices of the vulgar, the great engine in ſuch 'daring enterprizes, were ſtill upon the ſide of the 'enemy; that though the Queen was ſuſpected of 'favouring a Popiſh ſucceſſor, ſhe herſelf was a ſtrict 'Proteſtant; that the jealouſy concerning religion 'was too feeble, on account of the diſtance of the 'danger; that though circumſtances had even been 'more favourable, the experiment would be ex'tremely dangerous; that a miſcarriage would in'evitably ruin the undertaking, load the Family of 'Hanover with the public hatred, and exclude them 'from the ſucceſſion to the Crown. The Duke 'of Marlborough ſuffered himſelf to be argued out 'of his obſervations by the eloquence of the Baron de 'Bothmar. But he is ſaid to have propoſed another 'project, more ſafe, and equally effectual. He ſug'geſted, that bands of ruffians ſhould be ſent through 'the ſtreets by night, to inſult the inhabitants, to 'raiſe diſturbances, and to excite mobs. That, 'ſhould people become accuſtomed to theſe nocturnal 'alarms, there would be no difficulty in aſſaſſinating 'ſuch perſons as the party might wiſh to remove, 'and to throw the whole blame on a licentious 'band.

'Though Prince Eugene rejected this project, his 'own was not diſtinguiſhed with more humanity. 'He propoſed to ſet fire to London, in different 'places, in the night; particularly to the Palace of 'St. James's, where the Queen reſided. He ſhewed, 'that the proper time for the execution of this de'ſign was when the Guards on duty were command'ed by an officer whom the party could truſt. That, 'in the midſt of the confuſion, the Duke of Marlbo'ſhould appear at the head of a party in arms. That 'he ſhould firſt poſſeſs himſelf of the Tower, the 'Bank, the Exchequer. That then he ſhould ſeize 'the perſon of the Queen, force her to diſſolve the 'Parliament, to call a new repreſentative, to make a 'free inquiry into the clandeſtine correſpondence 'with France, to puniſh the guilty with death. The 'Lords Somers, Cowper, and Halifax, were conſulted 'upon this ſcheme. They refuſed at firſt to declare 'their own opinion; but they at laſt abſolutely re'jected the violent propoſal of the Prince. They 'ſignified their inclination to proceed in the legal 'and ordinary way (25).'

(25) Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 528, 529, 530, 531.

In ſupport of theſe extraordinary converſations, which in themſelves are certainly not very credible, and which ought not to be admitted without good evidence, Mr. Macpherſon refers his readers to Torcy's Memoirs, and to the Stuart Papers publiſhed in his own collection. As to the Marquis de Torcy, he has pretended to give an account of converſations between the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, at which he certainly was not preſent, and of which it is extremely improbable that he could be authentically informed of the particulars. Torcy, perhaps, received his information from Plunket; for it appears, from Macpherſon's papers (26), that Plunket ſometimes communicated information to Torcy: but the hearſay ſtories of ſuch a man ought not to be received as hiſtoric evidence. Indeed, it is manifeſt from ſome paſſages in Torcy's Memoirs, that he was himſelf conſcious, that he could not depend upon the truth of ſome of the facts mentioned by him. After men-

(26) Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 296.

formed by thoſe great men; but however that be, it is allowed on all hands, that they received no countenance or approbation from Lord Cowper.

On the 6th of June, 1712, the Queen came to the Houſe of Peers, and made a Speech to both Houſes, in which ſhe ſtated the terms upon which her Miniſters were about to conclude a Treaty with the French at Utrecht. The following day, when the Houſe of Lords took her Majeſty's Speech into conſideration, the Duke of Marlborough, who was now removed from the command of the army, aſſerted, "That the meaſures, which had been "purſued for a year paſt, were directly contrary to her Majeſty's engagements with her "allies; that they ſullied the triumphs and glories of her reign; and would render the "Engliſh name odious to all nations." The Earl of Strafford ſaid, "That ſome of the "allies would not have ſhewn ſuch backwardneſs to a peace, as they had hitherto done, "had it not been for ſome Members of that illuſtrious Aſſembly, who had maintained a "ſecret correſpondence with them, and endeavoured to perſuade them to carry on the "war, feeding them with hopes that they ſhould be ſupported by a ſtrong party here." Lord Strafford, who had been ſome time abroad, expreſſing himſelf in but indifferent Engliſh, Lord Cowper ſaid, "That the noble Lord had been ſo long abroad, that he had "almoſt forgotten, not only the language, but the conſtitution of his own country. "According to our laws, it could never be conſidered as a crime in the meaneſt ſubject, "much leſs in any Member of that auguſt Aſſembly, to hold correſpondence with our "allies: ſuch allies eſpecially, whoſe intereſt her Majeſty had declared to be inſeparable "from her own, in her Speech at the opening of this Seſſion. Whereas it would be a "hard matter to juſtify, and to reconcile, either to our own laws, or to the laws of honour "and juſtice, the conduct of ſome perſons in treating clandeſtinely with the common "enemy, without the participation of the allies (z)." (z) *Ibid.* p. 375.

The part which Lord Cowper took, in oppoſition to the adminiſtration of the Earl of Oxford, occaſioned him to be attacked by Dean Swift, with much virulence, in the *Examiner* [Q]; and ſome reflections were thrown out againſt him, relative to his private

mentioning a propoſal pretended to have been made by the Duke of Marlborough, he ſays, 'To the honour of Prince Eugene, *it is ſaid*, he rejected ſo 'odious a project; yet a much bolder ſcheme, and of 'a more deteſtable nature, is laid to his charge. It 'conſiſted, *if we can depend upon the relations of ſome people, who perhaps were miſinformed*, in ſetting fire to different parts of the City of London, and pitching 'upon a time to put that purpoſe in execution, when 'the Guards upon duty were commanded by an 'Officer whom they could truſt. Marlborough, at 'the head of a ſtrong party in arms, ſhould appear 'when the fire was ſpreading its devaſtation wideſt; 'then ſeize on the Tower of London; next on the 'Queen's perſon; afterwards oblige her to diſſolve 'the Parliament, and call a new one, in order to 'make a free inquiry into the correſpondencies and 'negociations eſtabliſhed with France, and to puniſh 'with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who had been con-'cerned in them (27).' After conſidering the whole of what is ſaid reſpecting theſe pretended plots of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, we are of opinion, that theſe charges againſt theſe great men ought not to be admitted, without better evidence is produced in their ſupport, than has been exhibited by Mr. Macpherſon.

(27) Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 273, 274.

[Q] *In the Examiner.*] Particularly in Numbers 18, 23, and 27. In No. 23, folio edition, is the following paſſage relative to *Will Bigamy*, a name which is given to Lord Cowper in theſe papers. 'This 'Gentleman, knowing that marriage fees were a 'conſiderable perquiſite to the Clergy, found out a 'way of improving them *cent. per cent.* for the good 'of the Church. His invention was to marry a ſe-'cond wife while the firſt was alive, convincing her 'of the lawfulneſs by ſuch arguments, as he did not 'doubt would make others follow the ſame example. 'Theſe he had drawn up in writing, with intention 'to publiſh for the general good; and it is hoped he 'may now have leiſure to finiſh them.'

Swift has alſo drawn an unfavourable character of Lord Cowper, in his "Hiſtory of the Four laſt Years "of the Queen." It is as follows: "The Lord "Cowper—was conſiderable in the ſtation of a prac-"tiſing Lawyer; but as he was raiſed to be a Chan-"cellor and a Peer, without paſſing through any of "the intermediate ſteps, which in late times hath "been the conſtant practice, and little ſkilled in the "nature of Government, or the true intereſts of "Princes, farther than the Municipal or Common "Law of England, his abilities, as to foreign affairs, "did not equally appear in the Council. Some "former paſſages of his life were thought to diſqua-"lify him for that office, by which he was to be the "Guardian of the Queen's conſcience; but theſe "difficulties were eaſily over-ruled by the authors of "his promotion, who wanted a perſon that would be "ſubſervient to all their deſigns, wherein they were "not diſappointed. As to his other accompliſh-"ments, he was what we uſually call a piece of a "ſcholar, and a good logical reaſoner, if this were not "too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an "argument which makes him apt to deceive the unwa-"ry, and ſometimes to deceive himſelf (*)." But Swift's characters, of thoſe who were of the oppoſite party to himſelf in politics, are written with ſuch a manifeſt diſregard to equity and candour, that they ſeem entitled to very little credit. In one of Lord Cheſterfield's letters to the Biſhop of Waterford, is a paſſage, in which he gives a character of Swift's "Hiſtory of the Four laſt "Years of the Queen," and alſo makes ſome reference to the ſtories propagated relative to Prince Eugene, and of which we have treated in note [P]. He ſays of Swift's work, "It is a party pamphlet, "founded on the lie of the day, which, as Lord "Bolingbroke who had read it often aſſured me, was "coined and delivered out to him, to write *Exa-"miners*, and other political papers upon. That "ſpirit remarkably runs through it. Macarteney, "for inſtance, murdered Duke Hamilton; nothing "is falſer, for though Macarteney was very capable "of the vileſt actions, he was guiltleſs of that, as I "myſelf can teſtify, who was at his trial in the "King's Bench, when he came over voluntarily to "take it, in the late King's time. There did not "appear even the leaſt ground for a ſuſpicion of it, "nor did Hamilton, who appeared in Court, pre-"tend to tax him with it, which would have been in "truth accuſing himſelf of the utmoſt baſeneſs, in "letting the murderer of his friend go off from the "field of battle, without either reſentment, purſuit, "or even accuſation, till three days afterwards. "This *lie* was invented to inflame the Scotch nation "againſt the Whigs; as the other, that Prince "Eugene intended to murder Lord Oxford, by em-"ploying a ſet of people called Mohocks, which ſoci-"ety, by the way, never exiſted, was calculated to "enflame the mob of London. Swift took thoſe "hints *de la meilleure foi du monde*, and thought them "materials for hiſtory. So far he is blameleſs (†)."

(*) Hiſtory of the Four laſt Years of the Queen, p. 22, 23.

(†) Miſcellaneous Works of Lord Cheſterfield, vol. ii. p. 498, 499.

character,

(28) Hiſt. p. 456.

character, which is said to have been somewhat licentious with respect to women [*R*].

As a public man, he continued to adhere stedfastly to the Whigs [*S*]; and when a debate took place relative to the Catalans, on the 2d of April, 1714, it was observed by Lord Cowper, and some other Lords, that the Crown of Great Britain having drawn in the Catalans to declare for the House of Austria, and engaged to succour and support them, those engagements ought to have been made good; and Lord Cowper moved for an address to her Majesty, importing, 'That her Majesty's endeavours for preserving to the Catalans 'the full enjoyment of their liberties, having proved ineffectual, their Lordships made it 'their humble request to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to continue her interpo-'sition, in the most pressing manner, in their behalf (*a*).' An address to this purpose, though with some alterations, was afterwards agreed to; but to which the Queen returned a very evasive answer. Lord Cowper strongly opposed giving any Parliamentary approbation to the Peace of Utrecht [*T*], in which he appears to have acted according to the full conviction of his own mind; and, indeed, though peace was at that time, as at all others, a very desireable object, it is manifest, from the manner in which the Treaty of Utrecht was commenced and concluded, that a due attention was not paid to the honour or interest of Great Britain; and that the chief object of those by whom the Treaty was negociated, on the part of England, was not the interest of their country, but the promotion of their own private views.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 411.

On the 5th of June following, when a debate took place concerning the Schism Bill [*U*], that

[*R*] *Somewhat licentious with respect to women.*] The reflections that have been thrown out against Lord Cowper on this subject may, perhaps, receive some light from the following passage, in a book called the *English Traveller*, vol. ii. p. 315. '*Hertingfordbury*, by some esteemed one of the pleasantest 'villages in England. The seat of the Earl Cowper 'here, called *Hertingfordbury Park*, was the estate of 'Mrs. Elizabeth Culling, who lies buried in the 'Church-yard. This Lady, having two natural 'children by that Lord, a son and daughter, the for-'mer dying soon after he came of age, the young 'Lady, his sister, sold this estate, in the year 1720, 'to her father's brother, the late Judge Cowper, for 'fifty year's purchase at least, and he again disposed 'of it to his brother, the late great Lord Cowper, 'Lord High Chancellor of England.' It has been said, that, in the early part of his life, a pretended marriage, without the forms of law, took place between Mr. Cowper, afterwards the Chancellor, and the Lady here mentioned, Mrs. Elizabeth Culling; and hence probably originated the story of the Chancellor having two wives, and the name given him by Swift of *Will Bigamy*.

[*S*] *Continued to adhere stedfastly to the Whigs.*] In one of Plunket's letters, extracts from which are given in Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. ii. p 390, it is said, that 'Cowper, the late Chancellor, if he 'could get off handsomely from the Whigs, would 'join with Princess Anne (meaning the Queen) in 'all her measures.' There is not the least probability in this assertion of Plunket's, as no man appears to have attached himself more firmly to the Whig party than Lord Cowper. But the vague assertions of this Irish Jesuit and spy are too often considered as evidence in Mr. Macpherson's History; and his surmizes, insinuations, and hearsay stories, received with a degree of credit to which they are in no respect entitled.

It may also be remarked, that it is not unusual for Mr. Macpherson to state facts in his History, which are not supported by his own authorities. Of this an instance occurs in an account of a Speech pretended to have been made by the Duke of Marlborough, Hist. vol. ii. p. 502. as an authority for which he refers to the Stuart Papers, Nov. 3, 1711; but those who will take the pains to examine the Speech given in these papers, by the Agents of the House of Stuart, will find that it materially differs from the Speech made for the Duke by Mr. Macpherson. It may likewise be observed, that manifest inconsistencies are not very uncommon in this gentleman's History. Thus he says of the Earl of Wharton, in one place, that he possessed "distinguished talents;" and in another, that "with talents which could scarce gain him "bread in any other line, he became considerable in "politics (28)."

(28) Hist. vol. ii. p. 456.

[*T*] *Lord Cowper strongly opposed giving any Parliamentary approbation to the Peace of Utrecht.*] 'A 'motion was made for taking into consideration the 'state of the nation, in relation to the Treaties of 'Peace and Commerce, and some Speeches were 'made on both sides thereupon, after which the De-'bate was adjourned to Friday the 16th of April. 'That day, the Whig Lords being apprehensive, that 'if any Debate arose about the Spanish Treaty, the 'other party would propose an Address to the Queen, 'approving of the said Treaty, they therefore agreed 'to say nothing against the Treaty that might draw 'them into a Debate. The Lord North and Grey 'stood up first, and said, that if any Lord had any 'objection against the Spanish Treaty, he was ready 'to answer them: and so, in a challenging manner, 'skirmished for some time. After he sat down, there 'was a silence for a quarter of an hour; and then the 'Lord Clarendon stood up, and said, "My Lords, "since no objections can be raised against the Spanish "Treaty, we should address her Majesty to return her "our most humble thanks, for having by a safe, ho-"nourable, and advantageous Peace with Spain, de-"livered these nations from a long consuming land "war, and to desire her Majesty, notwithstanding "any obstructions that may be thrown in her way, to "proceed to the settlement of Europe, according to "the principles laid down in her Majesty's most "gracious Speech." 'Lord Cowper now rose, and 'said, "My Lords, This is the most barefaced at-"tempt that ever was made by this, or any other "Ministry, to secure themselves by endeavouring to "get the sanction of this House. My Lords, are "not the Ministry themselves jealous, that their ac-"tions stand in need of the sanction of this House? "Else why this endeavour at an Address, to make "their act the act of the House? The noble Lord "that spoke first, acting like a soldier, would by "skirmishing have drawn on a general engagement; "the troops, however, are too well disciplined, to "fall into an ambuscade of his laying; but I cannot "remove my finger from the original of our misfor-"tune, the *cessation of arms*. We were then told, "that if a blow had been struck, it would have ru-"ined the peace. Would to God it had ruined *this* "peace (29)."

(29 Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. vi. p. 165, 166.

If Lord Cowper had lived to the present times, he would not have thought it any thing unusual, or extraordinary, that a Ministry should endeavour to procure a Parliamentary sanction to a Treaty of Peace.

[*U*] *The Schism Bill.*] By this arbitrary, unjust, and oppressive Bill, which passed both Houses, and received the Royal Assent, and which was entitled, 'An Act to prevent the growth of Schism, and for 'the farther Security of the Churches of England 'and Ireland, as by law established,' it was enacted,

that Bill was very ſtrongly oppoſed by Lord Cowper, who obſerved, that 'No man was more ready 'than himſelf to do every thing that ſhould be neceſſary to attain the ſeeming intention 'of that Bill, namely, the preventing the growth of Schiſm, and the farther ſecuring of 'the Church of England; but that the enacting part would be ſo far from anſwering the 'title of it, that, in his opinion, it would have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally 'pernicious to Church and State. Inſtead of preventing Schiſm, and enlarging the pale 'of the Church, this Bill tended to introduce ignorance, and its inſeparable attendants, 'ſuperſtition and irreligion.' In ſupport of this idea of the tendency of the Bill, his Lordſhip farther remarked, 'That in many country towns, reading, writing, and grammar-'ſchools, were chiefly ſupported by the Diſſenters, not only for the inſtruction and benefit 'of their own children, but likewiſe of thoſe of the poor Churchmen; ſo that the ſup-'preſſing of thoſe ſchools would, in ſome places, ſuppreſs the reading of the Holy Scrip-(b) *Ibid.* p. 422. 'tures (*b*).' He alſo oppoſed that clauſe in the Bill, by which Juſtices of the Peace were empowered finally to hear and determine offences againſt it (*c*). The Bill, however, paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal Aſſent; but a proteſt againſt it was entered, ſigned by Lord Cowper, twenty-ſix other Peers, and five Biſhops (*d*); and in the ſubſequent reign the Act was repealed.

(c) *Id. ibid.*

(d) *Ibid.* p. 428—430.

On the demiſe of Queen Anne, Lord Cowper was nominated one of the Lords Juſtices of the kingdom, till the arrival of King George I. from Hanover. On the 29th of Auguſt, 1714, he was appointed Lord Chancellor of Great Britain (*e*); and ſhortly after Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Hertford (*f*). When a new Parliament was aſſembled, on the 27th of March, 1715, King George I. declared from the Throne, "That he had ordered the Lord Chancellor to declare the cauſes of calling "this Parliament, in his Majeſty's name and words." He then delivered his Speech into Lord Cowper's hands, who read it to both Houſes (*g*). On the 6th of February, 1716, his Lordſhip was appointed Lord High-ſteward for the trial of the Rebel Lords (*h*); as he was alſo, the following year, at the trial of the Earl of Oxford [*W*], to whom he behaved on

(e) Chronolog. Diary in the Hiſt. Regiſter, for the Year 1714, p. 8.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 15, 33.

(g) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. vi. p. 311.

(h) Collins, *ut ſupra.*

That every perſon who ſhould, from and after the firſt day of Auguſt following, keep any public or private ſchool or ſeminary, or teach or inſtruct any youth as Tutor or Schoolmaſter, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, before ſuch perſon or perſons ſhould have made a declaration before the Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary of the Dioceſe, that they would conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and received a licence from the Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary, in conſequence of ſuch declaration, they ſhould be committed to the common Gaol of ſuch county, riding, city, or town corporate, in which they ſhould be convicted, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for the ſpace of three months, to commence from the time that ſuch perſon or perſons ſhould be received into the ſaid gaol. It was alſo enacted, that no Licence ſhould be granted by any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Ordinary, unleſs the perſon or perſons who ſhould ſue for the ſame, ſhould produce a certificate of his or their having received the Sacrament, according to the uſage of the Church of England, in ſome pariſh Church, within the ſpace of one year before the grant of ſuch Licence, under the hand of the Miniſter, and one of the Churchwardens of the ſaid pariſh; and that any perſon who ſhould have obtained a Licence, and ſubſcribed the declarations required, and ſhould at any time after, during the time of his or their keeping any public or private ſchool or ſeminary, or inſtructing any youth as Tutor or School-maſter, knowingly or willingly reſort to, or be preſent at, any conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, for the exerciſe of religion in any other manner, than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England, ſhould be liable to the penalties in this Act, and ſhould from thenceforth be incapable of keeping any public or private ſchool or ſeminary, or inſtructing any youth, as Tutor or School-maſter. It was alſo farther enacted, that it ſhould be lawful for the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, or other proper Ordinary, to cite any perſon or perſons whatſoever, keeping ſchool or ſeminary, or teaching without licence, and to proceed againſt and puniſh them by Eccleſiaſtical cenſure; and that if any perſon licenſed, as aforeſaid, ſhould teach any other Catechiſm than the Catechiſm ſet forth in the book of Common Prayer, the licence of ſuch perſon ſhould from thenceforth be void, and ſuch perſon ſhould be liable to the penalties of this Act. A clauſe, however, was added, that this Act ſhould not extend to any perſon, who as a tutor or ſchool-maſter ſhould inſtruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, or any part of mathematical learning only, ſo far as ſuch mathematical learning related to navigation, or any mechanical art only, and ſo as ſuch reading, writing, arithmetic, or mathematical learning, ſhould be taught in the Engliſh tongue only.

Petitions were preſented to Parliament againſt this Bill from the Diſſenters and Quakers, and from the Dutch and French Proteſtant Churches in England; and it was ſtrongly oppoſed in both Houſes. In the Houſe of Commons it was remarked, that this Bill 'tended to raiſe as great a perſecution againſt our 'Proteſtant brethren, as the Primitive Chriſtians ever 'ſuffered from the Heathen Emperors, particularly 'Julian the Apoſtate (30).' Queen Anne died on the day in which this act took place, which was the firſt of Auguſt, 1714; and the Miniſtry of King George the Firſt had no inclination to put the Act in force; ſo that from them it received little countenance; and in the fifth year of that Prince's reign it was repealed (31).

(30) *Ibid.* p. 202.

(31) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 882. edit. 4to. 1754.

[*W*] *At the trial of the Earl of Oxford.*] Of the manner of his going to Weſtminſter-hall on this occaſion, the following account is given: 'About ten 'o'clock in the morning, (June 24, 1717), the Lord 'High Chancellor Cowper, in quality of Lord High 'Steward of Great Britain, appointed by his Majeſty 'for the trial of the Earl of Oxford, was attended 'from his houſe by all the Judges of his Majeſty's 'Courts in Weſtminſter-hall, in their robes; as alſo 'by Garter King of Arms, and the Gentleman Uſher 'of the Black Rod, to whom his Majeſty had deli-'vered the white wand to be carried before his 'Lordſhip; and ſet forward in his coach towards 'Weſtminſter, ſitting at the hinder end thereof; 'Garter, and the Gentleman who bore the Great 'Seal, ſitting both uncovered at the other end; one 'of the Serjeants at Arms, with his mace, being 'placed on the right ſide of the coach, and the Uſher 'of the Black rod carrying the white wand on the 'left; the Judges, and his Lordſhip's Gentlemen, 'following after in ſeveral coaches. Being thus come 'to the ſtairs-foot, aſcending to the Houſe of Peers, 'the Judges went up two and two together, the 'juniors firſt, next the Lord High Steward's Gen-'tlemen, after them the Serjeant at Arms with his 'mace, and the Seal-bearer; and laſtly, the Gentle-'man

on that occaſion with great politeneſs [X]. When a Bill was brought in by Lord Stanhope, "for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt," which included in it a repeal of the Schiſm Act, ſome clauſes of the Bill were oppoſed by Lord Cowper (*i*), who thought they too much interfered with the Teſt and Corporation Acts: for though his Lordſhip had ſtrongly oppoſed the Schiſm Bill in the preceding reign, he appears not to have been ſufficiently enlightened on the ſubject of Toleration. A change taking place in the Miniſtry in the beginning of March, 1718, Lord Cowper reſolved to reſign the Great Seal; but, before his reſignation, the King, on account of his great merit and ſervices, on the 18th of that month, raiſed him to the dignity of a Viſcount and Earl, by the title of Viſcount Fordwich, in the county of Kent, and Earl Cowper (*k*). The preamble to his Patent was drawn up by Mr. Hughes [Y]. He reſigned the Great Seal [Z] in the month of April; Lords

(*i*) Hiſt. and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, vol. iii. p. 100, 101.

(*k*) Collins, *ut ſupra*.

'man Uſher of the Black Rod, bearing the white 'wand, Garter King of Arms going on his right; 'then his Lordſhip alone, his train borne by one of 'his Gentlemen. In this manner entering the Houſe 'of Peers, he found all the Lords in their ſcarlet 'robes, alſo the Biſhops in their rochets, and took 'his place upon the uppermoſt wool-pack. This 'done, and prayers ended, his commiſſion for Lord 'High Steward was read: and then the Lords ad'journed themſelves into the erected Court in Weſt'minſter Hall, where the Managers, and other 'Members of the Houſe of Commons, in a grand 'committee, had, by this time, taken their reſpec'tive places. The King, the Prince, and Princeſs 'of Wales, were alſo ſeated in the boxes prepared 'for the Royal Family; as were alſo the foreign Mi'niſters in the ſeats appointed for them; and the 'other part of the Amphitheatre was filled up with a 'vaſt number of Gentlemen, Ladies, and other per'ſons of diſtinction (32).'

(32) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. vi. p. 490, 491.

[X] *To whom he behaved on that occaſion with great politeneſs.*] At the beginning of the trial, Lord Cowper addreſſed Lord Oxford in the following terms:

'Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer,

'It has been uſual, before the Commons proceed, 'to ſay ſomething from this place to perſons in your 'Lordſhip's preſent condition; partly by way of ex'hortation to a reaſonable confidence in the great 'honour, juſtice, wiſdom, integrity, and candour of 'their Judges, their peers, the Houſe of Lords in 'Parliament aſſembled, and partly by way of direc'tion, to aſſiſt them in their behaviour and conduct 'during the courſe of their trial. But, conſidering 'the many great offices your Lordſhip has borne in the 'State, your long experience and known learning in 'all Parliamentary proceedings, I cannot but think 'it would ſeem improper for me to be ſpeaking to 'your Lordſhip in that manner. Wherefore I pro'ceed barely to acquaint your Lordſhip, and others 'whom it may concern, with ſuch orders as the Lords 'have made, which it is fit ſhould be taken notice of 'thus early in this trial, &c (33).'

(33) Hiſt. and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, vol. iii. p. 57, 58.

[Y] *The preamble to his Patent was drawn up by Mr. Hughes.*] It is as follows:

'Quemadmodum ſemper erit nobis in primis gratum, viros verè dignos titulis ornare, qui virtute fulgente, & claris animi dotibus, honores quos accipiunt decorant; ſtatuimus perquam fidelem & dilectum noſtrum GULIELMUM Dominum COWPER, Baronem de *Wingham*, Cancellarium *Magnæ Britanniæ*, in omni tempore optimè de nobis & de republicâ meritum, ad provectiorem nobilitatis gradum vocare. Quem, maximum in arduis regni conſiliis judicium, diu conſpecta probitas, ſemper inconcuſſa fides, ſumma legum peritia, & æqui bonique ſtudium, ſapientiæ non parum, multum eloquentiæ, non magis nobis quam patriæ ſuæ dilectum reddidêre. Regnante *Annâ*, vir tantis virtutibus præcellens, ad munus Cancellarii *Magnæ Britanniæ* maturè accerſitus eſt. Florente republicâ, omnia implevit conſiliarii ſolertis, ſubditi fidelis, bonique civis officia; periclitante poſtea libertate, otium honeſtum ſummis dignitatibus præpoſuit. Nec tamen deſtitit in ſenatu iniquitati temporum quantum potuit obviam ire, hoſteſque patriæ, & perdita conſilia, fortiter, ſagaciter, diligenter oppugnare. Quum verò res noſtræ, pene labefactatæ, in ſolido rurſus locatæ ſunt, ut primum, providentiâ divinâ, ad regnum noſtrum pervenimus, merito revocandus erat ad priora munera ſuſtinenda. Ex eo tempore ſatis ſuperque eſt nobis conſpectum, quantum meruit & meretur, & quam bene honores magis ampli, non tam quæſiti quam parti, ſummis virtutibus largiundi ſunt. Quapropter, &c (34).'

(34) Hughes's Letters, &c. publiſhed by Mr. Duncombe, vol. iii. Appendix, p. xxxvi.

[Z] *He reſigned the Great Seal.*] On this occaſion Mr. Hughes wrote his Lordſhip the following letter:

'My Lord, London, May 1718.

'Though I cannot help joining with the general voice in lamenting, with much concern, the loſs the public has ſuſtained in your Lordſhip's quitting that great truſt, which never has, nor can be placed in more worthy hands than your Lordſhip's; yet I think it my duty, at the ſame time, to congratulate your Lordſhip on your being honourably eaſed from a very great burden; the conſtant fatigue of which muſt have made it uneaſy, and might have proved prejudicial to your health. Your Lordſhip has been ſeen to act in every thing with that prudence, mature thought, and equal temper, that, I am ſure, the reſolution you had taken muſt have been founded on the beſt reaſons; and I moſt zealouſly and ſincerely wiſh your Lordſhip all the ſatisfaction in the conſequences of it, which you can expect or deſire.

'I never can expreſs to your Lordſhip the half of what I feel, as often as I think of your very generous and diſtinguiſhed favours to me; all the circumſtances of which will ever leave on my mind the moſt grateful impreſſions. I eſteem that ſhort ſpace of my life, in which I had the honour to attend your Lordſhip, as one of the happieſt parts of it; and if I cannot avoid, on this occaſion, having a proportionable concern, yet to your Lordſhip, who has ſhewn ſo very humane and tender a regard to my welfare, I think myſelf obliged in duty to declare, that I have no regret for any conſequences to myſelf, ſo much as that of being deprived of the ſanction of being near your Lordſhip, and the frequent opportunities of being honoured with a converſation filled with goodneſs and condeſcenſion, and every thing that could render it valuable and agreeable.

'I wiſh your Lordſhip increaſe of health and happineſs, and with the moſt dutiful regards to your Lordſhip and my Lady Cowper,

'I am, &c.

'JOHN HUGHES (35).'

(35) Hughes's Correſpondence, *ut ſupra*, p. 188, 189, 190.

Lord Cowper very generouſly patronized Mr. Hughes, and appears to have had a great regard for him; and he, on his part, had a high ſenſe of his Lordſhip's kindneſs to him. During the time that Lord Cowper held the Great Seal, Mr. Hughes addreſſed the following Ode to him:

ODE

"To the Lord Chancellor COWPER. In alluſion to Horace, Book II. Ode 20.

I.

"I'm rais'd, tranſported, chang'd all o'er!
Prepar'd, a tow'ring ſwan, to ſoar
Aloft; ſee, ſee the down ariſe,
And cloath my back, and plume my thighs!

My

Lords Commiſſioners were appointed for a few days; after which Lord Parker was appointed Chancellor.

After his reſignation, Lord Cowper diligently attended the public buſineſs in the Houſe of Peers, and frequently oppoſed the meaſures of the Court. He ſpoke and voted againſt the Peerage Bill (*l*); and the famous South-ſea ſcheme alſo received from him a very powerful oppoſition. Of the extraordinary infatuation which then prevailed in the kingdom, and which ſeems never to have been ſufficiently accounted for, he appears in ſome degree to have foreſeen the pernicious conſequences. For when a motion was made, that the South-ſea Bill ſhould be referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe, he obſerved, "That, like the Trojan horſe, the Bill was uſhered in, and received with great pomp and "acclamations of joy, but it was contrived for treachery and deſtruction (*m*)." He advanced a variety of arguments againſt the Bill [*AA*], but it was carried by a large majority, and was productive of great national evils. Lord Cowper alſo oppoſed a Bill which was brought in "for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and profaneneſs [*BB*];" by which perſons were to be ſubjected to penalties, who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, or the inſpiration of the Scriptures; and by which any preachers, who ſhould deny any of "the fundamental articles of the Chriſtian Religion," were to be deprived of the benefit of the Act of Toleration. The Bill was ſupported by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of London and Wincheſter, and by other Biſhops and ſome Lay-lords (*n*); but, after a debate, was rejected by the Houſe.

On the 13th of December, 1721, Lord Cowper made a motion in the Houſe of Peers, that a Bill ſhould be brought in, for repealing ſo much of an Act, which had paſſed the preceding Seſſion, relative to the plague, as gave a power to remove to a lazaretto, or peſt-houſe, any perſons whatſoever infected with the plague [*CC*], or healthy perſons out of an infected family, from their habitations, though diſtant from any other dwelling; and alſo ſo much of the ſaid Act, as gave power for drawing lines or trenches round any city, town, or place infected. His Lordſhip obſerved, that the powers given by the Act in queſtion were altogether unknown to our excellent conſtitution, inconſiſtent with the lenity of our free government, and ſuch as could never be wiſely or uſefully put in practice; and they were the more odious, becauſe they ſeemed to be copied from the arbitrary government of France, and could not be executed but by a military force (*o*). The motion was ſeconded by Lord Trevor, and ſupported by ſeveral other Lords; but was rejected by a majority. A proteſt was entered againſt the rejection of the motion [*DD*], ſigned

(*l*) Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, *ut ſupra*, p. 112, 119.

(*m*) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. viii. p. 299.

(*n*) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. viii. p. 48, 49.

(*o*) Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, *ut ſupra*, p. 199.

My wings ſhoot forth; I now will try
New tracts, and boldly mount the ſky,
Nor envy, nor ill fortune's ſpite,
Shall ſtop my courſe, or damp my flight.

II.

"Shall I, obſcure, or diſeſteem'd,
Of vulgar rank henceforth be deem'd?
Or vainly toil my name to ſave
From dark oblivion and the grave?
No—he can never wholly die,
Secure of immortality,
Whom Britain's COWPER condeſcends
To own, and numbers with his friends.

III.

"'Tis done—I ſcorn mean honours now;
No common wreaths ſhall bind my brow.
Whether the muſe vouchſafe t'inſpire
My breaſt with her celeſtial fire;
Whether my verſe be fill'd with flame,
Or I deſerve a poet's name,
Let fame be ſilent; only tell
That generous COWPER loves me well.

IV.

"Through Britain's realms I ſhall be known
By COWPER's merit, not my own:
And when the tomb my duſt ſhall hide,
Stripp'd of a mortal's little pride,
Vain pomp be ſpar'd, and every tear;
Let but ſome ſtone this ſculpture bear,
"Here lies his clay, to earth conſign'd,
"To whom great COWPER once was kind (36)."

(36) *Ibid.* p. 260, 261.

[*AA*] *He advanced a variety of arguments againſt the Bill.*] 'Earl Cowper urged, that in all public bargains the individuals in the Adminiſtration ought 'to take care, that they ſhall be more advantageous 'to the State than to private perſons; but that a 'contrary method had been followed in the contract 'made with the South-ſea Company; for, ſhould the 'ſtocks be kept at the advanced price to which they 'had been raiſed by the oblique arts of ſtock-jobbing, either that Company or its principal Members 'would gain above thirty millions, of which no 'more than one-fourth part would be given towards 'the diſcharge of the national debts. He apprehended, that the re-purchaſe of annuities would 'meet with inſuperable difficulties: and, in ſuch 'caſe, none but a few perſons who were in the ſecret, 'who had bought ſtocks at a low rate, and afterwards ſold them at a high price, would in the end 'be gainers by the project (37).'

(37) Smollet, *ut ſupra*, p. 362.

[*BB*] *A Bill which was brought in for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy*, &c.] Among others who oppoſed this Bill was the Earl of Peterborough, who ſaid, 'That though he was for a Parliamentary 'King, yet he did not deſire to have a Parliamentary 'God, or a Parliamentary Religion; and if the 'Houſe were for ſuch a one, he would go to Rome, 'and endeavour to be choſen a Cardinal; for he had 'rather ſit in the conclave, than with their Lordſhips 'upon thoſe terms (38).' The Biſhop of Peterborough alſo ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'That 'neither himſelf, nor, he hoped, any of that Bench, 'would be executioners of ſuch a law, which ſeemed 'to tend to the ſetting up of an Inquiſition (39).'

(38) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. viii. p. 48, 49.

(39) *Id. ibid.*

[*CC*] *Any perſons whatſoever infected with the plague.*] The plague which broke out in the year 1720, at Marſeilles, ſeems to have given riſe to this act.

[*DD*] *A proteſt was entered againſt the rejection of the motion.*] It was obſerved in this proteſt, that in the plague with which England was viſited in 1665, though none of the methods preſcribed by the late Act were made uſe of, 'much leſs authorized by 'Parliament, yet the infection, however great, was 'kept from ſpreading itſelf into the remoter parts of 'the kingdom; nor did the city of London, where it 'firſt appeared, and chiefly raged, ſuffer ſo long or 'ſo much, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as other cities and towns in France had ſuffered, where thoſe cruel experiments had been tried '(40).'

(40) *Ibid.* p. 185.

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by Lord Cowper, and many other Lords (*p*). He alſo ſigned a proteſt againſt the rejection of the Bill, for the better ſecuring the freedom of election of Members to ſerve for the Commons in Parliament (*q*). This proteſt, which was ſigned by twenty-three Lay-Lords, and two Biſhops, though it contained much truth and good ſenſe, gave ſo much offence, that a vote was paſſed for expunging it [*EE*] from the Journals (*r*); and another vote was afterwards paſſed, at the motion of the Earl of Sunderland, for limiting the time allowed for entering proteſts (*s*).

(*p*) Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, *ut ſupra*, p. 201.
(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 230.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 231.
(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 236.

When an inquiry was inſtituted, in 1722, relative to the great increaſe of the Navy Debt, Earl Cowper repeatedly ſpoke upon that ſubject, arraigned the proceedings of Government in that buſineſs, and ſigned ſeveral proteſts (*t*). He oppoſed the Bill for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act for a year [*FF*]; as he did alſo the commitment of the Duke of Norfolk to the Tower, on the ſuſpicion of High Treaſon (*u*). A proteſt againſt the commitment of that Nobleman was alſo ſigned by Lord Cowper, and ſeveral other Peers (*w*). On the 20th of February, this year, his Lordſhip made a motion, in the Houſe of Peers, relative to the National Debt. He remarked, that the National Debt had been greatly increaſed for ſeveral years paſt, as appeared by the ſtate of the Public Debt, extracted from the books of the Treaſury, and this without any viſible occaſion; ſince every thing that had been aſked of the Parliament, had been readily granted and provided for, every one of thoſe years. He, therefore, moved, that it ſhould be reſolved by the Houſe, "That it appeared by the ſtate of the Public Debt before that Houſe, that "the ſame, excluſively of the Debt of the Navy, was encreaſed between the 31ſt of De-"cember, 1717, and the 31ſt of December, 1720, at leaſt the ſum of 2,300,000*l.* not-"withſtanding that the Sinking Fund had produced within that time 1,910,385*l.* 14*s.* 6½*d.*" This motion was ſeconded by Lord Bathurſt, and ſupported by ſeveral other Lords, but was rejected by the majority (*x*). A proteſt was entered on the occaſion, ſigned by Lord Cowper, and others, but which was expunged by a ſubſequent Order of the Houſe. Another motion was afterwards made, that it ſhould be reſolved by the Houſe, "That "the leſſening the Public Debt annually, by all proper methods, was neceſſary to the re-"ſtoring and preſerving the Public Credit." But the Miniſterial party evaded this motion, by putting the previous queſtion (*y*).

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, &c.
(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 249.
(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 250, 251, 252.
(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 234.
(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 235.

In the year 1723, Chriſtopher Layer, who had been convicted of High Treaſon, underwent a long examination before a Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, relative to a conſpiracy for raiſing the Pretender to the Throne. The Report of this examination was printed by order of the Houſe of Commons; and it appeared from this Report, that Layer, in the courſe of his examination, had mentioned a club of diſaffected perſons, of which, he ſaid, John Plunket had told him, that Lord Cowper was one. This occaſioned his Lordſhip to remark in the Houſe of Peers, that after having on ſo many occaſions, and in the moſt difficult times, given undoubted proofs of his hearty zeal and affection for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and of his attachment to his Majeſty's perſon and government, he had juſt reaſon to be offended, to ſee his name bandied about in a liſt of a chimerical club of diſaffected perſons, printed in the Report of the Secret Committee, on the bare hearſay of an infamous perſon, notoriouſly guilty of prevarication [*GG*]; and who, in the opinion even of the Secret Committee, "in order to magnify the number of the Pretender's "friends, did, in ſeveral liſts, inſert the names of perſons as well affected to the Pretender's "ſervice, without having the leaſt authority for ſo doing:" which alone was ſufficient to give an air of fiction to the whole conſpiracy. But, in juſtice to his own character, he thought it neceſſary to move, That John Plunket, from whom Layer pretended to have received the liſt of the club, mentioned in the Report of the Committee, ſhould be immediately ſent for to the Bar of that Houſe, to be there examined (*z*). This motion, after ſome debate, was rejected by the majority; and it was obſerved by Lord Townſhend, that as the Secret Committee had declared, that they were entirely ſatisfied of Lord Cowper's innocence, his Lordſhip's reputation could not have ſuffered upon that account (*a*). Lord

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 266, 267.
(*a*) *Id. ibid.*

[*EE*] *A vote was paſſed for expunging it.*] Perhaps few things can be more abſurd, in any body of men whatever, than admitting a right of entering proteſts, with reaſons for ſuch proteſts, againſt the proceedings of the majority, and yet at the ſame time ſuppoſing, that the majority can have any right to expunge ſuch proteſts.

[*FF*] *He oppoſed the Bill for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act for a year.*] 'The Earls of Angleſey, 'Cowper, Strafford, and Coningſby, the Lords 'Trevor, Bathurſt, and Bingley, repreſented, That 'the Habeas Corpus Act being, on all hands, admit-'ted to be the greateſt and ſtrongeſt bulwark of 'Engliſh liberty, it did not conſiſt with the wiſdom 'of Parliament, to ſuſpend it without an abſolute 'neceſſity. That, indeed, in caſes of actual rebel-'lion, or intended invaſion, that Act had been, at 'times before, ſuſpended; but yet this was done 'ſparingly, by degrees, and never for above the term 'of ſix months. That this conſideration put them 'under a very melancholy apprehenſion for the very 'being or effect of that excellent law; ſince the ſuſ-'penſion of it for a year, might be as good a prece-'dent for ſuſpending it, on another occaſion, for the 'term of two years, as any former precedent was now 'for the preſent ſuſpenſion (41).'

(41) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. viii. p. 244.

[*GG*] *Notoriouſly guilty of prevarication.*] It had been reſolved by the Houſe of Commons, 'That it 'appeared to that Houſe, that Chriſtopher Layer, in 'his ſeveral examinations before the Lords of the 'Council, and the Committee of that Houſe, had 'groſsly prevaricated, ſuppreſſed the truth, contra-'dicted himſelf, &c (42).'

(42) Hiſt. Reg. vol. x. p. 150.

Cowper, however, thought proper to make a public declaration of his innocence [*HH*].

On the 15th of May, this year, Earl Cowper made a long Speech in the Houſe of Peers, in oppoſition to the Bill for inflicting pains and penalties on Biſhop Atterbury (*b*). He urged a variety of arguments to ſhew, that the evidence againſt the Biſhop was extremely inſufficient; and he pointed out the danger of ſuch a precedent, as that of inflicting pains and penalties on a man without law, and without proper evidence againſt him. His Lordſhip ſtrongly objected to the diſtinction that had been made in the debate, between *real* evidence, and *legal* evidence; and maintained, that the law required only "ſuch real and certain proof, as ought, in natural juſtice and equity, to be received."— "The wiſdom and goodneſs of our law, my Lords," ſaid he, "appear in nothing more "remarkably, than in the perſpicuity, certainty, and clearneſs of the evidence it requires, "to fix a crime upon any man, whereby his life, his liberty, or his property, might be con- "cerned. Herein we glory and pride ourſelves, and are juſtly the envy of all the neigh- "bouring nations. Our law, in ſuch caſes, requires evidence ſo clear and convincing, "that every by-ſtander, the inſtant he hears it, muſt be fully ſatisfied of the truth of it. "It admits of no ſurmizes, innuendoes, forced conſequences, or harſh conſtructions, nor "any thing elſe to be offered as evidence, but what is real and ſubſtantial, according to the "rules of natural juſtice and equity. Theſe are the rules the Judges go by, nor have they "any other in determining what is, or what is not to be admitted as evidence before them; "and, therefore, to ſay, that the law refuſes ſuch evidence as is real, and ought in natural "juſtice and equity to be admitted, is to caſt an imputation upon the law, which is not only "unjuſt, but entirely groundleſs (*c*)."

(*b*) Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, *ut ſupra*, p. 383—398.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 388, 389.

The laſt public tranſaction, in which we find Earl Cowper engaged, was oppoſing the Bill for taxing the Papiſts; which he repreſented as an impolitic and indefenſible meaſure. He remarked, that it might afford a pretext to ſome foreign Princes for treating their Proteſtant ſubjects with ſeverity; and he obſerved, that no ſtate had ever got any thing by perſecuting its ſubjects. In France, he ſaid, perſecution had been the means of driving away the wealthieſt of their merchants, and their moſt induſtrious artificers; and this Bill might alſo force the Engliſh Roman Catholics to leave the kingdom, and carry eight or nine hundred thouſand pounds into foreign countries (*d*). The Bill, however, paſſed; but Lord Cowper, and ſeveral other Lords, ſigned a proteſt againſt it (*e*). His Lordſhip lived but a few months after; for he died at his ſeat at Colne Green, in Hertfordſhire [*II*], on the 10th of October, 1723; and on the 19th of that month, he was interred in Hertingfordbury Church, in the ſame county (*f*). A Pindaric Ode, occaſioned by his death, was publiſhed by Mr. Ambroſe Philips [*KK*].

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 403.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 404.

(*f*) Collins, *ut ſupra*.

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[*HH*] *A public declaration of his innocence.*] It was as follows:

'*The declaration of William Earl Cowper, ſhewing that the matters contained in ſome hearſays, relating to him, in the examination of Chriſtopher Layer, are falſe and groundleſs.*

'March 20, 1722-3.

'Though hearſay does not affect any one, either in law, or reaſon, yet it deſerves contradiction, where the truth will bear it, eſpecially if printed: and, therefore, finding that Layer, in his examinations of the 19th of January and 4th of February laſt, hath ſaid, that one Plunket told him, (as explaining what was meant by *Burford's club*,) that Lord Orrery was Chairman; and that Lord Cowper, and ſeven other Lords, and ſix Commoners named, were of that club; and that this club met monthly; as he, Layer, thought, at one another's houſes; and not doubting but my averment will be believed before any hearſay, eſpecially from one in Layer's ſad circumſtances; I do hereby declare and affirm upon my honour, That I do not know, or believe, and never heard, before the ſaid examinations were talked of, that there was any ſuch club, or meeting: That as to three of the Commoners named, viz. Sir Henry Goring, Mr. Dawkins, and Mr. Shippen, I do not know them ſo much as by ſight; and as for two of the remaining three Commoners, viz. Sir Conſtantine Phipps, and General Webb, I have not been in their, or either of their companies, at any time within ſixteen years laſt paſt: and as to the Lords, I never met them, or any of them, but either accidentally, on viſits of ceremony, or in the time of Parliament, and that, with other Lords, on the buſineſs of Parliament only. And for one of the ſaid Commoners, whom I am acquainted with, viz. Mr. Hutcheſon, I never once was at any meeting with him, together with any of the ſaid Lords or Commoners. And whereas Layer, in his examination of the 19th of September laſt, ſaid, that Lord Orrery told him, that Lord Cowper told him (Lord Orrery), that two hundred Tories, and ninety *Grumbletonians*, would try their laſt effort in the Houſe of Commons; and in another examination of the 21ſt of the ſame month, Layer repeats the ſame, except that he uſes the words *angry Whigs*, inſtead of the word *Grumbletonians*: I do hereby declare, and affirm upon my honour, that I never ſaid ſo to Lord Orrery, nor to that effect, nor any thing like it: and I do therefore verily believe, that Lord Orrery never ſaid that I did.

'COWPER (43).'

(43) Hiſt. Reg. for the Year 1723, p. 255, 256.

[*II*] *At his ſeat at Colne-green*, &c.] At this ſeat, now the property of the preſent Earl Cowper, which we lately viſited, we ſaw three portraits of the firſt Earl Cowper, one at full length, in his robes as Chancellor; another in his robes, three quarters; and a third in an undreſs. From theſe portraits he appears to have been a very handſome man, with an open and intelligent countenance.

In one of the rooms at this ſeat are hung up, in glaſs caſes, the purſes that contained the Great Seals when he held them; namely, the laſt Great Seal of England, the firſt Great Seal of Great Britain, and the Great Seal that he held after the acceſſion of King George I. and which are ſeverally inſcribed, *Sigillum Angliæ Ultimum*, *Sigillum Britanniæ Prima*, *Sigillum Britanniæ Reſtitutum*.

[*KK*] *A Pindaric Ode, occaſioned by his death*, &c.] From this Ode we ſhall ſelect two or three ſtanzas.

'Here we come, and hence we go,
'Shadows paſſing to and fro;
'Seen a while, forgotten ſoon:
'But thou, to fair diſtinction born,
'Thou COWPER, beamy in the morn
'Of life, ſtill brightening to the pitch of noon,

'Scarce

The eloquence and abilities of Earl Cowper were highly celebrated in his own time; he made a very conſpicuous figure at the Bar; he was a diſtinguiſhed Member of both Houſes of Parliament; his general character as a public man appears to have been extremely reſpectable; and in his conduct in the Court of Chancery he diſplayed great diſintereſtedneſs. He oppoſed the frequency and facility with which private bills paſſed in Parliament; and refuſed the New Year's Gifts, which it had been cuſtomary to preſent to thoſe who held the Great Seal [*LL*]. Dr. Smollet obſerves, that England, by his death, 'loſt a worthy Nobleman, who had twice diſcharged the office of Lord-chancellor, with 'equal diſcernment and integrity. He was profoundly ſkilled in the laws of his country; 'in his apprehenſion quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He 'poſſeſſed a manly eloquence: his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful (*e*).' Mr. Tindal ſays of him, that he 'was eminent for his integrity in the diſcharge of the 'office of Lord chancellor, which he had twice filled. There may have been Chancel-'lors of more extenſive learning, but none of more knowledge in the laws of England. 'His judgment was quick, and yet ſolid. His eloquence manly, but flowing. His 'manner graceful and noble [*MM*] (*f*).' Lord Cheſterfield, in his letters to his ſon (*g*), repreſents Earl Cowper as more diſtinguiſhed, as a Speaker, by the elegance of his language, and the gracefulneſs of his manner, than by the force of his arguments. He ſays, 'The late Lord-chancellor Cowper's ſtrength as an Orator, lay by 'no means in his reaſoning, for he often hazarded very weak ones. But ſuch was 'the purity and elegancy of his ſtyle, ſuch the propriety and charms of his elocution, 'and ſuch the gracefulneſs of his action, that he never ſpoke without univerſal ap-'plauſe. The ears and the eyes gave him up the hearts and the underſtanding of the 'audience.'

(*e*) Hiſt. of England, *ut ſupra*, p. 399.

(*f*) Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 676.
(*g*) Letter 173.

Earl Cowper was one of the Governors of the Charter-houſe, and a Fellow of the Royal Society (*b*). He was twice married. By his firſt wife, Judith, who was daughter and heireſs of Sir Robert Booth, of London, Knight, he had one ſon, who died young. Mary, his ſecond wife, who did not long ſurvive him, was daughter of John Clavering, Eſq; of Chopwell, in the Biſhopric of Durham. By this Lady he had iſſue two ſons and two daughters. His eldeſt ſon, William, ſucceeded him in his titles and eſtate; and his ſecond

(*b*) Collins, *ut ſupra*.

'Scarce verging to the ſteep decline,
'Hence ſummon'd while thy virtues radiant ſhine;
'Thou ſingled out, the foſterling of fame,
'Secure of praiſe, nor leſs ſecur'd from blame,
'Shalt be remember'd with a fond applauſe,
'So long as Britons own the ſame indulgent laws.'

* * * *

'Hear him ſpeaking, and you hear
'Reaſon tuneful to the ear!
'Lips, with thymy language ſweet,
'Diſtilling on the hearer's mind
'The balm of wiſdom, ſpeech refin'd,
'Celeſtial gifts!—Oh, when the nobles meet,
'When next, thou ſea-ſurrounded land,
'Thy nobles meet at Brunſwick's high command,
'In vain they ſhall the charmer's voice deſire!
'In vain thoſe lips of eloquence require;
'That mild conviction which the ſoul aſſails
'By ſoft alarms, and with a gentle force prevails.

'To ſuch perſuaſion, willing, yields
'The liberal mind, in freedom train'd;
'Freedom, which, in crimſon'd fields,
'By hardy toils our fathers gain'd;
'Inheritance of long deſcent!
'The ſacred pledge ſo dearly priz'd
'By that bleſt ſpirit, we lament.
'Grief-eaſing lays, by grief deviſ'd,
'Plaintive numbers, gently flowing,
'Soothe the ſorrows to him owing.'

* * * *

'Winning aſpect! winning mind!
'Soul and body aptly join'd;
'Searching thought, engaging wit,
'Enabled to inſtruct, or pleaſe.
'Uniting dignity with eaſe,
'By nature form'd for every purpoſe fit;
'Endearing excellence!—O, why
'Is ſuch perfection born, and born to die?
'Or, do ſuch rare endowments ſtill ſurvive,
'As plants remov'd to milder regions thrive
'In one eternal ſpring? And we bewail
'The parting ſoul, new-born to life that cannot fail (44).'

(44) Ode (in the manner of Pindar) on the Death of the Right Hon. W. Earl Cowper, by Mr. Philips, fol. 1723, p. 3. 5. 8.

[*LL*] *And refuſed the New Year's Gifts, which it had been cuſtomary to preſent to thoſe who held the Great Seal.*] Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that there was a general complaint made of Private Acts of Parliament, that they paſſed 'through both Houſes too 'eaſily, and in ſo great a number, that it took up a 'great part of the Seſſion to examine them,' though in a curſory way, which was found very inconvenient. But, he ſays, the fees that were paid for theſe, 'to the Speakers and Clerks of both Houſes, inclin-'ed them to favour and promote them.' Lord Somers propoſed ſuch a regulation concerning them, as it was ſuppoſed would prove beneficial for the future: and Lord Cowper, the Biſhop adds, 'did very ge-'nerouſly obſtruct theſe Private Bills, as much as his 'predeceſſor, (Sir Nathan Wright), had promoted 'them. He did another thing of a great example. 'On the firſt day of the year, it was become a cuſ-'tom, for all thoſe who practiſed in Chancery, to 'offer a New Year's Gift to the Lord who had the 'Great Seal. Theſe grew to be ſo conſiderable, 'that they amounted to 1,500*l.* a year. On this 'New Year's Day (1706), which was his firſt, he 'ſignified to all who, according to cuſtom, were ex-'pected to come with their preſents, that he would 'receive none, but would break that cuſtom. He 'thought it looked like the inſinuating themſelves 'into the favour of the Court; and that if it was not 'bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too 'like it. This contributed not a little to the raiſing 'his character. He managed the Court of Chancery 'with impartial juſtice, and great diſpatch; and was 'very uſeful to the Houſe of Lords, in the promot-'ing of buſineſs (45).'

(45) Burnet, *ut ſupra*, p. 439.

[*MM*] *His manner graceful and noble.*] His manner was celebrated by Pope. In his imitation of the Second Epiſtle of the Second Book of Horace, (l. 133, 134.) he introduces two Serjeants at Law complimenting each other in the following terms:

'Twas, "Sir, your law;"—and "Sir, your elo-
"quence,"
"Yours, Cowper's manner,—and yours, Talbot's
"ſenſe."]

ſon,

(i) Collins, *ubi supra.*

ſon, Spencer, became Dean of Durham (*i*). His eldeſt daughter, Lady Sarah Cowper, who is ſaid to have been "diſtinguiſhed for her ſenſe and accompliſhments (*k*)," died unmarried in 1758. His youngeſt, Lady Anne, was married, in 1731, to James Edward Colleton, Eſq; of Haynes-hill in Berkſhire, and died in 1750 (*l*).

(k) Hughes's Correſpondence, vol. ii. p. 65.
(l) Collins, *ut ſupra.*

William, the ſecond Earl Cowper, was twice married; in 1732, to Lady Henrietta, youngeſt daughter and coheir of Henry D'Auverquerque Earl of Grantham; and in 1750, to Lady Georgina, daughter to Earl Granville, and widow of the Hon. John Spencer, Eſq; by whom ſhe was mother of John Earl Spencer. By Lady Georgina, Lord Cowper had no iſſue; but by his firſt Counteſs, who died in 1747, he was father of George Naſſau, now Earl Cowper, and of Lady Caroline, who was married, in 1753, to Henry Seymour, Eſq; who was only ſon and heir of Francis Seymour, Eſq; of Sherborne, in the county of Dorſet, brother to Edward, the eighth Duke of Somerſet of that family. The preſent Earl Cowper was created, in 1778, a Count of the Holy Roman Empire (*m*); and has reſided ſome years at Florence.] T.

(m) *Ibid.*

COX (RICHARD), a learned Biſhop in the XVIth century, was born at Whaddon in Buckinghamſhire, of mean parentage (*a*), in the year 1499 (*b*). He had, probably, his firſt education in the ſmall priory of Snelſhall in the pariſh of Whaddon; but being afterwards ſent to Eton-ſchool, he was thence elected into a Scholarſhip at King's-college in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow in the year 1519 (*c*). Having the ſame year taken his Bachelor of Arts degree, and being eminent for his piety and learning, he was one of thoſe bright Scholars, who were invited to Oxford by Cardinal Wolſey, to fill up his new foundation (*d*). He was accordingly preferred to be one of the Junior Canons of Cardinal-college (*e*); and on the 7th of December, 1525, was incorporated Bachelor of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtoood at Cambridge (*f*). Soon after, performing his exerciſes, he was, on the 8th of February following, licenſed to proceed in Arts, in which he took the degree of Maſter, July 2, 1526 (*g*). He was reputed one of the greateſt Scholars of his age; and his poetical compoſitions were in great eſteem among the beſt judges. His piety and virtue were not inferior to his learning, and commanded the reſpect of all impartial perſons. But ſhewing himſelf averſe to many of the Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and declaring freely for ſome of Luther's opinions, he incurred the diſpleaſure of the Governors of the Univerſity, who ſtripped him of his preferment, and threw him into priſon on ſuſpicion of hereſy (*h*). When he was releaſed from his confinement, he left Oxford; and, ſome time after, was choſen Maſter of Eton-ſchool, which was obſerved remarkably to flouriſh under his vigilant and induſtrious care (*i*). In 1537, he commenced Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge (*k*). And on the 4th of December, 1540, was made Archdeacon of Ely (*l*); as he was alſo appointed in 1541, the firſt Prebendary in the firſt ſtall of the ſame Cathedral, upon the new founding of it by King Henry VIII. on the 10th of September 1541 (*m*). He was likewiſe, the 3d of June 1542, preſented by the ſame King to the Prebend of Sutton with Buckingham in the Church of Lincoln, and inſtalled the 11th of that month. But this he ſurrendered up in 1547 (*n*). In the year 1543, he ſupplicated the Univerſity of Oxford, that he might take place among the Doctors of Divinity there, which was unuſual, becauſe he was not then incorporated into that Univerſity, as Doctor in Divinity; nor was he ſo till June 1545 (*o*). When a deſign was formed, of converting the Collegiate Church of Southwell into a Biſhoprick [*A*], Dr. Cox was nominated Biſhop of it (*p*). On the 8th of January 1543-4, he was made the ſecond Dean of the new-erected Cathedral of Oſney near Oxford; and in 1546, when that See was tranſlated to Chriſt-church, he was alſo made Dean there (*q*). Theſe promotions he obtained by the intereſt of Archbiſhop Cranmer and Biſhop Goodrich, to the laſt of whom he had been Chaplain; and, by their recommendation, he was choſen Tutor to the young Prince Edward, whom he inſtructed with great care in the true principles of religion, and formed his tender mind to an early ſenſe of his duty, both as a Chriſtian and a King (*r*). On that Prince's acceſſion to the Throne, he became a great favourite at Court, and was made a Privy-Counſellor, and the King's Almoner [*B*]. The 21ſt of May, 1547, he was elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford (*s*); inſtalled July 16, 1548, Canon of Windſor; and, the next year, made Dean of Weſtminſter (*t*). About the ſame time he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to viſit the Univerſity of Oxon (*u*), in which he is accuſed

(a) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Lond. 1730, vol. ii. p. 359. among the Biſhops of Ely.
(b) Life of Biſhop Cox, by S. Downes; prefixed to Sparrow's Rational. p. 115.
(c) Willis, as above; and Wood, *Athen.* edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 203. He was admitted in King's College in 1518. Fuller's Worthies, in Buckinghamſhire, p. 131.
(d) Downes, *ubi ſupra*; and Wood, *Faſti*, vol. i. col. 40.
(e) Wood, *Athen. ubi ſupra*; now ſwallowed up into Chriſt-church.
(f) *Idem, Faſti*, vol. i. col. 40.
(g) *Idem, Ath.* col. 203.
(h) Downes, as above, p. 115, 116.
(i) *Ibid.*
(k) Wood, *Ath. ubi ſupra.*
(l) Willis, as above, p. 374.
(m) *Ibid.* p. 376.
(n) *Ibid.* p. 248.
(o) Wood, *Faſti*, vol. i. col. 68, 70.
(p) Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 403.
(q) Wood, *Ath.* col. 203; & *Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib.* ii. p. 253. He was made Dean of Chriſt-church, Nov. 4.
(r) Downes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 116.
(s) Wood, *Faſti*, vol. i. col. 71. He held it till the year 1552.
(t) *Idem, Athen.* col. 203.
(u) *Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.* i. p. 269, 270, &c.

[*A*] *When a deſign was formed, of converting the Collegiate Church of Southwell into a Biſhoprick*, &c.] For, after the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, beſides the ſix new erected Biſhopricks of Oxford, Peterburgh, Glouceſter, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Weſtminſter, the King intended to have erected new Biſhopricks; at Dunſtable in Bedfordſhire, with 1140l. 5d. yearly revenue; Colcheſter in Eſſex with 1003l. 5d. Shrewſbury in the county of Salop; Bodmin with Launceſton in Cornwall; and Southwell in Nottinghamſhire. But, either the King's luxury and extravagance, or the greedineſs of his courtiers, ſwallowed up the revenues wherewith they were to be endowed (1).

(1) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; vol. ii. p. 402, 403, in Oxford.

[*B*] *And the King's Almoner.*] This office was granted him *durante beneplacito*, during the King's pleaſure: and he had afterwards a farther grant made him, of all the Goods and Chattels of Felons, as well within liberties as without, for the augmentation of the King's alms. *In augmentationem Eleemoſynæ ſuæ, omnia Bona & Catalla Felonum de ſe tam infra Libertates quam extra, infra Regnum Angliæ habend. quamdiu in Officio prædict. ſteterit* (2).

(2) Dyer's Reports, f. 77.

cuſed of having much abuſed his commiſſion [C]. In 1550, he was ordered to go down into Suſſex, and endeavour, by his learned and affecting ſermons, to quiet the minds of the people, who had been diſturbed by the factious preaching of Day Biſhop of Chicheſter, a violent Papiſt (w): and when the noble deſign of reforming the Canon Law was in agitation, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners. Both in this and the former reign, when an act paſſed for giving all Chantries, Colleges, &c. to the King, through Dr. Cox's powerful interceſſion, the Colleges in both Univerſities were excepted out of that act (x). Soon after Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Crown, he was ſtripped of his preferments; and on the 15th of Auguſt 1553, committed to the Marſhalſea. He was indeed ſoon diſcharged from this confinement (y); but foreſeeing the inhuman perſecution likely to enſue, he reſolved to quit the realm, and withdraw to ſome place, where he might enjoy the free exerciſe of his religion, according to the form eſtabliſhed in the reign of King Edward (z). He went firſt to Straſburgh in Germany, where he heard with great concern of the raſh proceeding of ſome of the Engliſh exiles at Franckfort (a), who had thrown aſide the Engliſh Liturgy, and ſet up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models [D]. On the 13th of March 1555, he came to Franckfort in order to oppoſe this innovation, and to have the Common-Prayer-Book ſettled among the Engliſh congregation there (b), which he had the ſatisfaction to accompliſh [E]. Then he returned

(w) Downes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 117.

(x) *Ibid.*

(y) Wood, *Ath. ubi ſupra.* He ſays, the Dr. was diſcharged 19 Aug. 1559, inſtead of 1553 or 1554.

(z) Downes, as above, p. 117.

(a) A brief Diſcourſe of the troubles begonne at Franckfort, *Anno Domini* 1544. Printed in 1575, 4to. p. 6, 7.

(b) *Ib.* p. 38.

[C] *In which he is accuſed of having much abuſed his commiſſion.*] For he, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, made a dreadful havock among the Libraries; deſtroying, burning, or ſelling for the vileſt uſes, all the illuminated books, ſuch as had in them mathematical figures or other diagrams, under pretence that they tended to Popery or Conjuration: and alſo books of School-Divinity; and, in general, ſparing very few that had been compoſed by Roman-Catholic authors (3).

(3) See Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l.* i. p. 271, 272, and *l.* ii. p. 60; and Catalogue of MSS. in England and Ireland, fol. 1697.

[D] *Set up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models.*] Of which we have this account, 'After having peruſed the Engliſh Liturgy, 'it was concluded amongſt them, That the anſwering 'aloud after the Miniſter ſhould not be uſed; the litany, ſurplice, and many other things alſo omitted, 'becauſe in the reformed Churches abroad ſuch things 'would ſeem more than ſtrange. It was farther 'agreed upon, that the Miniſter, in the room of the 'Engliſh Confeſſion, ſhould uſe another, both of more 'effect, and alſo framed according to the ſtate and 'time. And the ſame ended, the people to ſing a 'pſalm in metre in a plain tune, as was and is ac'cuſtomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spaniſh, 'and Scottiſh Churches: that done, the Miniſter to 'pray for the aſſiſtance of God's holy Spirit, and ſo 'to proceed to the Sermon. After the ſermon, a ge'neral prayer for all eſtates, and for England, was 'alſo deviſed: at the end of which prayer was joined 'the Lord's Prayer, and a rehearſal of the Articles of 'the Belief; which ended, the people to ſing another 'pſalm as afore. Then the Miniſter pronouncing this 'bleſſing, The peace of God, &c. or ſome other of 'like effect, the people to depart. And as touch'ing the miniſtration of the Sacraments, ſundry 'things were alſo by common conſent omitted, as 'ſuperſtitious and ſuperfluous (4).'

(4) Brief Diſcourſe of the troubles begonne at Franckford, &c. p. 6, 7.

[E] *Which he had the ſatisfaction to accompliſh.*] The particulars of theſe remarkable tranſactions, were as follow. After the ſettling of the Form and Diſcipline mentioned in the laſt note, the Exiles adverti ſed their diſperſed countrymen at Straſburgh, Zuric, Weiſel, Emden, &c. of the ſingular benefit they enjoyed, of having a Church granted them, and endeavoured to perſwade them, to come and join with them. Thoſe at Straſburgh anſwered, That they had conſidered the contents of their letter, and perceived the effect of it was, to have one or two take the chief government of the congregation: and in caſe they could get Dr. Poinet, Mr. Scory, Dr. Bale, or Dr. Cox, or two of them, they ſhould be well provided; if not, they would appoint one at Straſburgh, and another ſhould come from Zuric. Accordingly, Mr. Grindall wrote to Mr. Scory at Emden, to deſire him to accept of the office; but before his anſwer came, the congregation had choſen Mr. Knox, Haddon, and Lever, for their Miniſters; not liking to have any Superintendent, as thoſe at Straſburgh propoſed, but to be governed by two or three Miniſters of equal authority (5). In the mean time, ſeveral members of the congregation were for retaining the Engliſh Liturgy, and did not approve of the Form ſet down in the laſt Note. This occaſioning very great contention, it was at length agreed, on the 6th of February 155$\frac{4}{5}$, That another Form ſhould be drawn up out of the Engliſh Liturgy, with ſome additions, to be uſed till the laſt day of April following. But Dr. Cox, and ſome others coming to Franckfort on the 13th of March, reſolved to ſtand up for the Engliſh Liturgy. Accordingly, they anſwered aloud after the Miniſter; for which being reproved by the Seniors of the Congregation, they made anſwer, That they would do as they had done in England, and would have the face of an Engliſh Church. On the Sunday following, one of Dr. Cox's company going up into the pulpit without the conſent of the congregation, read the Litany, whilſt Dr. Cox and his company made the reſponſes aloud. The ſame Sunday in the afternoon, Knox preaching, and reflecting upon theſe proceedings, was by Dr. Cox ſharply rebuked for it. The Tueſday following was appointed to talk of theſe things more at large. When they were aſſembled, requeſt was made, that Dr. Cox and his company ſhould be admitted to have votes in the congregation. The others anſwered, That matters ſtill in diſpute amongſt them ought firſt to be determined; and Dr. Cox and his friends ſubſcribe to the Diſcipline, as the reſt had done, before they were admitted into the congregation (6). Knox at laſt began to make intreaty, that they might have votes among the reſt; to which ſome yielding, the majority came thereby to be on their ſide, and they were accordingly admitted. But immediately after, Dr. Cox forbad Mr. Knox to meddle any more in that congregation (7). The next day, complaint of this being made to one of the Magiſtrates, he ordered, That two on each ſide ſhould conſult and agree upon ſome good order for divine ſervice, and make report of it to him. For that purpoſe, Dr. Cox and Mr. Lever were choſen on one ſide, and Mr. Knox and Whittingham on the other. But, when they came to a Conference, before they had gone through the Morning-ſervice (Dr. Cox being very earneſt for reſtoring the Liturgy, and the others as violent againſt it) they parted without coming to an agreement. The Puritans thereupon addreſſed the Senate, highly complaining of the others for endeavouring to force the Engliſh Liturgy upon them; and ſo far prevailed, that the Magiſtrates ordered the Congregation to agree with the French Church both in Doctrine and Ceremonies. Dr. Cox not being able to withſtand the torrent, ſaid, 'He had read the 'French order, and thought it to be both good and 'godly in all points, and therefore deſired the con'gregation to obey the Magiſtrates commandment.' Requeſting the magiſtrate at the ſame time, to ſhew unto him and his friends, his accuſtomed favour and goodneſs, notwithſtanding their ill behaviour. Nevertheleſs, theſe did not reſt here; but ſeeing that Knox was in great credit with many of the congregation, they accuſed him to the Senate of High-treaſon

(5) *Ib.* p. 13, 14.

(6) *Ib.* p. 37, 38, 39.

(7) Page 40.

turned to Straſburgh for the ſake of converſing with Peter Martyr, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendſhip at Oxford, and whom he loved and honoured for his great learning and moderation (*c*). After the death of Queen Mary he returned to England; and was one of thoſe Divines who were appointed to reviſe the Liturgy (*d*). When a diſputation was to be held at Weſtminſter between eight Papiſts and eight of the Reformed Clergy, he was the chief champion on the Proteſtants ſide (*e*). He preached often before Queen Elizabeth in Lent; and, in his ſermon at the opening of her firſt Parliament (*f*), exhorted them in moſt affecting terms, to reſtore religion to its primitive purity, and baniſh all the Popiſh innovations and corruptions. Theſe excellent diſcourſes, and the great zeal he had ſhewn in ſupport of the Engliſh Liturgy at Franckfort, ſo effectually recommended him to the Queen's eſteem (*g*), that in June 1559, ſhe nominated him to the Biſhoprick of Norwich (*h*); but her mind altering, ſhe preferred him to the See of Ely, in the room of Dr. Thirlby, who was deprived (*i*). His *congé d'eſlire* bore date July 15, 1559. He was elected the 28th day of the ſaid month, had the Royal Aſſent December the 18th, was confirmed in the Church of St. Mary le Bow the 20th of the ſame month, conſecrated at Lambeth the next day, and received the temporalities the 23d of March following (*k*). Before his conſecration, he joined with Dr. Parker elect Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhops elect of London, Chicheſter, and Hereford, in a petition to the Queen, againſt an Act lately paſſed, for the alienating and exchanging the lands and revenues of the Biſhops; and ſent her ſeveral arguments from Scripture and reaſon againſt the lawfulneſs of it; obſerving withal, the many evils and inconveniencies both to Church and State that would thence ariſe (*l*). He enjoyed the epiſcopal dignity about twenty-one years and ſeven months, reckoning from the time of his conſecration; and was, all that time, one of the chief pillars and ornaments of the Church of England. Both to Archbiſhop Parker, and his ſucceſſor Grindal, he was very ſerviceable; and, by his prudence and induſtry, contributed to the reſtitution of our Church in the ſame beauty and good order, it had enjoyed in King Edward's reign. He was indeed no great favourite of the Queen; but that is to be imputed to his zealous oppoſition to her retaining the crucifix and lights on the Altar of the Royal Chapel [*F*], and his ſtrenuous defence of the lawfulneſs of the marriage of the Clergy, againſt which the Queen had contracted a moſt inveterate and unaccountable prejudice. He was a great patron to all learned men, whom he found well affected to the Church; and ſhewed a ſingular eſteem for Dr. Whitgift, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he made his Chaplain, and to whom he gave the Rectory of Teverſham in Cambridgeſhire, and a Prebend of Ely (*m*). He did his utmoſt to get a body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, (which was drawn up by Archbiſhop Cranmer, and other learned Divines, of whom himſelf was one, in the latter end of King Edward's reign) eſtabliſhed by authority of Parliament [*G*]; but through the unreaſonable oppo-

(*c*) Downes, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 430.

(*e*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. ii. 2d edit. p. 388. Strype's Ann. of the Reformat. vol. i. edit. 1725, p. 87, &c. See COLE (HENRY).

(*f*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 636.

(*g*) Downes, as above.

(*h*) Wood, *Ath.* vol. i. col. 689.

(*i*) Godwin, *de Præſul.* edit. 1616, 4*to*. p. 334.

(*k*) *Convent. Foedera, &c.* publiſhed by Rymer, vol. xv. p. 537.

(*l*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

(*m*) Life of Whitgift, &c. by J. Strype, f. 1718, p. 7. The Biſhop gave Whitgift that Prebend, Dec. 5. 1568, *ibid.*

ſon againſt the Emperor, his Son, and Queen Mary, on account of ſome virulent expreſſions of his againſt thoſe Princes, in a book intituled *An Admonition to Chriſtians*. Whereupon, the Senators commanded that he ſhould preach no more till their pleaſure were farther known; and ſoon after ordered him to depart the city of Franckfort (8). The 26th of March, Dr. Cox and his friends preſented a petition to the Magiſtrates, ſubſcribed by three Doctors, thirteen Bachelors of Divinity, and others, for the full uſe of the Engliſh Liturgy; which accordingly was eſtabliſhed. When Whittingham was acquainted with it, he ſaid, he did not doubt, but it might be lawful for him and others to join themſelves to ſome other church. But Dr. Cox deſired that it might not be ſuffered. Whereunto Whittingham anſwered, that it would be too great cruelty to force men, contrary to their conſciences, to obey all their diſorderly proceedings; offering, if the magiſtrate would be pleaſed to give them the hearing, to diſpute the matter againſt all the contrary party, and prove, that the order which they ſought to eſtabliſh, ought not to take place in any reformed Church: but herein they were not indulged. The 28th of March, Dr. Cox aſſembled all the Engliſh Clergy to his lodgings, and having declared to them, how the Magiſtrates had granted them the uſe of the Engliſh Liturgy, he ſaid, That he thought it requiſite they ſhould conſult together, whom they thought fitteſt to be Biſhop, Superintendant, or Paſtor, with the reſt of the officers, as Seniors, Miniſters, and Deacons (9). When that was ſettled, Dr. Cox proceeded to form a kind of Univerſity, and appointed a Greek, and a Hebrew Lecturer, a Divinity-Profeſſor, and a Treaſurer for the contributions remitted from England (10). The Puritans offered, as their laſt refuge, to refer the whole matter to four arbitrators, two choſen on each ſide; that it might appear where the fault lay, and they might have an opportunity of vindicating themſelves from the guilt of Schiſm. But that propoſal being rejected, they departed in a rage, and withdrew, ſome to Baſil, and others to Geneva (11).

(8) Page 44, 45.

(9) Page 46, 47.

(10) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 396.

(11) Troubles at Franckfort, as above, p. 55—59.

[*F*] *His zealous oppoſition to the Queen's retaining the Crucifix and Lights on the Altar of the Royal Chapel.*] He ſcrupled for a great while to officiate there upon that account; and when he did it, it was *with a trembling conſcience*, as he ſaid. To excuſe himſelf, and to give his humble advice to the Queen, he wrote to her a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter (12); wherein he ſets down 'certain conſiderations, why he could not yield to 'have Images ſet up in Churches.' And concludes in theſe words, 'yet my meaning is not hereby to enter 'into conſideration of ſuch as are otherwiſe minded, 'much leſs of your Majeſty (God forbid) who I believe 'meaneth not to uſe the thing to any evil end.—— 'Bear with me, moſt gracious ſoveraign; for the 'tender mercy of God, force not my conſcience ſo 'ſore (13).'

(12) Strype's Annals, vol. i. edit. 1725, p. 175.

(13) Appendix to vol. i. No. xxii. p. 59, 60, 61.

[*G*] *He did his utmoſt to get a body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws —— eſtabliſhed by authority of Parliament.*] That was, the famous book intitled *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, compiled, by order of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. out of the Canon and Civil Law. Thirty two perſons were commiſſioned for that work, but the perſon who had the chief hand in it, was Archbiſhop Cranmer: and it was put into proper and elegant Latin, by Sir John Cheke, and Dr. Haddon, Regius Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the Univerſity of Cambridge. For a farther account of that work, ſee Dr. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, 2d Edition, Part I. p. 330. Part II. p. 141. 196. and Part III. p. 208, and Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials,

oppoſition of ſome of the chief Courtiers, this noble deſign miſcarried a third time. As he had, in his exile at Franckfort, been the chief champion againſt the innovations of the Puritans; ſo he now continued, with ſome vigour and reſolution, to oppoſe their attempts, againſt the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Eſtabliſhed Church. At firſt he tried to reclaim, or win them over, by gentle means; but finding, that, inſtead of behaving themſelves with due moderation, they only grew more audacious, and reviled both Church and Biſhops in ſcurrilous libels, he thought timely ſeverities neceſſary (*n*). Therefore he wrote to Archbiſhop Parker, to go on vigorouſly in reclaiming or puniſhing them, and not be diſheartened at the frowns of thoſe Court-favourites who protected them; aſſuring him, that he might expect the bleſſing of God on his pious labours, to free the Church from their dangerous attempts, and to eſtabliſh uniformity. When the Privy-Council interpoſed in favour of the Puritans, and endeavoured to ſcreen them from puniſhment, he wrote a bold letter to the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh; wherein he warmly expoſtulated with the Council, for meddling with the affairs of the Church, which, as he ſaid, ought to be left to the determination of the Biſhops; admoniſhed them to keep within their own ſphere; and told them he would appeal to the Queen, if they continued to interpoſe in matters not belonging to them (*o*). He is blamed by ſome (*p*) for giving up ſeveral manors and other eſtates belonging to his See [*H*]; but he rather, in ſome reſpects, deſerves commendation, for his great firmneſs in reſolving to part with no more, and for being proof againſt the ſtrongeſt ſolicitations, and moſt violent attacks. Several he had to encounter, even from thoſe who were moſt in favour at Court, and who were backed by Royal Command and Authority. In the years 1574 and 1575, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, a noted favourite of the Queen, endeavoured to wreſt Ely-Houſe in Holborn from him (*q*); ſo that, in order to preſerve it to his See, he was forced to have a long and chargeable ſuit in Chancery, which was not determined in 1579 (*r*). The Lord North alſo attempted, in 1575, to oblige him to part with the manor of Somerſham, in Huntingdonſhire, one of the beſt belonging to his Biſhoprick; and with Downham Park (*s*); which he refuſing to yield, that Lord endeavoured to ſtir up the Queen's indignation againſt him, and do his utmoſt to have him deprived. For that purpoſe, North, and ſome others of the Courtiers, examined and ranſacked his whole conduct ſince his firſt coming to his See, and drew up a large body of articles againſt him, which he was to give anſwers to before the Privy-Council (*t*). But the Biſhop, in his replies, ſo fully vindicated himſelf from all aſperſions, and ſo clearly confuted the groundleſs and malicious calumnies of his enemies, that the Queen was forced to acknowledge his innocence (*u*); though the Lord North boaſted, he had found five *Præmunire*'s againſt him (*w*). However, vexed and wearied with the implacable malice of the Lord North, and other his adverſaries, he deſired, in 1577, leave to reſign his Biſhoprick (*x*); but the Queen put him off (*y*). North, though diſappointed in his former attempt, yet not diſcouraged thereby, brings three actions againſt the poor old Biſhop for ſelling of wood (*z*); whereupon the Biſhop offered again, in 1579, to reſign; provided he had a yearly penſion of two hundred pounds out of his See, and Donnington, (the leaſt of five country houſes belonging to Ely Biſhoprick) for his reſidence during life (*a*). The Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, at the Biſhop's earneſt deſire, obtained leave of the Queen for him to reſign; and in February 1579-80, upon the Biſhop's repeated deſires, forms of reſignation were actually drawn up (*b*). But the Court could not find any Divine of note, who would take that Biſhoprick on their terms, of ſurrendering up the beſt manors belonging to it. The firſt offer of it was made to Freak Biſhop of Norwich; and, on his refuſal, it was proffered to ſeveral others; but the conditions were ſo ignominious and baſe, that they all rejected it; by which means Biſhop Cox enjoyed it till his death, which happened on the 22d (*c*) of July 1581, in the 82d year of his age (*d*). By his will he left ſeveral legacies, amounting in all to the ſum of nine hundred and forty-five pounds; and died worth, in good debts, two thouſand three hundred and twenty-two pounds (*e*). He had ſeveral children [*I*]. His body

(*n*) Downes, *ubi ſupra*; from Mr. Strype's Life of Archb. Parker.

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) Willis, Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. vol. ii. p. 360, among the Biſhops of Ely.

(*q*) Strype's Annals, as above, vol. ii. p. 337, 338. 360; and Appendix to B. i. No. xlvii. p. 84.

(*r*) Strype, in the ſame volume, p. 579.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 361. The Queen ſent a letter to the Biſhop, to requeſt him to make a demiſe of Somerſham, to North, *Ibid.*

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 361—370.

(*u*) *Ibid.* and Appendix to B. i. No. xlviii, xlix, l, li.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 364.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 488, 489.

(*y*) With a *Nondum hoc fiet*, i. e. Not yet; as he expreſſes it himſelf. Append. to B. ii. of Annals, &c. as above, No. xiv. p. 117.

(*z*) Strype, vol. ii. p. 580.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 581, 582, 583.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 583.

(*c*) Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 360. Wood, *Athen.* col. 204. Stow ſays, it was July 13. *Annales*, edit. 1631, p. 694.

(*d*) This appears from the time of his birth mentioned above.

(*e*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. edit. 1728, p. 26, 27.

morials, Vol. II. p. 303. and Life of Cranmer, book I. ch. 30. It was firſt publiſhed, in 1571, by Archbiſhop Parker, or John Fox, with a preface; and again in 1640, 4*to*. The moſt probable reaſon why thoſe Laws were never ſuffered to be confirmed by Parliament, is that aſſigned by Dr. Burnet (14), becauſe it was found more for the greatneſs of the Prerogative and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep thoſe points undetermined.

(14) Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 330.

[*H*] *Giving up ſeveral manors and other eſtates belonging to his See.*] In 1562, he alienated to Queen Elizabeth, the manors of Hatfield, Little Hadham, and Kelſhall. Moreover, he gave up Eaſt Dereham, Pulham, Bridgeham, the Hundred and manor of Mitford, the manors of Terrington, Walpole, Weſt-Walton, Brandon, Weſteringate, Battleſden, Hecham, Harthurſt, Berking, and Totteridge, in the counties of Norfork, Suffolk, Hertford, and Bedford, of the yearly value of 695*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* in lieu of which, the Queen granted him, the tenths of his Dioceſe amounting to 384*l.* 14*s.* 9*d. per Annum*, and the Impropriations of Gildon-Morden, Swaffham-Bulbeck, Stokequi, Waterbech, St. Giles Cambridge, Comberton, Hinxton, Harleſton, Swaveſey, and Drayton, of the value of 207*l.* 10*s.* So that, as Browne Willis, Eſq; obſerves, he parted with about 700*l.* a year of the old Demeſnes, being a third part of the Revenues of the Biſhoprick (15). Before, whilſt he was Dean of Chriſt-Church, he had alienated the Parſonage-glebe, and a manor, at Harrow on the Hill; and the Rectory and Advowſon of Preſton on Stour in Glouceſterſhire, and Priory of Clatercote in Oxfordſhire (16).

(15) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, vol. ii. edit. 1730, p. 248. 338. in Ely.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 429. 550.

[*I*] *He had ſeveral children.*] Namely, *John*, whom he made his executor; *Richard*, who was knighted, and a Juſtice of Peace for Ely. After his father's deceaſe, he had a Grant from the Crown, of Dodington manor and palace. The Biſhop had alſo *two daughters*, married, to John Parker, and John Duport, Prebendaries

body was interred in Ely-cathedral, near Biſhop Goodrich's monument, under a marble ſtone, with an inſcription; which having been defaced, there are only four verſes of it [K] now legible (f). Divers things, of which he was author, have been publiſhed, chiefly ſince his deceaſe [L]. As to his character; He was a man of a ſound judgment, and clear apprehenſion, and attained to great perfection in all polite and uſeful learning. He wanted no advantages of education, and improved them with ſuch diligence and induſtry, that he ſoon became an excellent proficient both in divine and human literature. The Holy Scriptures were his chief ſtudy; and he was perfectly well verſed in the original language of the New Teſtament. He was extremely zealous for the true intereſt of our Reformed Church, and a conſtant and vigorous defender of it againſt all the open aſſaults of its Popiſh adverſaries, and of the Puritans (g). He is accuſed by ſome (h) of having been a worldly and covetous perſon; and is ſaid to have made a great havock and ſpoil of his woods and parks, feeding his family with powdered veniſon to ſave expences. Several com-

(f) Willis, *ubi ſupra.*

(g) Willis, as above, p. 359, 360; and Sir J. Harrington, p. 77.

(h) Downes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 130.

bendaries of Ely; beſides other children, whoſe names are not mentioned (17).

(17) Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 360.

[K] *Which having been defaced, there are only four verſes of it legible.*] Being theſe;

— — — — — — — — — — —
Vita caduca vale, ſalveto vita perennis;
Corpora terra tegit, Spiritus alta petit.
In terra Chriſti Gallus Chriſtum reſonabam;
Da, Chriſte, in coelis te ſine fine ſonem.

i. e. 'Farewel, frail life, hail, life eternal; The 'earth covers my body, but my ſoul aſcends to heaven. 'I, who was Chriſt's Cock (*), made Chriſt's name 'ſound on earth. Grant, O Chriſt, that I may without 'end make thy praiſes reſound in heaven (18).' His monument was defaced in twenty years after his death; which ſome (19) look upon as a ſign of his being little beloved.

(*) Alluding to his name of Cocks or Cox.

(18) Willis, *ibid.* & *Godwin. de Præſul.* p. 335.

(19) Brief e View of the State of the Church of England, by Sir J. Harrington, 8*vo.* Lond. 1653, p. 77.

[L] *Divers things, of which he was author, have been publiſhed chiefly ſince his deceaſe.*] They are, I. 'An Oration at the beginning of the Diſputation of 'Dr. Treſham and others with Peter Martyr.' II. 'An Oration at the concluſion of the ſame.' Theſe two Orations, which are in Latin, were printed in 1549, 4*to.* and afterwards among Peter Martyr's works. The ſecond is alſo printed in the Appendix to the Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by J. Strype (20). III. He had a great hand in compiling the firſt *Liturgy of the Church of England:* and was one of the chief perſons employed in the review of it in 1559 (21). IV. He turned into verſe the Lord's Prayer, commonly printed at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins's Pſalms. V. When a new Tranſlation of the *Bible* was made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, now commonly known by the name of *the Biſhop's Bible*, the *Four Goſpels*, the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and the *Epiſtle to the Romans*, were allotted to him, for his portion (22). VI. He wrote, 'Reſolutions of ſome Queſtions con-'cerning the Sacraments;' in the collection of Records at the end of Dr. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation (23). VII. He had a hand, in the 'Declaration concerning the Functions and Divine In-'ſtitution of Biſhops and Prieſts (24);' and in the 'Anſwers, to the 'Queries concerning ſome abuſes 'of the Maſs (25).' VIII. Several Letters, and ſmall pieces of his, have been publiſhed by the induſtrious Mr. Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation: namely, 1. A Letter to Wolfgang Weidner at Wormes, 20 May 1559 (26). 2. To the Queen, wherein, he excuſes himſelf for refuſing to miniſter in the Royal Chapel, on account of the Crucifix there (27). 3. To Bullinger, on occaſion of his anſwer to the Pope's Bull againſt the Queen (28). 4. To the Queen, upon her requiring his houſe in Holbourn for Mr. Hatton (29). 5. To the ſame, upon her deſiring him to ſurrender Somerſham (30). 6. Reaſons ſent to the Lord Burghley to tender the ſtate of God's Miniſters (31). 7. Anſwers to the accuſations of the Lord North, and others againſt him (32). 8. To the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's having ordered Archbiſhop Grindall to be ſuſpended (33). 9. Letter congratulatory to the Queen in her progreſs, and to excuſe himſelf for not waiting upon her (34). 10. To the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's granting him leave to reſign his Biſhoprick (35). 11. To the ſame, informing him he had received intelligence, that twelve thouſand Spaniards were to be ſent by the Pope and Spaniard againſt the realm, 1580 (36). 12. Account of his conference with Dr. Fecknam (37). 13. To the Lord Burghley, of the ill ſtate of St. John's College Cambridge, for want of Statutes (38). 14. Proofs and Evidences from ancient Grants, to ſhow, that his Manor and Houſe in Holborn is exempt from the juriſdiction of the city of London (39). He alſo had a hand in Lily's Grammar. M.

(20) Edit. 1694, fol. No. [xliv.] p. 119.

(21) Wood, *Ath.* vol. i. col. 204.

(22) *Ibid.*

(23) Appendix to P. i. 2d edit. p. 201, No. xxi. of Book iii.

(24) *Ibid.* among the Addenda, p. 321.

(25) Appendix to B. i. of P. ii. No. xxv. p. 133, &c.

(26) Appendix to Vol. i. B. i. No. xxi. p. 54.

(27) *Ibid.* p. 59.

(28) *Ib.* p. 100.

(29) Appendix to Vol. ii. p. 84.

(30) *Ib.* p. 85.

(31) *Ib.* p. 87.

(32) *Ibid.* p. 87—100.

(33) *Ib.* p. 111.

(34) *Ib.* p. 117.

(35) *Ib.* p. 131.

(36) *Ib.* p. 139.

(37) *Ib.* p. 142.

(38) *Ib.* p. 156.

(39) Appendix to Vol. iii. p. i. No. lviii. p. 124.

*** [Of Biſhop Cox it is ſaid, in the preceding article, that his poetical compoſitions were in great eſteem among the beſt judges. Encomiums of this kind are frequent among our old Biographical writers, when there were very ſlender grounds for applauſe. The good Biſhop's verſion of the Lord's Prayer, at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins's Pſalms, will ſcarcely ſerve to raiſe him high in the character of a Poet. Perhaps he might compoſe ſome Latin verſes in his youth, which is a common thing with thoſe who have received a claſſical education; and it is probably upon this foundation that a great number of authors are repreſented as having been Poets, by Leland, Bale, and Anthony Wood, though there are no works remaining which can juſtify ſuch aſſertions.

If it be true, as is aſſerted in note [C], that Biſhop Cox, in conjunction with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, made a dreadful Havock among the libraries at Oxford, his memory, ſo far as this matter is concerned, deſerves to be held in execration. The bigotry and falſe zeal of reformers have done infinite miſchief to the intereſt of knowledge and literature. Many manuſcripts, and monuments of antiquity, have hence been deſtroyed, which were highly worthy of preſervation, either for their beautiful execution, or the light they were calculated to throw on the hiſtory, ſentiments, and manners of former ages. Even the books of School-divinity, which excited the indignation of our Prelate, might have been permitted to reſt in the oblivion to which they were tending.

When Biſhop Cox could not reclaim, or win over, the Puritans by gentle means, *he thought timely ſeverities neceſſary.* Such hath ever been the plea for perſecution; and if this plea is to be eſteemed valid, all the cruelties will be juſtified which have been exerciſed on a religious account, and which have reflected ſo much diſgrace on human nature. The conduct of our Prelate can only be extenuated by a conſideration of the narrow ſpirit of the times in which he lived.

Upon the whole, this Biſhop, though certainly a learned, and probably a good man, does not appear to have been of an amiable temper; and his faults were too numerous to render him the object of very high eſtimation.

A letter written by him, in 1569, directed to the Parſon of Downham, and found in the pariſh cheſt of that place, has lately been publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine. It relates chiefly to the ſtate and condition of the poor, before the ſtatutes of the 14th and 43d of Queen Elizabeth were enacted; and it ſhews that the Biſhop was animated with a very laudable zeal for engaging perſons of wealth and ſubſtance to contribute liberally, chearfully, and charitably to their indigent neighbours (40).] K. p. 1041.

(40) Gentleman's Magazine for Dec. 1786.

complaints, and long accuſations, were exhibited againſt him and his wife, in 1579, to Queen Elizabeth, upon theſe accounts, by ſome falſe and evil diſpoſed perſons; but the Biſhop fully vindicated himſelf, and ſhewed, that all theſe complaints were nothing but malicious calumnies, and groundleſs imputations (*i*). It is likewiſe ſaid, that he appears to have been of a vindictive ſpirit, by reaſon of his proſecution of, and ſeverity to, the deprived Catholics in his cuſtody; and eſpecially by his complaints againſt Dr. Feckenham the laſt Abbot of Weſtminſter (*k*). But the Biſhop alleges in his own excuſe, that the Doctor was a very troubleſome gueſt, and good for nothing (*l*): and that his endeavours to convert him, were by order of the Court (*m*). It muſt be remembered of this Biſhop, that he was the firſt who brought a wife to live in a College (*n*); and that he procured a new body of Statutes for St. John's College in Cambridge, of which, as Biſhop of Ely, he was Viſitor (*o*).

(*i*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. Append. p. 87—100.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 658.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 525, 526.

(*n*) Willis, p. 359.

(*k*) Willis, *ubi ſupra*, p. 360. See Strype's Annals, vol. i. Append. p. 73; and vol. ii. p. 658.

(*o*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 372, 373. 664; and Appendix, p. 156.

*** [COX (Sir RICHARD), Bart. Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and author of a Hiſtory of that kingdom, was ſon to Richard Cox, Eſq; Captain of a Troop of Horſe [*A*], and was born at Bandon, in the county of Cork, on the 25th of March, 1650 (*a*). He had the misfortune to become an Orphan before he was full three years of age; and was then taken care of by his mother's father, Walter Bird, Eſq; of Cloghnakilty. But his grandfather alſo dying when he was about nine years old, he was then taken under the protection of his uncle, John Bird, Eſq; who placed him at an ordinary Latin ſchool at Cloghnakilty, where he ſoon diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to learning. He ſeems, however, to have been very ill provided with books: for it is ſaid, that having no other ſchool-book but a Grammar, he conſtantly tranſcribed his leſſons from the books of his ſchool-fellows; by which means what he learned was deeply imprinted on his mind, and his writing was wonderfully improved without the aſſiſtance of a maſter. At this ſchool he continued till he had acquired as much knowledge as was to be obtained in ſuch a ſituation; and not having a fortune adequate to the expences of a regular education, he ſpent three years in the country, not in indolence, or diſſipation, but in the peruſal of ſuch hiſtories as he could procure the uſe of (*b*). In 1668, having attained the age of eighteen years, and being of a vigorous and active mind, he reſolved to engage in ſome profeſſion, which might tend to promote his advancement in the world. Accordingly by his uncle's conſent, and under his countenance, he practiſed as an Attorney in ſeveral Manor Courts, where his uncle was ſeneſchal, for three years: during which period, beſides ſupporting himſelf decently, he laid up the ſum of fifty pounds. He was now of age, and in poſſeſſion of his father's lot for his arrears, which fell in Galway, and yielded twenty-ſix pounds *per annum*. Beſides which he ſold an intereſt near Kilworth, which was left to him by his grandfather, for an hundred and fifty pounds; and with this ſmall ſtock, he reſolved to apply himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the law, with a view of being called to the Bar; and was accordingly entered at Gray's Inn in September, 1671. Here he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed by his great aſſiduity, and conſequent improvement, that in the ſummer of 1673 he was made one of the Surveyors at Sir Robert Shaftoe's reading. The Reader fell ill two days before he was to perform his part in the Hall, and Mr. Cox was pitched upon by Sir Robert himſelf to ſupply his place. Though the warning was ſhort, yet he argued the Reader's caſe ſo much to the ſatisfaction of a numerous auditory, that he was called to the Bar on the Monday following with great applauſe (*c*); and was offered very conſiderable advantages by Sir Francis Radcliff, afterwards Earl of Derwentwater, to ſettle near him in the North of England. Theſe offers, however, he gratefully declined, and returned to Ireland the ſame year. He ſoon after married Mrs. Mary Bourne, a Lady who had a right to a conſiderable fortune, and of which he naturally expected to obtain poſſeſſion. But her fortune being in the hands of her mother, a woman of bad œconomy, it was drawn from her in ſuch ſmall ſums, and with ſo little ſatisfaction, that Mr. Cox, whoſe education at Gray's Inn had conſumed the greater part of his ſmall fortune, was diſabled and diſcouraged from puſhing forward in his profeſſion. This diſappointment ſo much affected him, that in a fit of deſpondency, very unſuitable to the other parts of his life, he took a farm near Cloghnakilty, to which he retired for ſeven years. Being at length rouſed from his lethargy, by a great increaſe of his family, he was, by the intereſt of Sir Robert Southwell, who was much attached to him, elected Recorder of

(*a*) Harris's Tranſlation and Continuation of the Works of Sir James Ware, vol. ii. p. 207.

(*b*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 208.

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

[*A*] *Son to Richard Cox, Eſq; Captain of a Troop of Horſe.*] 'Richard Cox, Eſq; Captain of a Troop in 'Major-general Jephſon's Regiment of Horſe, firſt 'employed in the ſervice of King Charles, afterwards 'of the Engliſh Parliament againſt the Iriſh Rebels, 'was third ſon to Michael Cox, a younger ſon of a 'reputable family, fixed for many years at Biſhops-'Cannings, near Devizes, in Wiltſhire, and deſcend-'ed from Dr. Richard Cox, one of the Compilers of 'the Liturgy, Tutor to King Edward VI. and in the 'reign of Queen Elizabeth Biſhop of Ely.'

'Captain Richard Cox was a man of great 'ſtrength and courage, and ſignalized himſelf in ſeve-'ral battles againſt the Iriſh; but was in July, 1651, 'baſely murdered by Captain Norton of the ſame 'regiment, by a ſtab with a pen-knife in his back; 'and his widow pined and languiſhed until the 'winter of the year 1652, and then died (1).'

Sir Richard Cox's mother was 'Catharine, daugh-'ter to Walter Bird, of Cloghnakilty, Eſq; firſt mar-'ried to Captain Thomas Batten, who was killed at 'the Siege of Dungarvan in the county of Water-'ford (2).'

(1) Hiſtory of the Writers of Ireland, in Harris's Tranſlation and Continuation of the Works of Sir James Ware, vol. ii. p. 207.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

Kinſale in the year 1680. He now removed to Cork, where he practiſed in the profeſſion of the law with great ſucceſs (*d*).

(*d*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 208.

But it is neceſſary here to relate an incident of his life, which happened ſome time before his being appointed Recorder of Kinſale, and which conſiderably operated upon his future fortune. In April, 1679, he was choſen Chairman at the Quarter-ſeſſions for the county of Cork. It was at a critical period, at a time when it was faſhionable for all perſons, who were ſolicitous to recommend themſelves at Court, to ridicule the Popiſh Plot. Mr. Cox, however, being a zealous Proteſtant, took occaſion, in his charge, to expoſe the cruelties, and the impoſtures of Popery, with ſuch ſpirit and acuteneſs, that he greatly animated the Proteſtants, and as highly exaſperated the Papiſts. The former, conſidering him as having rendered them an important ſervice, by a charge which they regarded as very ſeaſonable, publickly returned him thanks for it in a body; and one of them ſaid, that "he muſt expect, that the revenge of the Papiſts, if ever it fell into their power, "would be proportioned to his merit with the Proteſtants." Mr. Cox replied, that "he "was not in danger; for he had ſtudied them thoroughly, and therefore would never "truſt them, nor live under their juriſdiction." Accordingly in 1687, when the Earl of Tyrconnel was become Lord-deputy of Ireland, Mr. Cox, foreſeeing the ſtorm that would fall on the Proteſtants, quitted his practice, which was then very conſiderable, and his eſtate, which at that time amounted to 300*l. per annum*, and removed with his wife and five children to England, and ſettled at Briſtol (*e*). Great numbers of Proteſtants quitted Ireland about the ſame time with Mr. Cox [*B*]. At Briſtol, he was treated with much kindneſs and generoſity, as a ſufferer for the Proteſtant Religion; and he obtained ſufficient practice in his profeſſion to ſupport his family genteely, independently of his Iriſh eſtate (*f*). At his leiſure hours, he compiled the Hiſtory of Ireland, the firſt part of which he publiſhed ſoon after the revolution, in 1689, under the following title: '*Hibernia Anglicana*; or the Hiſtory of Ireland, from the Conqueſt thereof by the Engliſh, to 'this preſent Time [*C*]: with an introductory Diſcourſe, touching the Antient State of 'that Kingdom, &c.' He dedicated this work to King William and Queen Mary [*D*]; and

(*e*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 209.

(*f*) *Id. ibid.*

(*f*) *Id. ibid.*

[*B*] *Great numbers of Proteſtants quitted Ireland about the ſame time with Mr. Cox.*] Dr. Leland, ſpeaking of the elevation of Tyrconnel to the office of Lord-deputy of Ireland, ſays, 'To this Popiſh 'delegate of a Popiſh Prince, Lord Clarendon re'ſigned the Sword of State, in a general and violent 'agitation of the kingdom. He embarked at the 'port of Dublin, attended by fifteen hundred Prote'ſtant families of Dublin, who abandoned a country 'where the peace, the property, and the lives of 'Proteſtants, were expoſed to the malice of the 'meaneſt and moſt malignant of a party now exult'ing in the fulneſs of their triumph, with their friend 'and patron in ſupreme authority, attended by 'Popiſh miniſters and officers of State (3).'

(3) Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 502.

[*C*] *Hibernia Anglicana; or the Hiſtory of Ireland, from the Conqueſt thereof by the Engliſh, to this preſent time:*] Our author brought his Hiſtory of Ireland no lower than the year 1653; but at the end of his ſecond part is 'A brief Account of the Tranſactions 'in that Kingdom, ſince 1653,' written by another hand, which brings the Hiſtory down to the landing of King James at Kinſale, and the Siege of Londonderry.

Some of the laws paſſed in Ireland, as recorded by Sir Richard Cox, are curious. In 1465, it was enacted,

'That any body may kill thieves, or robbers, or 'any perſon going to rob or ſteal, having no faithful 'men of good name, in Engliſh apparel, in their 'company.

'That the Iriſh within pale ſhall wear Engliſh 'habit, take Engliſh names, and ſwear allegiance, 'upon pain of forfeiture of goods.

'That Engliſh and Iriſh, ſpeaking Engliſh, and 'living with the Engliſh, ſhall have an Engliſh bow 'and arrows, on pain of two-pence (4).'

(4) *Hibernia Anglicana*, Part i. p. 169.

In 1472, it was likewiſe enacted, 'That every 'Merchant ſhall bring twenty ſhilling's worth of 'bows and arrows into Ireland, for every twenty 'pound's worth of other goods he imports from 'England (5).'

(5) *Ibid.* p. 171.

In 1494, 'That the ſoldier ſhall pay three-half'pence a meal, and his man a penny, and a penny 'for ſix field-ſheaves of oats, and litter accordingly; 'and whoever refuſes to quarter ſoldiers at this rate, 'forfeits twelve-pence a time, unleſs he be a man of 'twenty marks eſtate *per annum*, and except cities 'and corporate towns (6).'

(6) *Ibid.* p. 189.

In 1537, 'That no ſubject ſhall be ſhaved above 'his ears, or wear glibbs, or crommeals, (i. e. hair 'on the upper lip) or linen died in ſaffron, or above 'ſeven yards of linen in their ſhifts; and that no 'woman wear any kirtle, or coat tucked up, or em'broidered, or garniſhed with ſilk, or couched, nor 'laid with uſker, after the Iriſh faſhion, and that no 'perſon wear mantles, coats, or hoods, after the Iriſh 'faſhion, (except women, horſe boys, cow-boys, and 'ſoldiers, all which may wear mantles;) and that 'every body ſhall endeavour to learn the Engliſh 'language, and conform to the Engliſh faſhion.'

'And that benefices ſhall not be given to any that 'cannot ſpeak Engliſh, unleſs after four proclama'tions in the next market-town to the benefice, on 'four ſeveral market-days, a perſon that can ſpeak 'Engliſh, cannot be got; and that then an honeſt 'able Iriſhman may be admitted, on his oath, that 'he ſhall do his utmoſt endeavour to learn the Eng'liſh language, and obſerve the Engliſh order and 'faſhion, and teach thoſe under him to do the like, 'and ſhall keep an Engliſh ſchool in his pariſh to 'that purpoſe (7).'

(7) *Ibid.* p. 250.

In 1537, it was made treaſon "to marry with the "child of any man who had not ſworn allegiance "(8);" but this law was repealed, 11 Jac. I. cap. 5.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 251.

In 1542, 'that larceny above the value of four'teen-pence ſhall be puniſhed with the loſs of one 'ear the firſt time, and the other ear the ſecond time, 'and the third time with death (9).'

(9) *Ibid.* p. 271.

'No horſeman ſhall keep more boys than horſes, 'on pain of twenty ſhillings.'

'That Noblemen ſhall have but twenty cubits, or 'bandles of linen, in their ſhirts, horſemen eighteen, 'footmen ſixteen, garſons twelve, clowns ten; and 'that none of their ſhirts ſhall be dyed with ſaffron, 'on pain of twenty ſhillings (10).'

(10) *Ib.* p. 272.

[*D*] *Dedicated this work to King William and Queen Mary.*] Though Mr. Cox was a native of Ireland, he expreſſed himſelf in his dedication, as well as in other parts of his work, in a manner that would not be agreeable to the inhabitants of that kingdom at the preſent period. In his dedication, he ſays, 'It 'is of great advantage to it (Ireland), that it is a 'ſubordinate kingdom to the Crown of England; for 'it

and in the following year published the second part of it. Bishop Nicolson, speaking of the first part of it, says, 'It was published at a time when Ireland was the seat of war and 'desolation, under the guidance of the late unfortunate King James the Second; which 'raised an extraordinary curiosity in inquiring after the affairs of this kingdom. This 'obliged the Author to hasten the continuation of his History; the second part whereof 'was, early in the next year, recommended to the press by two Secretaries of State (*g*). 'Such encouragements as these pushed the work a little too fast forward; so that it came 'into the world in somewhat of a looser dress than was, most certainly, at first intended 'by the compiler: who nevertheless found his own account in it; being soon after advanc-'ed to the highest posts of honour in the law (*h*).'

(*g*) The Earls of Shrewsbury and Nottingham.

(*h*) Irish Historical Library, p. 19. edit. 1776.

During the residence of Mr. Cox at Bristol, the vicinity of that city to Kingsweston afforded him opportunities of cultivating a more intimate acquaintance with Sir Robert Southwell; of whom we are told, that "the world could not shew a man of more religion, virtue, and wisdom (*i*)." He was, to the end of his life, a sincere and active friend, and great benefactor to Mr. Cox; who, on his part, ever retained the utmost respect and affection for Sir Robert. Mr. Cox had also the honour to be so much in the esteem and confidence of the first Earl of Burlington, that a constant correspondence was kept up between them; and from letters written by the Earl, it appeared, that his Lordship seldom did any thing of importance without first consulting Mr. Cox, of whose fidelity he had a high opinion, and whom he considered as having done him more service than all the world besides (*k*). This friendship continued during the whole of the Earl's life, and descended to his grandson, Henry Boyle, afterwards Lord Carleton (*l*).

(*i*) Harris, *ut supra.*

(*k*) *Id. ibid.*

(*l*) *Id. ibid.*

When the Prince of Orange arrived in London, Mr. Cox immediately left Bristol, and repaired to the metropolis; and the great question being then agitated, whether the Prince of Orange should be King or Regent, Mr. Cox printed 'A Sheet of Aphorisms, prov-'ing, by a fair deduction, the Necessity of making the Prince of Orange King, and of send-'ing speedy Relief to Ireland;' and he presented a copy to every Member who entered the Parliament House on the first day of the Convention. After the important business of the Revolution was accomplished, and the Prince and Princess of Orange were declared King and Queen, Mr. Cox published half a sheet, intitled, "A brief and modest Repre-"sentation of the present State and Condition of Ireland;" which was intended to excite the attention of the Legislature to the affairs of that kingdom, and to induce them to afford speedy relief to the Protestants there. His zeal for the promotion of the Revolution having been observed, and his abilities being well known, it was proposed, that he should go to Ireland as Secretary to the Duke of Schomberg. But that offer he thought proper to decline, on account of his not being acquainted with the French language (*m*). However, when his Majesty himself resolved to go in person to Ireland, Mr. Cox accepted the post of Secretary to Sir Robert Southwell, then appointed principal Secretary of State, and took upon him the chief care and business of that office.

(*m*) *Id. ibid.*

In this situation, Mr. Cox's knowledge of business, and dexterity in the management of it, greatly recommended him to the King. The most secret dispatches of the office, and the greatest part of the intelligence, passed through his hands (*n*). Of the goodness of his intelligence, as well as of his sagacity, a particular instance occurred, which made a very favourable impression on his Majesty. Before the Battle of the Boyne, there were in the English Camp several strong reports of the number and strength of the enemy, which Sir Robert Southwell, upon the credit of Mr. Cox, affirmed to the King to be false. But a day or two before the action, an officer came from the Irish Camp, and stated to his Majesty the posture and number of the enemy, in such magnified, and yet such regular and plausible terms, that the King was much disconcerted, and told Sir Robert, that "he was "certainly misinformed, and the Irish Forces were more than he imagined." Sir Robert immediately imparted the King's doubts, and the reasons of them, to Mr. Cox. He insisted on the goodness of his intelligence, and desired that the officer might be led from the King's presence about the English Camp. When he had surveyed it at his leisure, he was asked, "what he computed the number of the English Forces to be?" He confidently affirmed them to be more than double that number of which the King knew them to consist. His Majesty was then convinced, that the officer was a superficial and inaccurate observer, and was much pleased at the manner in which this was discovered (*o*).

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 210.

(*o*) *Id. ibid.*

Upon King William's march to Dublin, after his signal victory over King James at the Boyne, he published his Declaration, called, "The King's Declaration at Finglass." This was drawn up by Mr. Cox, and not a single word was altered of the first draught; of which his Majesty was pleased to say, "that Mr. Cox had exactly hit his own mind (*p*)." After the surrender of Waterford, Mr. Cox was immediately made Recorder of that city;

(*p*) *Id. ibid.*

'it is from that Royal fountain that the streams of 'justice, peace, civility, riches, and all other im-'provements have been derived to it; so that the 'Irish are (as Campion says) beholden to God for 'being conquered. And yet Ireland has been so 'blind, in this great point of its true interest, that 'the natives have managed almost a continual war 'with the English, ever since the first conquest there-'of; so that it has cost your Royal predecessors an 'unspeakable mass of blood and treasure, to preserve 'it in due obedience.'

and his Majeſty, ſenſible of the importance and fidelity of his ſervices, and being willing to reward him in ſuch a manner as ſhould be moſt agreeable to himſelf, commanded Sir Robert Southwell to aſk him what employment he would chooſe. The office which he mentioned, as moſt acceptable to him, was that of Second Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas; and accordingly he was ſworn into that office, on the fifteenth of September, 1690. He was now fixed in a reſpectable poſt, of his own chooſing, of moderate profit, and little buſineſs; and in this ſituation he hoped to be able to employ a great part of his time in the ſtudy of hiſtory, which was his favourite purſuit. It was his deſign to reviſe his Hiſtory of Ireland, which he was ſenſible had been publiſhed too haſtily, and would admit of great additions and improvements (*q*). But he was found too uſeful a perſon to the Government, to be long ſuffered to enjoy the quiet for which he wiſhed; and, therefore, was ſent with Robert Rochfort, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, in October, that year, to execute a Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer at Athirdee and Drogheda; and in December with Sir Richard Pine, another of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, to execute a ſimilar commiſſion at Wexford, Waterford, and Cork. They were alſo entruſted with an abſolute power of ordering and commiſſioning the Militia, delivering out arms and ſtores to them, and of granting protections to all thoſe Rebels who were willing to ſubmit to his Majeſty. The Commiſſioners proceeded to execute their truſt with ſo much zeal and diligence, that General Ginkle, by a letter from Clonmell, applied to them, among their other inquiries, to inſpect the behaviour of the officers and ſoldiers in Garriſons, that, upon their report, he might reform abuſes, and puniſh the offenders. The good conduct of the Commiſſioners in a great meaſure reſtored peace and order to the country through which they paſſed: and in January, Mr. Juſtice Cox received a letter from Lord Sidney, dated at Whitehall, 'acknowledging the great 'zeal and affection, which, upon all occaſions, he had ſhewn for his Majeſty's Service; 'and aſſuring him, that it would be remembered to his advantage (*r*).'

(*q*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 211.

In March, 1691, Lord Chief Juſtice Reynel, and Mr. Juſtice Cox, went Judges of Aſſize to Cork and Waterford, which were the only places in Munſter abſolutely in the power of the Engliſh; and they carried inſtructions for promoting peace, and ſecuring thoſe two counties, and alſo a Commiſſion for inſpecting the ſtores of war, and for inquiring into embezzlements. Among their inſtructions was one, which was extremely cruel and arbitrary; but we are told, that it was "ſo wholeſome, and attended with ſo good cir-"cumſtances, that it is fit to be recorded (*s*)." It was as follows: "That as often as "any murder, or robbery, ſhall be committed within his Majeſty's quarters, all ſuch "parents in that county, who have ſons in the enemies quarters, ſhall be apprehended and "ſent to the common gaol, until reparation made, or they be otherwiſe delivered by due "courſe of law." And we are informed, that "the ſtrict execution of theſe inſtructions "contributed greatly to the ſettlement of thoſe two counties, even before the war was "finiſhed in other parts of the kingdom (*t*)." In April, the ſame year, the Lords Juſtices ſent for Mr. Juſtice Cox, and acquainted him, that it was their intention to appoint him Governor of the county and city of Cork; and that they expected, that he would immediately repair to his poſt, in order to put the Militia into a poſture of defence with all poſſible expedition. He was ſenſible of the weight of ſuch a charge, at a time when both ſides would probably make their utmoſt efforts for victory in the field; and that he ſhould have much to anſwer for, if matters ſhould not ſucceed well with him in that large county, at ſo critical a period. He, therefore, endeavoured to decline the acceptance of the office, by urging his want of military knowledge. But Lord Coningſby replied, 'That 'he was a popular man, and beloved by the Proteſtants, and that his zeal would ſupply 'his want of military ſkill.' Being at length prevailed upon to undertake the office, that he might be enabled to anſwer the expectations that were formed of him, he deſired, that he might be ſupplied with ſufficient arms and ammunition; and that poſitive orders ſhould be ſent, that no affront ſhould be offered on any occaſion to the Militia by the Army; that the regular troops ſhould be poſted in ſuch a manner, that no diſpute might ariſe about precedency; and that ſeven regiments of the Regulars ſhould be ordered to join in defence of that county. Theſe requiſitions were all complied with; and he arrived at Cork, on the 5th of May, furniſhed with ample powers for the execution of his office, and alſo with a Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer (*u*).

(*s*) *Id. ibid.*

(*t*) *Id. ibid.*

(*u*) *Id. ibid.*

The ſituation of Mr. Cox, as a Judge, and a military Governor, was ſomewhat ſingular; and he was certainly not deficient in zeal for the Government, whatever objections may be made to his conduct on the principles of juſtice and humanity. A proclamation, which was iſſued by him on the 18th of the ſame month, was extremely arbitrary and ſevere. All Papiſts were forbidden by it 'to be out of their dwellings, from nine at night till five 'in the morning, or to be found two miles from their places of abode, except in a high-'way to a market-town, and on market-days, or to keep or conceal arms or ammunition, 'on pain of being treated as rebels.' It was likewiſe ordered, 'That hue-and-cry ſhould 'be made after murderers or robbers; and that all perſons ſhould, on their allegiance, en-'liſt themſelves in the Militia; and that none ſhould traffick, correſpond with, or ſend 'proviſions to the enemy, or ſhelter or entertain Tories, Rapares, &c. that no protected 'perſon

'perſon ſhould deſert his habitation, or go to the enemy, or otherwiſe abſent himſelf above 'three days, on pain of the impriſonment of his wife and family, and the demoliſhing of 'his houſe.' It concluded, with promiſing '*impartial juſtice*, without diſtinction of na- 'tion (*w*).' This proclamation, we are told, produced wonderful effects; and by the help of it, and by Governor Cox's care to place the Gentlemen of the county in the Militia according to their quality and fortune, he raiſed in three weeks eight regiments of Dragoons, and three of Foot. The men entered ſo cordially into the ſervice, that they were not long in learning diſcipline, and ſoon became capable either of attack or defence (*x*). When the Engliſh army was ready to take the field, the Lords Juſtices ſent the Governor full inſtructions for his conduct, and particularly empowering and directing him to try the Militia for breach of military diſcipline, and to adminiſter to them an oath of allegiance to the King and Queen, and of obedience to their officers. In a letter from the Lords Juſtices, dated the 23d of May, he was alſo told, 'that if any thing happened 'amiſs in his county, it would lie at his door; and that, therefore, ſince the army was 'marched every where, it concerned him to be more than ordinarily vigilant.' This language might have intimidated a man of leſs reſolution than Governor Cox; and the rather, as the ſtrongeſt garriſon of the Iriſh, that of Limerick, was not far from the borders of his county. But he had put the county into ſuch a ſtate of defence, and ſo well diſciplined the Militia, that when he found the Engliſh army was entering on action, he wrote to General Ginkle, "that if he wanted, he could ſpare him five regiments of the "ſeven he had of the army to defend the county." This offer was very thankfully accepted by the General, who accordingly drew off one regiment of Horſe, one of Dragoons, and three of Foot. Indeed, the Cork Militia had acquired ſo high a reputation, that in Auguſt General Ginkle wrote for one thouſand of them to aſſiſt him at the Siege of Limerick; and they were poſted at Killaloe, a paſs of great importance, which they effectually ſecured, as long as the General thought it neceſſary (*y*). And on this occaſion an inſtance occurred of Governor Cox's conduct, which was afterwards highly commended by the great Duke of Marlborough. The detachment from the city of Cork, which was to complete the thouſand men to go to Limerick, conſiſted of 160; who grew mutinous in their march, and at laſt abſolutely refuſed to leave their county; ſo that their Commander, Colonel Rogers, after having ineffectually endeavoured to bring them to compliance, rode to the Governor, and complained of their diſobedience. The Governor calmly anſwered, that he would make them march. Accordingly, accompanied by ſeveral Gentlemen, he came up to the head of the refractory men, and aſſuming as much ſeverity in his countenance as he could, he aſked them, Why they did not march? One of them then began to anſwer for the reſt: but the Governor ſtopped him ſhort, and ſaid, 'That he ſcorned to make uſe of the power which the Government had given him 'to puniſh them, conſidering that ſome of them might be *cuckolds*, and ſome *cowards*, 'whoſe company he did not deſire; but that he was ſure there were many among them, 'who loved their King and country, and were not afraid to fight for them; and that 'ſuch would follow him. As to the reſt, they had liberty to return to their own houſes.' They all inſtantly and eagerly preſſed forward, and did ſignal ſervice at the ſiege (*z*).

(*w*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 212.

(*x*) *Id. ibid.*

(*y*) *Id. ibid.*

(*z*) *Id. ibid.*

During the time of Mr. Cox's Government, which continued till the reduction of Limerick, though he had a frontier of eighty miles extent to defend, and twenty places to garriſon, beſides Cork and the Fort of Kinſale, where the two regiments of Regulars were poſted, yet he did not loſe a ſingle inch of ground. The Militia under his command made daily incurſions into the enemy's quarters, and obtained plunder to the amount of thirty thouſand pounds; of which, though he had a right to the tenth ſhare, yet he generouſly refuſed to take any part. His great ſervices to the Proteſtant cauſe were ſo well known, and ſo generally acknowledged, that every poſt brought him grateful acknowledgments of them from the Government, or from ſome abſentee, who had a property within his line. The Earl of Burlington, in a letter from London, dated the 29th of October, expreſſed himſelf in the following terms: 'I am very ſenſible of the 'great pains and care you took laſt ſummer for the preſervation of the county of Cork, 'and particularly of my concerns therein, and of thoſe parts adjacent thereunto, which 'lie on the Black Water; for which I return you moſt thankful acknowledgments; aſſur- 'ing you, that I ſhall be ready upon all occaſions to expreſs the ſenſe I have thereof.' The Grand Juries of the county and city of Cork, who had been the witneſſes of his actions, alſo preſented him with addreſſes of thanks, 'for the indefatigable pains he had 'taken in their Majeſties ſervice, and for the benefit of the country, and for the affec- 'tionate concern he had in all his actions manifeſted for the inhabitants of the county; 'and to beſeech, that he would, if it ſtood with his convenience, remain among them; 'or wherever he was, that he would always perſevere in the ſame affections for the county 'and city (*a*).'

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 213.

On the 12th of April, 1692, Mr. Juſtice Cox was ſworn Deputy Governor of the Royal Fiſhery Company under Lord Sidney, who was Governor of that Company; and on the 13th of the ſame month he was ſworn a Privy Counſellor. Some apprehenſions

were about this time entertained of an invaſion from France; which occaſioned Mr. Juſtice Cox to be again ſent into Munſter, but with a more extenſive commiſſion than formerly. He was inveſted with the Command of the Militia of the cities of Cork and Limerick, and of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Clare, and Kerry, and carried with him orders to the Store-keepers to deliver to him whatever arms and ammunition he ſhould demand. He had alſo a ſecret commiſſion to diſarm the Iriſh, and other Papiſts, on the 20th of May, which was the day appointed for doing that buſineſs throughout the kingdom: and for that purpoſe he was ordered to diſtribute the Militia in ſmall parties, ſo that no ſuſpicion might ariſe of the deſign, but that the blow might fall with its full force. On the 24th of the ſame month, orders were alſo ſent him to ſeize all ſerviceable horſes in the poſſeſſion of Papiſts, or perſons diſaffected to their Majeſties Government; with which he received a diſcretionary power to truſt arms in the hands of the Papiſts for the deſtruction of Raparrees [*E*]. But the great naval victory, which was gained over the French this month at La Hogue, having removed all fears of an invaſion, orders were ſent to Governor Cox to reſtore all the horſes which he had ſeized, in purſuance of his former directions. He continued, however, to act as Governor of Munſter, the inhabitants of which were much ſecured againſt the Raparrees by his prudent management of the Militia, till Lord Chief Juſtice Reynel carried down a Commiſſion of Aſſize for that province, directed to him and Mr. Juſtice Cox, who then went the Summer Circuit, and afterwards returned to Dublin. On the 5th of November following, Mr. Juſtice Cox was Knighted with the Sword of State, in the Caſtle of Dublin, by Lord Sidney, Lord Lieutenant, who gave him all the marks of favour and eſteem that were in his power, during the time that he continued Chief Governor of Ireland, and afterwards continued his friendſhip and good offices to him during his Lordſhip's life (*b*).

(*b*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 213.

On the 26th of April, 1693, at a meeting of the Philoſophical Society, at the Provoſt's lodgings in Trinity College, Dublin, Sir Richard Cox read "A Geographical Deſcription "of the City and County of Derry, and of the County of Antrim," being part of an entire Geographical Deſcription of the whole kingdom, which he intended to complete; and in which alſo was to be contained "A Natural Hiſtory of Ireland," in which all the natural productions of the Iſland were to be deſcribed. Theſe deſigns he never executed: however, upon reading his Geographical Deſcription, before mentioned, he was admitted a Fellow of the Philoſophical Society at Dublin, together with Dr. John Veſey, Archbiſhop of Tuam, and Francis Roberts, Eſq; younger ſon to the Earl of Radnor. About this time Sir Richard Cox was made one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench; and in May, this year, he went to England, and was received by the perſons in power in a very diſtinguiſhed manner. Lord Godolphin, who was at the head of the Treaſury, told him, "that his ſervices were ſo conſiderable, that they were all obliged to do what they could "for him." As an evidence of the ſincerity with which his Lordſhip ſpoke, he afterwards delivered to him an order from the Treaſury for the abatement of one moiety of his quit-rent for ever; and a reſervation was afterwards made for grants of this kind in the famous Act of Reſumption, chiefly in favour of Sir Richard Cox, whoſe zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt had recommended him to all parties at that time in power. It was this favourable opinion of him, which induced the Lords of the Treaſury, without any application from him, to nominate him one of the Commiſſioners for Forfeitures, with a ſalary of 400*l. per annum*, into which office he was ſworn on the 10th of February, 1694 (*c*).

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 214.

But though the ſervices of Sir Richard Cox were thought very important in England, as well as in Ireland, it appears that his conduct, in ſome reſpects, procured him many enemies in the latter kingdom. Much, however, of the animoſity that was conceived againſt him, aroſe from particulars in his conduct which were wholly unexceptionable. At the ſurrender of Limerick to the arms of King William, in 1691, more equitable and liberal terms were granted to the Papiſts, than were agreeable to the more zealous Proteſtants. Many of the latter, who were enflamed and exaſperated at the barbarities which had recently been committed by the Iriſh Catholics, were extremely diſguſted at theſe conceſſions made "in favour of vanquiſhed Rebels, who had exerciſed ſuch acts of "cruelty and rapine." They complained, that they themſelves, who had deeply ſuffered by their attachment to the cauſe of King William, were neglected, and obliged to ſit down with their loſſes, while their enemies, who had ſhed ſo much blood in oppoſing his govern-

[*E*] *For the deſtruction of Raparrees.*] Thoſe lawleſs Iriſh plunderers, who were called *Raparrees*, were ſo termed, Dr. Leland obſerves, 'from the Iriſh 'name of their half pike, a weapon eaſily procured 'by the moſt barbarous. Many were influenced by 'example, and many driven by neceſſity to unite with 'them. They who received protections from Wil'liam's Generals, and were yet plundered by his ſol'diers, ran with particular animoſity to ſwell the 'numbers of theſe ravagers. In Summer they hung 'about the Engliſh camp; every ſtraggling ſoldier 'they killed, even for the ſake of his arms or cloath'ing; and, in the rage of national hatred, frequently 'mangled his dead body. In winter, they appeared 'in the different quarters with all the marks of hu'mility and abaſement. Their weapons were care'fully concealed, but lay ready for execution. They 'aſſembled in the dead of night in ſolitary 'places, projected their excurſions, ruſhed ſuddenly 'on their prey, vaniſhed at the firſt appearance of 'oppoſition, and were again readily collected (11).'

(11) History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 588, 589.

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ment, were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgencies (*d*). Some of the Proteſtants are alſo ſuppoſed to have been the more averſe to the articles of Limerick, becauſe they expected to derive advantage from the forfeitures which would have been obtained from the Papiſts, if the terms granted to them had been more rigorous; though it is ſaid, that more liberal terms were at firſt intended, than thoſe that were at laſt granted [*F*]. However, it was contended by many, that the articles of Limerick "ought not to be obſerved; and that it was High Treaſon even to "capitulate with the King (*e*)." Doctrine ſimilar to this was inculcated even from the pulpit [*G*]. But Sir Richard Cox was one of thoſe Proteſtants who reſolutely maintained, that the articles of Limerick ſhould be inviolably obſerved; and the firmneſs and zeal, with which he aſſerted this opinion, procured him many enemies. Favourable articles had been granted to the Papiſts at Galway, as well as at Limerick; and when Sir Richard Cox came to appear openly in a Court of Judicature, as a Commiſſioner of Forfeitures, he made ſo eloquent a Speech in behalf of the Galway men, inſiſted ſo ſtrongly on the heinouſneſs of breaking the public faith, and on the ingratitude that it would manifeſt to King William, as well as to the General who had granted thoſe conditions, that he brought over the reſt of the Commiſſioners to his opinion, and ſaved the eſtates of the claimants, to the great diſſatisfaction of thoſe who hoped to have ſhared in the Iriſh Forfeitures (*f*).

(*d*) Smollet's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, vol. i. p. 227. edit. 1785. Crawford's Hiſt. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 224.

(*e*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 215.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 216.

The influence of his enemies at length ſo far prevailed againſt him, that in June, 1695, he was ſuperſeded from the Council, though with high compliments for his paſt ſervices, and an apology for his diſmiſſion from the Council, drawn from "the jealouſy the ſub-"ject began to entertain of ſo many Judges ſitting at the Council-board, which began to "look like, and might ſoon grow into a Court of Judicature (*g*)." An indirect attack was afterwards made againſt him, by an attempt to get a vote in Parliament, that "the "Iriſh Forfeitures were miſmanaged." But Sir Richard Cox being heard before a Committee, inſiſted, "that as there had been ſeveral Commiſſions of Forfeitures, common "juſtice required, that they ſhould point out the particular miſmanagements, that it might "be known to whom to object them, and that the innocent might not be confounded with "the guilty." Sir Richard Bulkely then produced a liſt of objections againſt the Commiſſioners, which were immediately, and without any preparation, anſwered in ſo ſatisfactory a manner by Sir Richard Cox, that the deſign of a vote againſt the Commiſſioners was dropped. The Commiſſion of Forfeitures was, however, diſſolved, and the buſineſs transferred to thoſe perſons who had the management of the revenue, under the idea of ſaving the ſalaries of the Commiſſioners to the public (*h*).

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 217.

(*h*) *Id. ibid.*

When a Bill was brought into the Iriſh Parliament "for liberty of conſcience," Sir Richard Cox did not oppoſe it, but he endeavoured, and with too much ſucceſs, to render it circumſcribed and limited; for, on this ſubject, his ſentiments ſeem not to have been ſufficiently liberal and enlightened. In 1696, he went over again into England, for the recovery of his health, which had been ſomewhat impaired, by the great variety of buſineſs that he had gone through ſince the Revolution. King William was in Flanders, during the whole time of Sir Richard's ſtay in England; ſo that he had no opportunity of preſenting, as he intended, a Petition to his Majeſty, ſetting forth the unjuſt treatment that he had met with from his Majeſty's ſervants, who ought to have protected, and not oppreſſed him. But after his return to England, before the end of the year, he had the ſatisfaction to receive a letter from his friend, Sir Robert Southwell, by which he was informed, that the King was well pleaſed with the reſolute ſtand that he had made in ſupport of the articles of Limerick. The four following years Sir Richard Cox had no public employment, excepting that which reſulted from his duty as a Judge; and at this period he wrote, "An Eſſay for the Converſion of the Iriſh;" in which he laboured to convince

[*F*] *More liberal terms were at firſt intended, than thoſe that were at laſt granted.*] Mr. Harris ſays, that King William, 'hoping thereby to put a ſpeedy end 'to the Iriſh war, ſent to the Lords Juſtices inſtructions for a declaration, by which the Iriſh were to 'be aſſured of much more favourable and extenſive 'conditions, than they afterwards obtained by the 'articles of Limerick. His Majeſty's inſtructions 'were reduced into a proclamation, which was afterwards ſtyled the *Secret Proclamation*; becauſe, 'though it was printed, yet it never was publiſhed. 'For the Lords Juſtices, finding that Limerick was 'reduced to a capitulation, ſmothered the proclamation, of which they thought there was then no 'need, and went in all haſte to the Engliſh camp, 'that they might hold the Iriſh to as hard terms, as 'the King's affairs would admit of. This they did 'very effectually, and put an happy end to a war, 'which had nigh deſtroyed the kingdom (12).'

(12) Hiſtory of the Writers of Ireland, *ubi ſupra*, p. 214.

[*G*] *Doctrine ſimilar to this was inculcated even from the pulpit.*] The Biſhop of Meath, on the very next Sunday after the Lords Juſtices returned from the camp, preaching before the Government at Chriſt-church, argued, 'That the peace ought not to be 'obſerved with a people ſo perfidious; that they kept 'neither articles nor oaths longer than was for their 'intereſt; and that therefore the articles, which were 'intended for a ſecurity, would prove a ſnare, and 'would only enable the rebels to play their pranks 'over again on the firſt opportunity.' The Biſhop of Kildare mounted the pulpit the following Sunday, and ſhewed the obligation of keeping the public faith. Dean Synge afterwards preached in the ſame pulpit, and maintained, "that the Papiſts were not to be "truſted, but the articles were to be performed; that "they deſerved no favour, yet they were entitled to "juſtice, even for the ſake of conſcience and ho-"nour." The ſermon of the Biſhop of Meath gave ſo much offence to the Government, that he was on account of it removed from the Privy Council, and the Biſhop of Kildare was appointed in his room (13).

(13) *Ibid.* p. 215.

Thoſe Proteſtants who were deſirous that the articles of Limerick ſhould not be obſerved, ſeem to have been ambitious of emulating thoſe Roman Catholics, who have maintained, that "Faith was not to be "kept with Heretics."

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them of their errors, and is ſaid to have had the ſatisfaction to ſee a proper effect wrought on ſeveral perſons of great underſtanding (*i*). Another piece is attributed to him, which was printed at Dublin, in 4*to*. in 1698, entitled, "Some Thoughts on the Bill depending "before the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords for prohibiting the Exportation of "the Woollen Manufactures of Ireland to Foreign Parts. Humbly offered to their "Lordſhips (*k*)."

(*i*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 218.

(*k*) *Id. ibid.*

On the 16th of May, 1701, Sir Richard Cox was ſworn in Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas; and in a few days after a Member of the Privy Council. It was notified to him by the Earl of Rocheſter, the Lord Lieutenant, that his Majeſty had granted him this preferment, "as a reward of his long and faithful ſervices in the ſtations he had "been in, and to give him an opportunity of doing more." In this ſituation he had acquired an high reputation, when the Duke of Ormond, in 1702, was appointed Lord Lieutenant in the room of the Earl of Rocheſter. Queen Anne had now aſcended the Throne; and Lord Chief Juſtice Cox received a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, dated the 16th of February, 1703, acquainting him, 'That her Majeſty having under her 'conſideration many matters relating to Ireland, in which he might be very uſeful to her 'ſervice, had commanded him to write, that he ſhould go to London, as ſoon as conveni-'ently he could, that ſhe might have his advice.' He received this letter when he was on the Connaught circuit, and immediately ſet forward on his journey. During his attendance on the Queen in England, ſundry important meaſures were propoſed by him, and which were afterwards adopted for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, and the benefit of the inhabitants of that kingdom. Among other ſubjects upon which he was conſulted, one was, What would be the moſt convenient time for the ſitting of the Iriſh Parliament? and another, Which manufacture, linen or woollen, it would be moſt the intereſt of England to encourage in Ireland? As to the firſt of theſe points, he adviſed, 'that the meeting of Parliament ſhould be put off, if poſſible, until the proceed-'ings of the Truſtees of Confiſcated Eſtates, appointed in conſequence of the Act of 'Reſumption [*H*], ſhould be in ſome meaſure forgotten: for the grievances which the 'people, eſpecially the Proteſtants, had undergone from the arbitrary power lodged in 'their hands by the Engliſh Parliament, and their actions purſuant to that power, were ſo 'great, that whilſt the nation was in a ferment on that account, no great good could be 'expected from a Parliament, which would probably bring with it the temper of the peo-'ple (*l*).' With reſpect to the other of thoſe points, he was clearly of opinion, 'That it 'was the intereſt of England to encourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, in the 'coarſe branches of it, which would prevent the wool and the manufactures from being 'carried to France, and would not interfere with the manufacture of England. He 'thought it was the moſt impolitic ſtep, which was ever taken by England, to prohibit 'the whole exportation of woollen manufactures from Ireland. He ſaid, that if, at the 'time of making the law, the fine ſorts only had been prohibited, the manufacturers would 'never have turned themſelves to the making them even for the conſumption of Ireland. 'If they had had the free exportation of the coarſe ſort, England would for ever have had 'the Iriſh market for fine cloths. But, as the caſe ſtood, thoſe workmen who choſe to 'ſtay in Ireland, muſt of neceſſity fall to the making of cloths for the future wearing of 'the inhabitants, becauſe no other manufacture was left to them; and the remaining wool 'would be carried to France. France would be always able to give a greater price 'than England for the wool, being ſure to have an allowance for the difference in the 'cheapneſs of the work. So that England, far from being a gainer by the project, would 'in time loſe the whole Iriſh market for fine cloths, and gain no new ſhare in the foreign 'trade; but would run a great hazard of loſing the whole, by having ſo cheap a country 'as France for its rival (*m*).' It would have been happy if the ſound and judicious ſen-timents of Sir Richard Cox upon this ſubject had been attended to; but a narrow, unjuſt, and illiberal policy then prevailed, which was not only oppreſſive reſpecting Ireland, but eventually highly injurious to both kingdoms.

(*l*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 219.

(*m*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 220.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 221.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 223.

(*q*) *Id. ibid.*

[*H*] *In conſequence of the Act of Reſumption.*] After the reduction of Ireland by King William, many eſtates which had been forfeited by their owners having engaged in the Rebellion, were granted to officers who had aſſiſted in the ſuppreſſion of the Rebellion, and to other favourites of the King and the Miniſtry. The Engliſh Parliament, however, were of opinion, that his Majeſty and his Miniſters had been abundantly too liberal in their grants of this kind. An act, therefore, was paſſed for the reſumption of the Iriſh Forfeitures. In order to compel the King to give his aſſent to it, it was tacked to a Bill of ſupply (14). Mr. Crawford obſerves, 'That ſome juſtice 'might be done to the perſons affected by it, the Act 'of Reſumption was not abſolute. A number of 'Truſtees were named in it, in whom were veſted all 'the confiſcated eſtates. In determining all claims, 'and diſpoſing of the lands to purchaſers, they were 'veſted with uncontroulable authority. The Truſtees 'paſſed over to Ireland. After ſpending ſome time 'in the buſineſs, in one of their Reports they de-'clare, that they had not as yet thought fit to leave 'any thing to the determination of the people of 'this country. Iriſhmen were much obliged to 'them for this favourable opinion of their honeſty. 'A number of claims were determined by them in 'favour of Roman Catholicks; notwithſtanding they 'violated, in many inſtances, the articles of Lime-'rick and of Galway. Their appointment was very 'offenſive to the nation, and their conduct equally 'obnoxious. They were charged with injuſtice, 'venality, and corruption (15).'

(14) Macpherſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 176.

(15) Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 246.

Though the Engliſh Miniſtry did not adopt all the meaſures recommended by Sir Richard Cox, he yet gave great ſatisfaction to them, and received from them very high compliments, together with a preſent from the Queen of five hundred pounds, to defray the expences of his journey. He returned to Ireland with the Duke of Ormond; and in July, 1703, was nominated, by her Majeſty in Council, Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom. This appointment met with very general applauſe; and it is ſaid that all the Members of the Council, who had either eſtates in Ireland, or who by their employments were acquainted with the characters of conſiderable men there, expreſſed their hearty approbation of her Majeſty's choice (*n*). From the time of his return to Ireland, it was generally known that he was to be Chancellor; and the Engliſh Miniſtry, therefore, correſponded with him about the Bills tranſmitted by the Council, and all other matters of State, before he had entered on that high office. On the 6th of Auguſt he was ſworn Lord Chancellor, and on the 10th iſſued writs for a new Parliament. On the 24th of September the Parliament aſſembled; and Sir Richard Cox was now to appear in a character which was quite new to him, that of Speaker to the Houſe of Lords. But though it was a buſy and critical Seſſion, and various attempts were made by his enemies to confound him, and even to expoſe him to ridicule, he yet diſcharged the duties of his ſtation with ſo much ability, that Archbiſhop Veſey, who had long been a Member of that Houſe, and who was well known to be a competent judge, repeatedly ſaid, "that no perſon in his time had guided "the Debates of that Houſe with ſo much readineſs, impartiality, and dignity, as Sir Richard Cox (*o*)."

(*n*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 220.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 221.

Among other Bills, which were promoted by him, and tranſmitted by the Council to England, during the time that he held the office of Chancellor, were the following: A Bill "for quieting poſſeſſions, and diſpoſing of the undiſpoſed and plus acres;" by which all contention with the Crown about lands not granted, was taken away, and the ſecurity of the ſubject preferred to the profit or power of the Crown; a Bill "to prevent Popiſh "Prieſts from coming into the Kingdom;" a Bill "to make it High Treaſon to im-"peach the Succeſſion to the Crown as limited by ſeveral Acts of Parliament;" a Bill "to prevent the Growth of Popery;" and a Bill "for the Recovery of ſmall Debts in a "ſummary way [*I*]." On the 23d of March, 1704, the Lord Lieutenant having quitted the kingdom, the Lord Chancellor was ſworn one of the Lords Juſtices, with Hugh Earl of Mount Alexander, and Lieutenant-general Thomas Earl. During their Adminiſtration, there was a conſiderable embarkation of Troops to Portugal; in the promoting of which the Lord Chancellor Cox was ſo remarkably active and expeditious, that he received a letter of thanks from the Earl of Galway, then Commander of the Forces in Portugal. About this time an Act of Parliament was paſſed in England, for permitting the Iriſh to export their linen directly to the Plantations; a law which was firſt projected and propoſed by Sir Richard Cox (*p*). On the 27th of June, 1705, he was again ſworn one of the Lords Juſtices, with Lord Cutts, Commander in Chief of the Queen's Forces; and in October, 1706, he was created a Baronet, as a mark of her Majeſty's favour, and in conſideration of his many public ſervices (*q*). His colleague, Lord Cutts, died on the 26th of January following; and this event involved Sir Richard Cox in ſome conſiderable difficulties [*K*]. However, the Primate of Ireland, and the Chancellor, were ſworn in as Lords

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 223.

(*q*) *Id. ibid.*

[*I*] *A Bill "for the Recovery of ſmall Debts in a ſummary way."*] Mr. Harris ſays, that Sir Richard Cox was 'thoroughly acquainted with the general 'poverty of the kingdom, and well knew, that the 'inferior people were often injured by men of riches 'and power, and by many of their own degree, for 'want of a method to recover their debts with ſmall 'expence, and of having their demands ſpeedily de-'termined, which the uſual courſe of the common 'law would not admit of, eſpecially if they had liti-'gious perſons to deal with, who would lay hold of 'every advantage the law gave them to delay, vex, 'and diſappoint their adverſaries. The Chancellor, 'therefore, ſupported this Bill with all his reaſon 'and intereſt, though he had a diſcouraging oppoſi-'tion to contend with. For Sir Simon Harcourt, in 'a letter, dated January the 8th, wrote to him in the 'following manner: "The Bill for Recovery of "ſmall Debts is a great alteration of the Common "Law, for which your Lordſhip, I am ſure, notwith-"ſtanding your preſent ſtation, will always have "the greateſt regard imaginable. I am not able to "anſwer for its ſucceſs." But the Chancellor ſoon 'convinced him, as well as the Privy Council of 'England, of the neceſſity there was for ſuch a law 'in Ireland, and he had the pleaſure to hear, that 'his opinion had determined them to paſs it. Sir 'Gilbert Dolben, who was a zealous Solicitor at 'London in matters relating to Ireland, wrote to him 'thus: "The Bill for the Recovery of ſmall Debts "will return with very little alteration.—The au-"thority of your Lordſhip's opinion has been the "main ſupport of the Bill; otherwiſe the great "alteration it makes in the Common Law would, "probably, have overthrown it." Though the law 'has been much altered in this matter, yet it is but 'improved on the plan of the Act paſſed at this 'time; and the effect has been ſo beneficial to rich 'and poor, that they cannot with too much grati-'tude remember the perſon, who ſo early laboured 'for their relief (16).'

(16) Hiſtory of the Writers of Ireland, *ubi ſupra*, p. 222.

[*K*] *This event involved Sir Richard Cox in ſome conſiderable difficulties.*] Mr. Harris, after obſerving, that, by the death of Lord Cutts, the Commiſſion of the Lords Juſtices was diſſolved, ſays, that 'the 'Statute of Henry VIII. required, "that the Chan-"cellor ſhould iſſue writs to the King's Counſellors "in the ſhires of Dublin, Cork, Kerry, &c. to elect "a Governor, upon the avoidance of every the "King's Lieutenant, Deputy or Juſtice of the "Realm by Death, Surrender or Departure out of "the Realm; and upon the election, that he ſhould "ſeal Letters patent, and ſuch perſon, being ſworn, "ſhould have like authority, pre-eminence, and "dignity, to every purpoſe and reſpect, as the "King's Lieutenant or Deputy there next before "him uſed to have, &c. until the King do admit "and authorize one to be his Lieutenant or Gover-"nor,

Lords Juſtices in leſs than three weeks after the death of that Nobleman. But the Duke of Ormond being ſoon after removed from the Government of Ireland, and the Earl of Pembroke appointed Lord Lieutenant in his room, Sir Richard Cox was alſo removed from the Chancellorſhip. It was on the 30th of June, 1707, that he delivered up the Great Seal to the Lord Lieutenant; and he did this with ſo much chearfulneſs and compoſure, that from his behaviour, it was ſaid, he might be ſuppoſed to have received a favour from the Government. He afterwards entered into no oppoſition againſt the meaſures of Adminiſtration, but promoted the ſervice of the Crown, as much as he could in a private ſituation; having no inclination to diſturb the Government, becauſe he had no ſhare in it.

" nor, and until he be ſworn as accuſtomed." The ' Lord Chancellor met the Council at the Caſtle the ' morning after Lord Cutts's death, and deſired their ' advice how he ſhould proceed. The Council were ' at firſt unanimouſly of opinion, that he ought im- ' mediately to iſſue writs, and proceed to an election; ' and ſome of the moſt zealous for this method of- ' fered to elect him ſole Governor, as Sir Charles ' Porter was elected on the death of Lord Capel, ' hoping by that bait to draw him into the ſnare. ' But he, who could not deceive thoſe who had in- ' truſted him, declared frankly, " that it was his " opinion, he could not in the preſent caſe proceed " to an election, but muſt wait the Queen's nomi- " nation of new Juſtices: Becauſe, 1. The Statute " plainly related to Head Governors only, and the " Lord Lieutenant was Head Governor. For the " Lords Juſtices by their Patent were to act by his " inſtructions, even after his departure. His autho- " rity was to continue by an expreſs clauſe in their " Patent; he ſigned all Commiſſions of the Army, " and all orders from the Queen were directed to " him. 2. There was no *avoidance* of his Com- " miſſion by departure; for he was abſent by licence, " and therefore within the Statute. 3. The words, " *Until the King authorize a new Governor, and until* " *he be ſworn*, demonſtrate, that the Statute cannot " operate where there is a Governor in being, autho- " rized by the Queen and ſworn already; and there- " fore he concluded, that the Government was not " *Void*, but *unſupplied*. He added, that he thought " it would be very dangerous, and of evil conſe- " quence, if he ſhould aſſume a power not warranted " by the Statute; but that no detriment could ariſe " from deliberating and conſidering well what ought " to be done; and ſince even proceeding on ſuch " writs would take up at leaſt a fortnight, and that " he might reaſonably expect to know her Majeſty's " pleaſure within that time, having ſent two expreſſes " for that purpoſe, there was no reaſon to be preci- " pitate, unleſs the kingdom were in danger, or " there were ſome manifeſt inconvenience now in " view." Theſe reaſons contented all moderate ' men; but others expected hereby to vacate the ' Lord Lieutenant's Commiſſion, and therefore ' threatened the Lord Chancellor heavily. But he ' applied himſelf to examine into precedents, and found ' them all expreſſing the words *Void* or *Vacant*, where ' the Head Governor failed. The only precedent ' from the time of making the Act ſuitable to the ' preſent caſe, was that of Lord Deputy Wandesford, ' who died December the 3d, 1640, the record of ' which ſaid, " the Government was *unſupplied*," ' which juſtified the Chancellor's diſtinction: and ' though the Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant, was ' then a priſoner in the Tower, and the times trou- ' bleſome, yet there being a *Head Governor*, they did ' not proceed to an election, but took the ſame ' courſe as the Lord Chancellor choſe to take at this ' time. He referred his reaſons, and the precedent, ' to the Judges, Prime Serjeant, and Attorney and ' Solicitor General, who (one or two excepted) ' agreed, that the Chancellor ought not to iſſue ' writs. The Queen and the Lawyers of England ' applauded his conduct: but the Stateſmen diſliked ' it; becauſe it drove them to the neceſſity of diſ- ' placing the Duke of Ormond, which was the thing ' they would have avoided, having no deſign to pro- ' vide for him in England, in ſuch an honourable ' manner as was cuſtomary when perſons returned ' from that Government with merit.

' This was the moſt critical juncture of the Chan- ' cellor's life: for his judgment, his courage, and ' his integrity, were all put to a trial. His judg- ' ment was at firſt a little ſhaken by the univerſality ' of the opinions againſt him; but the precedent ' being found, and many of the loudeſt againſt him ' being convinced, his judgment was confirmed and ' eſteemed. His courage was attacked by threats of ' an impeachment; but his integrity ſupported his ' courage, and both eaſily prevailed on him to de- ' ſpiſe the vain boaſtings of his enemies. The buſi- ' neſs being at length laid before the Attorney-gene- ' ral of England, he prepared a letter for the Lords ' Juſtices, purſuant to the practice on the Death of ' Lord Deputy Wandesford; a Patent paſſed accord- ' ingly; and on the 15th of February, 1706, the ' Primate and Chancellor were ſworn Lords Juſtices ' in leſs than three weeks from Lord Cutts's death ' (17).'

(17) Hiſtory of the Writers of Ireland, *ubi ſupra*, p. 223, 224.

The conduct of Sir Richard Cox in this buſineſs gave, however, conſiderable offence to the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. Accordingly they reſolved, " That " on the death, ſurrender, or departure of a Lieute- " nant, Deputy, Juſtice, or other Head Governor of " the Realm, *ſo that the Kingdom becomes deſtitute of a* " *Governor thereby*, it is the indiſpenſible duty of the " Lord Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, to " iſſue writs for the electing a new Governor, or " Governors, purſuant to the Stat. 32 Hen. VIII." Mr. Harris obſerves, ' that the reſolution was pro- ' poſed without theſe words, *So that the Kingdom be-* ' *comes deſtitute of a Governor thereby*. But Sir ' Richard Cox's friends inſiſted on theſe words as an ' amendment to the queſtion, and to make it conſo- ' nant to the Act of Parliament; and, indeed, the ' amendment was ſo obvious, and agreeable to law ' and reaſon, that it could not be refuſed. But it ' quite diſconcerted the ſcheme for that time. How- ' ever, enough was not yet done; and, therefore, ' within a few days, the ſubject was reſumed; and ' then they reſolved, " 1. That by the death of the " Lord Cutts, on the 26th of January, the king- " dom became deſtitute of a Governor reſiding in " the ſame, till the 15th of February following. 2. " That no writ was iſſued by Sir Richard Cox, Lord " Chancellor, for electing a Juſtice, purſuant to the " Statute of 33 Hen. VIII. from the 26th of Janu- " ary till the 15th of February, 1706, at which time " the Primate and Lord Chancellor were conſtituted " Lords Juſtices under the Great Seal. 3. That it " was and is the indiſpenſible duty of the Lord " Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, when the kingdom is " deſtitute of a Lieutenant, Deputy, or other Chief " Governor *reſiding* within this kingdom, immedi- " ately to iſſue writs to ſummon the Privy Counſel- " lors to elect a Chief Governor, purſuant to the " Statute of 33 Hen. VIII." The reſolution of the ' firſt day was approved of, by the moſt eminent ' Lawyers, as a fair conſtruction of the Statute. But ' the work of the laſt day was done againſt precedent, ' and againſt the opinions of the Attorney and Soli- ' citor-general of England, and ten of the Judges ' and moſt eminent Lawyers in Ireland: ſo that Sir ' Richard ſuffered by it neither in fortune nor repu- ' tation; rather indeed he gained credit by what he ' had done. For from thence it appeared, that in- ' clination and induſtry were not wanting to detect ' ſome miſbehaviour in his judicial capacity, or ſome ' miſcarriage in his conduct as Lord Juſtice; neither ' of which being done, it was concluded none ſuch ' could be found out (18).'

(18) *Ibid.* p. 225.

When

When the Iriſh Parliament broke up, Sir Richard Cox went over into England, and was very favourably received at Court. After his return to Ireland, he ſpent his time chiefly in retirement, in the cultivation of his mind, in the converſation of his family and friends, and in adorning and improving his eſtate (*r*). He was much addicted to the ſtudy of divinity, and at this period particularly applied himſelf to the peruſal of a variety of eccleſiaſtical writers, of different ages and denominations. In 1709, he publiſhed at Dublin, in 12*mo*. "An Addreſs to thoſe of the Roman Communion in England, occa-"ſioned by the late Act of Parliament to prevent the Growth of Popery, recommended "to thoſe of the Roman Communion in Ireland upon a late like Occaſion." The following year he went again into England, and publiſhed at London, in 1711, in 8*vo*. "An "Enquiry into Religion, and the Uſe of Reaſon in Reference to it." About this time he was offered by the Miniſtry the poſt of Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of Queen's Bench; an offer which, it is ſuppoſed, they did not expect him to accept; as they did not imagine that he would take an office inferior to what he had formerly enjoyed (*s*). He did not, however, ſtand upon that punctilio; but accepted the office, and immediately entered upon the duties of it. Party animoſity at that time ſo much prevailed, that he ſoon found his ſituation attended with little tranquillity. He acted in a treble capacity, in the Queen's Bench, in the Privy Council, and as Judge of Aſſize; in each of which he was often obliged to give judgment between the contending parties [*L*]: in the Queen's Bench, and as Judge of Aſſize, in criminal proſecutions; and in the Council, in ſtruggling for intereſts in Corporations (*t*). On the death of Queen Anne, and the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, Sir Richard Cox, with the other principal Iriſh Judges, was removed from his office, and alſo from the Privy Council [*M*]. He then retired to his ſeat in the county of Cork, where he hoped to have ended his days in peace; but his tranquillity was diſturbed by ſeveral attacks which were made againſt him in the Iriſh Parliament. On the 18th of November, 1715, it was ordered by the Houſe of Commons, "That Sir Richard "Cox ſhould attend that day fortnight, to give an account what proceedings were had "againſt Jacob Twiſleton, who had been a ſervant to the Pretender; and by Order of "the Houſe, in 1713, was delivered to the Lord Chief Juſtice." As he was at the diſtance of an hundred miles from Dublin, at the time when this Order was made, he wrote to the Speaker, and requeſted, "That on the account of his age, (which was then ſixty-five), "the badneſs of the roads, and the ſhortneſs of the days, and in conſideration that he "could ſay little more about Twiſleton, than the Officers of the Court might inform the "Houſe, the Order might be adjourned to the 5th of December." This was accordingly complied with; and at the time appointed, Sir Richard appeared before a Committee of the whole Houſe, and ſufficiently cleared himſelf with reſpect to the caſe of Jacob Twiſleton, which was found, upon examination, to be a very trifling buſineſs [*N*]. But about the

(*r*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 226.

(*s*) *Id. ibid.*

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 227.

[*L*] *Often obliged to give judgment between the contending parties.*] Mr. Harris ſays, 'That every 'where his conſcience and his judgment were the 'directors of his actions, and conſequently each party 'in its turn had the benefit of his juſtice. But theſe 'conſiderations little availed him: for each grudged 'the right done to the other, which was deemed in-'juſtice to itſelf. It was no time for cool reaſoning; 'and ſo he became ſuſpected by the violent men of 'that party, and of which he was reputed one, and 'hated by the furious men of the other. A better 'teſtimony could not be given of his moderation. 'But he had the comfort to be much in the eſteem of 'the Duke of Shrewſbury, who was Lord Lieutenant 'for the greater part of thoſe mad times, and who 'was known to be a Nobleman of great integrity, 'candour, and good nature (19).'

(19) Hiſtory of the Writers of Ireland, *ubi ſupra*, p. 227.

[*M*] *Removed from his office, and alſo from the Privy Council.*] The removal of Sir Richard Cox, and the other Judges, from their offices, and from the Privy Council, ſeems to have been chiefly occaſioned by their refuſal, in conjunction with the other Members of the Privy Council, to comply with the directions of the Lords Juſtices of Great Britain, reſpecting the election of Magiſtrates for the city of Dublin. Great conteſts having ariſen concerning the election of Lord Mayor for the city of Dublin, the Britiſh Regency, after the death of Queen Anne, in order to put an end to theſe conteſts, directed the Iriſh Privy Council "to approve of the perſon elected (for Lord Mayor) "without entering into the merits of the election." Upon this occaſion, Sir Richard Cox made a Speech, in which, among other things, he ſaid, "That as to "the *qualifications* of the party the Council was *mi-"niſterial*, and ought in obedience to the Lords "Regents to approve of any perſon, who ſhould be "lawfully elected. But as to the legality of elec-"tion, the Council acted in a *judicial* capacity, and "could not approve of any election tha twas unlaw-"ful (20)." In October, 1714, new Lords Juſtices having been appointed for the Government of Ireland, the Archbiſhop of Dublin, who was one of them, demanded of the Privy Council, "Whether they "would without difficulty, or entering into any "conſideration of the merits of the election of Ma "giſtrates for the city of Dublin, approve the per-"ſon who ſhould be returned for Lord Mayor by "the majority of the Board of Aldermen, purſuant "to the directions of the Lords Juſtices of Great "Britain." To which the Privy Council unanimouſly anſwered, "That they ſhould always pay a "due regard to the Lords Juſtices of Great Britain; "but that they were not then ripe to give their opi-"nion, unleſs an election of Magiſtrates ſhould be "certified and brought before them." Upon this anſwer the Council was diſſolved, and the Judges diſplaced (21).

(20) *Ibid.* p. 244.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 245.

[*N*] *The Caſe of Jacob Twiſleton, which was found, upon examination, to be a very trifling buſineſs.*] Mr. Harris informs us, that 'Twiſleton was a noted good 'trumpeter, and had travelled through moſt parts of 'Europe for his profit. His fame was ſo great, that 'all perſons were deſirous to hear him. At ſome 'place abroad, he was hired to ſound the trumpet 'before the Pretender, and afterwards came to Ire-'land, and ſounded for hire before Sir Conſtantine 'Phipps (22).' Twiſleton was brought before Sir Richard Cox, as a ſervant of the Pretender, in purſuance of an Order of the Houſe of Commons, of the 12th of December, 1713. He committed him to Newgate, upon an information of a Member of the Houſe; and Twiſleton remained there till the latter end of the following term. He was then bailed, according to the cuſtom of the Court, for want of an indictment

(22) *Ibid.* p. 230.

the ſame time the following reſolutions were alſo paſſed by the Houſe of Commons: " I. That by the Laws of the Land, and by the conſtant uninterrupted uſage of the " Court of King's Bench, all Juries in criminal caſes ought to be nominated and returned " by the Sheriff, or Sheriffs only; unleſs there be a legal challenge to his or their making " ſuch return. II. That the Rule made in the Court of Queen's Bench, in the caſe of " Dudley Moore, Eſq[O]; whereby the Clerk of the Crown was ordered to ſtrike a Jury " for his Trial, was unprecedented, arbitrary, and illegal, and an high invaſion of the " Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of Ireland. III. That Sir Richard Cox, late Lord " Chief Juſtice of the ſaid Court, by making ſuch Rule, acted partially, arbitrarily, illegally, and contrary to his oath and duty of a Judge." The ſame reſolution was paſſed againſt each of the other Judges of that Court (*u*). It muſt be confeſſed, that in the affair to which theſe votes refer, Sir Richard Cox, and his brother Judges, appear to have been influenced by that partiality in favour of the crown, by which other Judges have too frequently been actuated: but in their conduct in this reſpect they were countenanced by the conduct and opinions of Engliſh Judges and Crown Lawyers. In June, 1716, ſeveral votes were alſo paſſed, by the Houſe of Commons, againſt Sir Richard Cox, and the other Judges, cenſuring their conduct and determinations reſpecting the election of Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin [*P*]. It was reſolved, that " they had acted partially and corruptly;" and

(*u*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 228.

indictment againſt him, which the information could not ſupport, and was continued on his bail until Trinity Term, 1714 (23).

(23) Hiſtory of the Writers of Ireland, *ubi ſupra*, p. 230.

[*O*] *The Caſe of Dudley Moore, Eſq.*] The Caſe of Mr. Moore was this. The Government had forbidden a Prologue to be ſpoken at the Theatre on the 4th of November, 1712, to the Play of Tamerlane. Mr. Moore, ſupported by ten or twelve Gentlemen, repeated one on the ſtage in ſpite of the actors. The perſons in Adminiſtration, conſidering this action as a deſigned affront to themſelves, ordered Mr. Moore, and his companions, to be proſecuted for a riot. They were accordingly indicted in the Court of Queen's Bench. But the Queen commanded, that the proſecution ſhould ceaſe againſt all but Mr. Moore. Sir Richard Cox thought the offence ſo ſlight, that he diſcharged Mr. Moore's bail, and took his own recognizance for his appearance, on which he was never called. Upon Mr. Moore's pleading, and entering into a recognizance to proſecute his traverſe, the Attorney-general moved, " That the partiality of Juries returned by Sheriffs " having appeared lately in many inſtances, the " Court would be pleaſed to order their Officer to " ſtrike an indifferent Jury out of the Book of Freeholders to be returned by the Sheriffs, to try the " iſſue between the Queen and Traverſer, as was " conſtantly done in England in like caſes." This motion was oppoſed, and learnedly argued on both ſides. The Court took time to conſider, and procured in the mean time certificates of the practice of the Queen's Bench in England, and conſulted the reſt of the Judges of Ireland, who ſolemnly delivered their opinions in favour of the motion. And then, being preſſed by Mr. Moore's Council at three ſeveral times to give judgment, at laſt gave it in favour of the Queen, for ſeveral reaſons, among which were the following:

I. ' Becauſe the Common Law of England and ' Ireland is the ſame, and is preſerved in Ireland by ' the juriſdiction which the Court of Queen's Bench ' in England hath over that Court in Ireland: and, ' for this reaſon, the Queen's Bench in Ireland is ' always governed by the practice and authorities of ' the Queen's Bench in England. For if the judg- ' ments of Ireland differed from thoſe in England, ' they would be ſet aſide as erroneous.

II. ' This has been the conſtant practice of the ' Queen's Bench in England for one hundred years ' paſt. In the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King ' James the Firſt, Charles the Firſt and Second, James ' the Second, and King William the Third. It was ' done in the trial of the Seven Biſhops, and never ' was complained of or mentioned in the Bill of ' Rights; as it would certainly have been, if it had ' been thought either illegal, or a grievance (24).'

(24) *Ibid.* p. 228.

[*P*] *Reſpecting the Election of Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin.*] Mr. Crawford ſays, ' One of the ' many diſputes, occaſioned by the party ſpirit which ' became every day more violent in both kingdoms, ' was that which aroſe in Dublin, in 1713, relative ' to the election of a Lord Mayor. That office was ' then filled by Sir Samuel Cooke, whoſe principles ' were hoſtile to the Revolution. In his abſence, ' the Aldermen elected Mr. Pleaſants, a Whig, as ' his ſucceſſor. By certain late regulations, calculated to promote the intereſt of the Tory party, the ' Lord Mayor had been inveſted with a right to nominate three Aldermen, one of whom, unleſs to ' them all reaſonable objections could be made, muſt ' be choſen to ſucceed him. Sir Samuel would not ' acquieſce in the election, which, upon the matter ' being referred to their determination, was ſet aſide ' by the Privy Council. The Aldermen then were ' ſummoned by the Lord Mayor, to make a new ' choice. To one of the three, whom he propoſed ' to their conſideration,—twenty of them objected. ' Before any thing could be determined, the Court ' was diſmiſſed. This conteſt communicating to the ' friends and the connexions of the oppoſite parties, ' threw the city into a flame, which was attended by ' the greateſt diſorder and confuſion, and continued ' to the death of the Queen. It was raging when ' the Duke of Shrewſbury arrived to take upon him ' the Government of Ireland (25).'

(25) Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 262, 263.

Of the diſputes and proceedings concerning the election of Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin, a very copious account is given by Mr. Harris, in his Continuation of Sir James Ware's Hiſtory of the Writers of Ireland (26); but it is extended to ſo great a length, that it would probably be thought extremely dull and unintereſting by moſt of our Readers. We ſhall, therefore, only mention a few particulars relative to this ſubject. It appears, that by a Charter granted in the reign of King Henry the Third, the Citizens of Dublin had a right to chooſe their own Mayor; but by an Act made in the reign of King Charles II. the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors, and Council of Ireland, had power given them " to make Rules for the " electing Magiſtrates, and other Officers, and for " inflicting ſuch penalties for the breach thereof, as " they in their wiſdom ſhould think fit;" and it was farther enacted, that theſe " rules, when made, ſhould " be as good and effectual in law, as if the ſame had " been eſtabliſhed by Parliament." By this Act the Citizens of Dublin were deprived of their right of electing their Chief Magiſtrate; for one of the new Rules which were made for that city was, " That " the election of Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, &c. ſhall be " by Lord Mayor and Aldermen only, eight " Aldermen being always preſent." Another Rule was, " That the names of Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs, " &c. elected, ſhall be by the Corporation preſented " within ten days after election to the Lord Lieute- " nant, or other Chief Governors, and the Council, " to be approved by them, and the perſons elected " ſhall be incapable to ſerve until approved of under " their hands; and if not approved of in ten days " after they are preſented, the Corporation ſhall pro- " ceed

(26) P. 230—244.

and been "guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours:" and it was also voted, "That the "removing the Lord Primate, and Sir Constantine Phipps from the Government of that "kingdom, the dissolving the late Privy Council, and displacing the late Judges and "Queen's Council, was a seasonable instance of his Majesty's justice, and tender regard "for the welfare and happiness of that kingdom (*w*)." It was likewise resolved by the House of Commons, in the same Session, "That an humble Address be presented to their "Excellencies the Lords Justices, desiring their Excellencies to lay before his Majesty the "humble Request of this House, that the original Representation of the late Privy Council "in the Case of the City of Dublin, and the Report of the late Judges [*Q*]; and also the "farther Report of the late Judges and Queen's Council, in the Case of the Aldermen and "Sheriffs of Dublin, transmitted to her late Majesty, may be returned to this Kingdom, "to be given in Evidence against the Persons who made the same, when this House shall "have the Opportunity to proceed against them for the High Crimes and Misdemean-"ours, of which this House hath voted them guilty (*x*)."

(*w*) Harris, *ubi supra*, p. 231, 232.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 243.

These votes were not followed by any farther proceedings against Sir Richard Cox, or the other Judges. Their conduct in the affair of the election of Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin appears to have been censurable; but the votes against them were carried with too much heat and violence. Insinuations were thrown out against Sir Richard Cox, in the Irish Parliament, as if he had been attached to the interest of the Pretender; but these insinuations seem to have been totally destitute of the least foundation. He had taken that side, in the business relative to the election of the Magistrates of Dublin, which was considered as the Tory side; but as he was eminently active and zealous in the promotion of the Revolution, so he appears to have been a firm friend to the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. After his removal from office, he passed his time chiefly in retirement. He divided his latter days between study, making improvements on his estate, and acts of benevolence. But in April, 1733, he was seized by a fit of apoplexy, which ended in a palsy, under which he languished till the 3d of May that year, when he expired, without pain, at the age of eighty three years, one month, and a few days (*y*).

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 248.

Sir Richard Cox was in his person tall, and well-proportioned; his features were regular, and his complexion fair; his countenance was agreeable, his eyes full and lively, and his carriage easy and graceful. His private life was virtuous, and he was regular and exact in his attendance on the duties of religion. He was an affectionate husband, a tender parent, a sincere friend, and a kind master to his domestics (*z*). His memory was very retentive, and he applied himself much to the studies of History and Geography, in both of which his knowledge was extensive. He was also well read in Divinity, and had a strong inclination to Poetry, in which he made some attempts, but was dissuaded from any farther efforts of that kind [*R*]. In his freer hours, he was a chearful and entertaining companion, and in his general behaviour he was affable and courteous. As a Judge, he was patient and attentive, and diligent in the discharge of the duties of his office. He was considered as a very able Chancellor, and his decrees were seldom reversed. Mr. Harris says, that "if he had lived in quiet times, he would have been "revered by all his contemporaries for his moderation and integrity (*a*)." He appears, however, to have been too complaisant a Courtier, and too ready to concur in the measures of Government, without sufficiently inquiring into the rectitude of those measures. In judging of some parts of his conduct, allowance should, indeed, be made, for the critical state of Ireland at that period, and the effects which had been produced upon men's minds, by the barbarities and murders that had been committed by the Papists. The massacre of Ireland, and other Popish cruelties, were then fresh in the minds of men; and the Roman Catholics were not considered as objects either of justice or humanity. Too much injustice had undoubtedly been committed on both sides; but, in judging of the

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 252.

(*a*) *Id. ibid.*

"ceed to a new election, and shall in like manner "present the names, until they shall choose persons "who shall be approved of (27)."

(27) Harris, *ubi supra*, p. 232, 233.

The Act by which these Rules were enforced, passed in the reign of Charles II. was only a temporary Act, and yet the rules were continued to be acted upon as if they were perpetual. The citizens at large were deprived of their right of election, and even the Aldermen were not allowed a free election. Sir Samuel Cooke was continued two years in office, without being elected for the second year even by the Aldermen; but he was agreeable to the then Administration, and was, therefore, arbitrarily continued in office. In the part which was taken by Sir Richard Cox, and the other Judges, in this business, there was too manifest a partiality in favour of the Administration; and not that attention, which there ought to have been, to the rights of the Citizens of Dublin.

[*Q*] *The Report of the late Judges.*] Complaint was made, that the Report of Sir Richard Cox, and the other Irish Judges, which was transmitted to England, relative to the Election of Lord Mayor for the city of Dublin, contained a false statement of the case, and was calculated to deceive the Queen and her Ministers; and, indeed, the Report appears to have been by no means fair and impartial.

[*R*] *Was dissuaded from any farther efforts of that kind.*] Mr. Harris says, 'He had a strong bent to 'Poetry, which appeared in a piece, much approved, "On General Ginkle's success in Ireland," and of "which he printed but a few copies; and in another "On the death of Lord Chancellor Porter." But 'the last being transmitted to his friend Sir Robert 'Southwell, he wrote to him, "That poetry was "not the way to preferment, but a weed in a Judge's "garden." This kind rebuke checked his poetical 'progress, and turned him to more serious and more 'useful studies (28).']

(28) *Ibid.* p. 251.

perſons and characters of that age, ſome attention muſt be paid to the ſentiments and views by which different parties were at that time actuated. As an Hiſtorian, Sir Richard Cox is entitled to more applauſe for the aſſiduity of his reſearches into the Hiſtory of Ireland, than for any merit in his arrangement or compoſition. He was the author of thoſe Remarks upon Ireland, which were printed in Biſhop Gibſon's Tranſlation of Camden's Britannia, edit. 1695. Of many children, only one ſon and one daughter ſurvived him; but he had many grand-children, and great grand-children. His eldeſt ſon, Richard, died in 1725; but his ſecond ſon, Michael, became Biſhop of Oſſory. One of his daughters was married to Sir William Manſel, Bart (*b*).] T.

(*b*) Harris, *ubi ſupra*, p. 248.

*** [CRAIG (WILLIAM), (*) an excellent Divine of the Church of Scotland, was the ſon of a reſpectable Merchant in Glaſgow. He was born there in February 1709: and in the Seminaries of education in that city, he began and proſecuted his ſtudies. At College he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his early taſte and uncommon proficiency in claſſical learning; and in applying to this ſort of literature, he received great aſſiſtance and encouragement from his kinſman the Reverend Mr. Clerk, Miniſter of the Goſpel at Neilſton in Renfrewſhire. That deſerving young man, who died at an early period of his life, and before his worth became ſufficiently known, was one of the firſt Clergymen in the Weſt of Scotland, who began to ſtudy and teach Chriſtianity in a manner different from that uſually practiſed ſince the Reformation; and who thought the intereſts of true religion could be promoted by ſuch elegance of compoſition, and knowledge of Philoſophy, as might be derived from ancient Authors. To ſtudies of this ſort, therefore, the excellent perſon who is the ſubject of this memoir, incited by his own original inclination, and aſſiſted by his ingenious friend, was very early attached. The moral Philoſophy of the antients engaged his attention in a very particular manner: and the moral writers of Greece and Rome were his favourite authors. By the attentive peruſal of their works, and of the moral Poets of Antiquity, he had committed to his memory a great number of their moſt ſtriking paſſages; and uſed to apply them occaſionally in the company of his ſelect friends with great eaſe, judgment, and ingenuity. In this he had an excellent example in the practice of his friend and inſtructor the juſtly celebrated Doctor Hutcheſon, who was elected to the Profeſſorſhip of moral Philoſophy, in the Univerſity of Glaſgow, about the time that Craig had nearly finiſhed his theological and philoſophical courſe. With this amiable and eminent Philoſopher he was early and intimately connected. Hutcheſon diſcerned in him that character which he eſteemed: and he expreſſed his regard by aſſociating with him, by entering into, and aſſiſting him in his literary labours. Early inclined by temper and diſpoſition to the ſtudy and profeſſion of Theology, Craig derived every advantage from the converſation of a friend ſo highly enlightened; and whom he regarded with juſt and affectionate deference. Commencing Preacher in the year 1734, his philoſophical Monitor embraced every opportunity of hearing him; and with a frankneſs which ſhewed the opinion he entertained of the candour and abilities of his diſciple, he offered ſuch remarks on his Sermons as he thought neceſſary. He particularly admoniſhed him againſt a propenſity to which young Clergymen of ability are very liable, of indulging themſelves in abſtruſe and philoſophical diſquiſition. He adviſed him, becauſe he knew he was able to follow the advice, "to preach to and from the heart." He did ſo. Habitually pious, ardently devout, and deeply intereſted in the welfare of thoſe who liſtened to his inſtruction, he delivered himſelf with genuine and becoming earneſtneſs. This was the ſpirit that directed his manner. Loud exclamation, outrageous action, violence of look or geſture, were not the characters of his delivery. It was ſolemn, yet animated; earneſt, but correct; and though correct, not formal. He arreſted the attention without alarming the imagination: he touched the heart without rouſing the paſſions. His manner was elegant, and he pleaſed: he ſpoke as he felt, and was affecting.

(*) Written and communicated by Mr. Richardſon, Profeſſor of Humanity in the Univerſity of Glaſgow.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that a Preacher of ſuch eminence, eſpecially at a time when this mode of preaching was rare, ſhould remain unknown or unnoticed. He ſoon received a preſentation from Mr. Lockhart, of Cambuſnethan, to be Miniſter of the pariſh of Cambuſnethan; and was ſettled in that charge in the year 1737. About this time great oppoſition was made by the populace of Scotland, and particularly by thoſe of Clydeſdale, to the manner of appointing Miniſters by preſentations from Lay-Patrons. On this account, therefore, and perhaps, becauſe his Sermons inculcated active virtue more frequently, and more earneſtly, than his audience, who would have been better pleaſed with obſcure and myſtical theology, thought neceſſary, he encountered conſiderable oppoſition. Zealous, however, in the diſcharge of his duty, and hoping, in the conſcious ardour of his endeavours, to reconcile his pariſhioners to that ſyſtem of inſtruction which he thought beſt ſuited to their condition, and moſt conſiſtent with Chriſtianity, he refuſed a preſentation to a Church in Airſhire, offered him by Mr. Montgomery of Coilsfield; and another offered him by the amiable but unfortunate Earl of Kilmarnock. At length, he accepted of a preſentation to a Church in Glaſgow, the place of his nativity, where moſt of his relations reſided; where he could have opportunities of converſing with his literary friends; and where the field for doing good was more extenſive. He was firſt appointed Miniſter of the

the Wynd Church in that city: and after the building of St. Andrew's Church, one of the moſt elegant places of public worſhip in Scotland, he was removed thither. His audience was at no time ſo numerous, but eſpecially during the laſt twenty-five years of his life, as thoſe who valued good compoſition and liberality of ſentiment, apprehended that he deſerved. Inſtead of the abſtruſe tenets of ſpeculative theology, and the myſterious doctrines inculcated by many popular Clergymen in the Church of Scotland, he thought his flock would be better edified by ſuch a plain expoſition of their duty, as was laid down in the precepts and example of Jeſus Chriſt; and by ſuch a direct, but judicious application to themſelves, as in their ſituation ſeemed requiſite. "A Miniſter of the Goſpel," he tells us, in his excellent Sermon on the character and obligations of a Miniſter, "will, with "unvariable conſtancy and fortitude, declare unto his people the whole counſel of God. "He will faithfully and fairly ſet before them the whole extent of their religious and moral "obligations, and with all that minuteneſs and detail with which they are delivered in "the Sacred Scriptures, and which he ſees the circumſtances of his people may require. "No averſion which their ignorance, their prejudice, or ſinful paſſions, may ſuggeſt on "this account, no unpopular injurious epithets that may be given him as a legal or a "moral Preacher, will prevail upon him either to conceal or to diſguiſe any part of that "divine religion, upon which, with the deepeſt earneſtneſs, he founds the proſpect of his "own ſalvation. He will ſearch, with all the diligence and candour that he can, the "Holy Bible; look for genuine religion there; and from thence, rather than from any "human ſyſtem upon earth, learn what he is to teach as a Miniſter of Chriſt."—But this mode of inſtruction has never been very faſhionable. Not much reliſhed in Galilee and Jeruſalem, when practiſed by one "who ſpake as never man ſpake," it was not likely to become more popular in Clydeſdale and the city of Glaſgow. But though Craig might regret, what ſeemed to him the miſguided or miſtaken ſentiments of many who profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians; yet ſtedfaſt in his own opinions, founded on mature reflection, and unmoved by the undiſcriminating praiſe or blame of the multitude, he ſtill perſiſted in the delivery of ſuch doctrines as his reaſon convinced him were moſt eſſential to the real improvement and eternal welfare of his hearers. As his Church was not much frequented by the vulgar, neither was it very generally reſorted to by thoſe exalted by their opulence to a higher rank. Early and conſtantly engaged in commercial purſuits, they did not give much attention to ſuch diſtinctions in doctrine or compoſition, as would otherwiſe have induced them, perhaps, to have given a preference to thoſe of Craig. But though he diſdained every unworthy art to captivate popular applauſe, he was ſo ſincerely attached to thoſe who ſeemed to profit by his inſtruction, that he declined the propoſals of Provoſt Alexander, and ſome of his friends in Edinburgh, who wiſhed at one time to have removed him thither. He had the ſatisfaction alſo of knowing, that in another quarter, perſons whoſe opinion he valued, were not inſenſible to his merits. He was propoſed by his friends to be the ſucceſſor of Profeſſor Potter, in the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. Doctor Leechman, lately Principal in that Univerſity, then Miniſter of the Goſpel at Beith; and the Reverend Mr. M'Laurin, brother to the celebrated Mathematician, were alſo candidates. Leechman and Craig were united in the cloſeſt friendſhip: their religious ſentiments were ſimilar, and alike obnoxious to the popular Clergy. M'Laurin was a man of worth and ſincere piety; he was believed to entertain religious opinions of a kind very agreeable to the multitude: and if both the other two had continued candidates, he would probably have ſucceeded. But Craig, apprehending that the intereſts of religion would be better ſerved by the appointment of Leechman, and influenced perhaps by the intimacy ſubſiſting between them, prevailed with his friends to transfer their voices to him, and withdrew from the conteſt. Accordingly, by the caſting vote of George Bogle, Eſq; of Daldowie, then Lord Rector of the Univerſity, a man of unblemiſhed integrity and real zeal for the public good, Dr. Leechman was choſen. How much this meaſure contributed to promote the intereſts of religion, learning and claſſical taſte, among the Students in that Seminary, is very generally known, and will be long remembered.—In truth, though Craig's early attention to good compoſition, and to what was accounted liberality of opinion in religious matters, ſhewed a turn of mind a good deal different from the ſpirit and improvement of the times, he was not altogether ſingular. Clerk, Miniſter of the Goſpel at Neilſton, Paton at Renfrew, Fleming at Kilmacolm, Warner at Kilbarchen, Dr. Wiſhart, his Predeceſſor in the Wynd Church, and Dr. Leechman, his contemporaries or intimate friends, were eminent promoters of true learning, correct taſte, and ſuch views of religion, as ſeemed to them more agreeable to the original form of Chriſtianity, than thoſe uſually recommended by many popular Preſbyterian Preachers.

Craig was married about this time to the daughter of Mr. Anderſon, a conſiderable Merchant in Glaſgow. She lived with him ſixteen years; and by her he had ſeveral children: two of whom, namely William, an eminent Lawyer at the Scottiſh Bar; and John, a Merchant in Glaſgow, ſurvived their father. But the excellent underſtanding and amiable diſpoſitions of his wife, which rendered his married ſtate happy, contributed, by their painful recollection, to embitter the ſufferings of his declining age. She died in the

the year 1758: and though he was afterwards very happily married to the daughter of Gilbert Kenedy, Esq; of Auchtifardale, he scarcely ever recovered the shock of his first separation. Several years before he died, his strength and health gradually declined: his spirits were overwhelmed with melancholy: he seemed to have lost the power of enjoying happiness: no amusement could relieve his depression: he lamented that he was become useless; and that he felt not only his body, but the faculties of his soul impaired. His sufferings were heightened by many additional afflictions; particularly by the death of his son Alexander, a very agreeable young man, who had been bred a Merchant, but who was strongly inclined to the study of polite literature: and soon after by the death of his second wife, whose affectionate assiduities had been invariably employed in endeavouring to solace and support his infirmities. In this state of feebleness and dejection, notwithstanding the unwearied attention of his surviving sons, he continued to languish: and, at length, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, he was released by an easy death.—Great sensibility seems to have given the general and prevailing colour to his character. It rendered his piety devout, his benevolence tender, and his friendship affectionate. In the culture of his understanding it inclined him to those studies that please by their beautiful imagery, or touch the heart with agreeable feelings. He was, therefore, very early addicted to classical learning; and cherished those views of religion that represent both God and man in a favourable light. Such sentiments and propensities, though not altogether singular at the time that he commenced his studies, were however so rare among Students of Theology, that speaking figuratively, we may call them singular. But singularity of disposition or opinion is usually disliked or opposed. The man of fortitude and strong nerves encounters the opposition; and either makes converts, or, by a bold authoritative tone, though he does not conciliate affection, imposes respect. But the man of extreme sensibility, yielding to his native biass, is afraid of the struggle, declines the contest, and, excepting in the retirements of confidential friendship, not only appears, but really becomes shy and reserved. This disposition is nearly allied to modesty, and even humbleness of mind; yet the appearance of distance it so often assumes, is misapprehended by the undiscerning multitude; and by a violent misapplication of terms, is misconstrued pride. Effects almost of an opposite appearance, are produced by the same principle, yet tend in their final issue to confirm this mistaken reserve. The man of sensibility, conscious of powers, exerts them; and conscious of his own candour, expects suitable returns. He is disappointed. The observation of men is otherwise engaged: accidental circumstances, and other causes than such as arise from perversion of mind, carry away their attention from the merit that claims and deserves their notice. Of these the man of shy and retired sensibility is not aware; he becomes still more cautious in his intercourse with mankind; more shy and more retired. But Craig, under the sacred shade, and in the retirements of intimate and confidential friendship, was unreserved, open, and even ardent. The spirit of real enjoyment, with which in his better days he engaged in literary and familiar conversation with his friends, displayed the most interesting view of his character. Conversations on the merits of elegant authors, both antient and modern, but above all, the liberal discussion of moral and religious topics, were the joy of his soul. On these occasions, his eyes, naturally animated, sparkled with additional lustre; his voice, naturally musical, became delightfully mellow; his features brightened, for his heart glowed. These were blessed intervals, anticipations perhaps of what he now enjoys. By degrees this glowing mood became tinged with melancholy: at first it was amiable and interesting; but became at last distressful. The sensibility which gave him such moments of rapture, had not perhaps been duly managed; and contributed to, or occasioned his sufferings. It had rendered him averse to indiscriminate society, and thus precluded him from many innocent means of relieving the lassitude, or alleviating the weight of declining age. It quickened his sense of misfortune, and rendered his affliction for the loss of friends too poignant. It overwhelmed him with too much sorrow if at any time he apprehended that the affection of those, in whose love he trusted, had suffered change. The errors and delusions, as he conceived, into which many believers in Christianity had fallen, gave him the anxious solicitude which a father feels for the apprehended failings of a darling child; and he regretted that many teachers of religion, to whom popularity gave extensive influence, seemed not sufficiently aware that these errors were full of danger. His sensibility too, especially after the publication of some celebrated works in favour of scepticism, was painfully affected by the progress, as he apprehended, of irreligion. His sense of Deity was strong and lively. Even though the dejection and the despondency of affliction might at times have brought a gloomy cloud between him and the radiance of heaven, the cloud was transient: his religious opinions, founded not merely on feeling but on conviction, were permanent: and even in the earlier periods of his life, when he was not so anxiously alarmed at the growth of impiety as afterwards, he often lamented that men of worth and integrity were not pious; and though they performed many charitable and disinterested actions from very laudable motives, yet that their conduct did not seem to be founded on any principles of religion. It might be friendship, it might be compassion, it might be benevolence, but it wanted "those aids, those supports and comforts which alone could

"arise

" ariſe from hope and truſt in God." It is unneceſſary to ſay of ſuch a character, that he was juſt, charitable, and temperate. His virtues were thoſe of a Chriſtian; his failings were thoſe incident to the weakneſs of human nature; and his ſufferings were occaſioned, or much aggravated by his failings. It is conſiſtent with his own opinions to ſay, that if there is a region beyond the grave into which human weakneſs can have no admiſſion, where there is employment for every excellent talent, and objects for every worthy affection, he is ſupremely bleſſed.

To this account of his life I ſhall ſubjoin a ſhort account of his writings.—In the year 1761, he publiſhed at Glaſgow a Sermon on the " Reverence due to the name of God." His Sermon on the " Character and Obligations of a Miniſter of the Goſpel" was publiſhed in the year 1764. Previouſly to this publication he had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred upon him by the Univerſity of Glaſgow. In the year 1767 he publiſhed his Eſſay on the " Life of Jeſus Chriſt." This work met with great approbation; and its deſign may be ſeen in the following extract from the Preface. " The principal " deſign of the following Eſſay is to delineate the character of Jeſus Chriſt from the facts " recorded in the hiſtory of his life.—Many uſeful obſervations have been made by dif- " ferent writers on this ſubject; and the ſeveral virtues and perfections which appeared " in the life of Jeſus have been marked. But what theſe writers have obſerved gives us " rather a detail of ſcattered though beautiful particulars, than a ſingle and connected " view of the whole character at once. It would appear, however, from the records of " the Goſpel, that the character of Jeſus Chriſt was formed in every part of it upon the " influence of one great and leading principle; and that the whole tenor of his life pro- " ceeding from this influence was one united and conſiſtent thing. To give this ſimple " and united view is the deſign of what is offered in the ſecond and third Sections, &c." Two editions of this Eſſay were printed with great elegance, by the Foulis's at Glaſgow: and a French tranſlation appeared on the continent, ſoon after its firſt publication.—In the year 1775 " Twenty Diſcourſes on various Subjects, by William Craig, D.D." were publiſhed in London. Some of theſe Diſcourſes are practical and others ſpeculative. Of the practical, thoſe that are employed in delineating and drawing obſervations from Scripture characters, deſerve particular notice. Thoſe on the characters of Judas Iſcariot, and Pontius Pilate, are executed in a maſterly manner; and ſhew that the author's powers of obſervation were very conſiderable. Of the ſpeculative Diſcourſes, thoſe that diſcuſs the Scripture Doctrine of Regeneration demand the ſerious and deep attention of every one who would really underſtand this important doctrine. But though they require ſerious and deep attention, it is not on account of their being compoſed in a dry, abſtruſe, or metaphyſical manner. They are clear and obvious: they contain a natural and eaſy explanation of paſſages in the New Teſtament that treat of Regeneration: they are addreſſed with plainneſs and ſimplicity to the common ſenſe of mankind: and by a tranſition which affords a preſumption in favour of the Author's argument, they connect ſpeculation with practice.—The ſtile and compoſition of Dr. Craig's Eſſay and Diſcourſes, no leſs than the ſentiments, have been admired. They reſembled his manner. His excellent taſte, early formed by the peruſal of the beſt claſſical authors, preſerved him alike from the groveling, quaint, and verboſe jargon of mere illiterate, and from the trim ornaments, the ſtudied figures, and laboured imagery of mere artificial eloquence. If a figure or image preſented itſelf, ſuggeſted as all ſuch embelliſhments ought to be, by the preſent diſpoſition, he gave them admiſſion. He neither anxiouſly ſolicited, nor affectedly refuſed their aſſiſtance. Accordingly, as imagination was not his moſt powerful faculty, his images are not very frequent. He wiſhed alſo to be correct in the uſe of words, and the ſtructure of ſentences; but thought it unneceſſary to be very nicely correct. He did not think that ſuch attention ſuited the ſerious and ſolemn dignity of the pulpit. Nor at the time when he began to write, had the critics of language become faſtidious. Hence, perhaps, more careleſſneſs and inaccuracy of expreſſion may be diſcovered in his ſtile, than if he had begun to write at a later period. But the age that cenſures with ſeverity the ſtile of Hume and of Addiſon, will not be merciful to that of Craig. Perhaps the method, ſtructure, or what is properly the compoſition of his Diſcourſes, may appear leſs exceptionable than the expreſſion. They poſſeſs a great ſhare of that excellence which is conferred by unity of deſign, and perſpicuity of arrangement. The diviſions are natural; the parts are eaſily connected with one another; and the leading obſervations or propoſitions are often ſo ſtationed in regard to their importance or ingenuity, that by a delightful progreſs, they ſeem to riſe on the mind. But in order to point out more particularly our author's own opinion of pulpit eloquence, I will conclude this account with the following paſſages from his Sermon on the character of a Miniſter. " In the Diſcourſes of our bleſſed Lord, we meet with nothing of that laboured " eloquence which is the mark of human art, and tends rather to excite a vain applauſe " and admiration of the art itſelf, than a ſerious impreſſion of the things which it is de- " ſigned to repreſent.—On this account, a man of a diſcerning and unbiaſſed mind will " be able to perceive a mighty difference betwixt the Goſpel, as it lies before us in its " native and original ſimplicity, and thoſe deſcriptions that are given of it in the laboured " artificial forms into which it has been modelled by the hand of man; a difference not

" unlike to what is found in all the other works of God and man. The works of God " are ſolemn and majeſtic, and by their inexpreſſible grandeur and ſimplicity enlarge and " elevate the heart. The works of man, though modelled by the niceſt art and ſkill, are " but little and diminutive; and, however they may amuſe the fancy, ſeldom raiſe any " great or elevating emotions in the heart. For this reaſon it might at leaſt deſerve " inquiry, if it would not better ſerve the original intentions of the Goſpel, to repreſent it " to the world, as nearly as poſſible, in that artleſs and divine ſimplicity in which it was " delivered by its bleſſed Author."]

CRANMER (THOMAS), the moſt eminent Archbiſhop that ever ſat in the See of Canterbury, was the ſon of *Thomas* Cranmer, Eſq [*A*]; and of Agnes daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby in Nottinghamſhire (*a*). He was born at (*) Aſlacton in that county, July 2, 1489 (*b*), and educated in Grammar-learning under a rude and ſevere Pariſh-Clerk, of whom he learned little, and endured much (*c*). In 1503, at the age of fourteen, he was admitted into Jeſus College in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (*d*). Here he ſtudied the Sophiſtry, and uſeleſs learning of thoſe times, till the age of twenty-two. For the next four or five years he applied himſelf to polite Literature; and for three years more, to the ſtudy of the Scriptures (*e*). After he was Maſter of Arts, he married a Gentleman's daughter, named Joan (*f*), living at the Dolphin, oppoſite Jeſus-Lane (*g*). Loſing by that his Fellowſhip, he went and lived with her at the Dolphin, and became Reader of the common Lecture in Buckingham, now Magdalen, College (*h*). But his wife dying in child-bed within a year, he was again admitted Fellow of Jeſus College (*i*). Upon Cardinal Wolſey's foundation of his new College at Oxford, Cranmer was nominated to be one of the Fellows; but he refuſed the offer (*k*). In 1523, and the 34th year of his age, he was made Doctor of Divinity, Reader of the Theological Lecture in his own College, and one of the Examiners of thoſe that took the degrees in Divinity (*l*). The moſt immediate cauſe of his advancement to the greateſt favour with King Henry VIII. and, in conſequence of that, to the higheſt dignity in the Church of England, was the Opinion he gave in the matter of that King's Divorce. For having, on account of the plague at Cambridge, retired to Waltham-Abbey in Eſſex, at the houſe of one Mr. Creſſy, whoſe wife he was related to, and whoſe ſons were his pupils at the Univerſity; Edward Fox the King's Almoner, and Stephen Gardiner the Secretary, happened accidentally to come to that houſe (*m*). Here, the converſation turning upon what then moſtly employed the Nation's thoughts, namely, the King's Divorce; Cranmer, who was well known to the two others, being deſired by them to ſpeak upon that point, delivered it as his opinion, that 'it would be much better, to have this queſtion, *Whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or no?* decided and diſcuſſed by the Divines, and by the authority 'of the word of God, than thus from year to year to prolong the time by having recourſe 'to the Pope: that there was but one truth in it, which the Scripture would ſoon declare 'and manifeſt, being handled by learned men; and that might be done as well in England 'in the Univerſities here, as at Rome, or elſewhere (*n*).' This opinion being communicated by Dr. Fox to the King, his Majeſty approved of it much; ſaying, 'that that 'man (meaning Cranmer) had the ſow by the right ear (*o*).' Whereupon Cranmer was ſent for to Court, made the King's Chaplain, ordered to write upon the ſubject of the Divorce, furniſhed with books for that purpoſe, and placed in the family of Thomas Boleyn Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond (*p*). When he had finiſhed his book [*B*], he went to Cambridge to diſpute upon that point, and brought ſeveral over to his opinion (*q*). About this time he was preſented to a Living, and made Archdeacon of Taunton (*r*). In 1530 he was ſent, with ſome others, into France, Italy, and Germany, to diſcuſs the affair of the King's Marriage (*s*). At Rome he got his book preſented to the Pope, and offered to diſpute openly againſt the validity of King Henry's Marriage; but no one choſe to engage him (*t*). While he was at Rome, the Pope conſtituted him his Pœnitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales (*u*). In Germany he was ſole Embaſſador upon the forementioned affair; and in 1532 concluded a Treaty of Commerce between England and the Low-Countries (*w*). He was alſo employed on an Embaſſy to the Duke of Saxony, and other Proteſtant Princes (*x*). During his reſidence in Germany, he married, at Nuremberg, a ſecond wife, named Anne, niece of Oſiander's wife (*y*). Upon the death of Archbiſhop Warham in Auguſt 1532, Cranmer was nominated for his ſucceſſor; but he refuſed to accept of that Dignity, unleſs he was to receive it immediately from the King without the Pope's intervention (*z*). Before his conſecration, the King ſo far engaged him in the buſineſs

(*a*) Memorials of T. Cranmer, &c. by J. Strype, fol. Lond. 1694, p. 1, 2, 419.
(*) Or Aſfelacton.
(*b*) *Ibid.*
(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 2.
(*d*) *Ibid.* and Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 1860, edit. 1583.
(*e*) Memorials, &c. by Strype, p. 2.
(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 2. 417.
(*g*) *Ibid.* and Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1860, 1877. She was related to the miſtreſs of the inn.
(*h*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 3.
(*i*) *Ibid.*
Fox, p. 1860. and *Antiquitat. Britannicæ*, edit. Hanov. p. 331.
(*k*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 3. Fox, p. 1860.
(*l*) Strype and Fox, *ibid.* The author of *Antiquitat. Britannicæ*, ſays, he was upon the road to Oxford, but was perſuaded to return back to Cambridge, p. 331.
(*m*) Godwin, *de Præſul.* edit. 1616, p. 196. Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1860.
(*n*) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1860.
(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 1861. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 79.
(*p*) Fox *ibid.* and Strype's Mem. of Archbp. Cranmer. p. 4, 5.
(*q*) Strype, *ibid.* p. 5, 6.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 14.
(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 11.
(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 9. Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1861.
(*u*) Godwin, *de Præſul.* Lond. 1616, 4*to*. p. 197. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 95.
(*w*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 11.
(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 13.
(*z*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 16. Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 128.
(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 417. Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1870.
(1) Fox, Acts and Monument. p. 1859. Strype's Memorials, &c. p. 1. 126. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 336.
(2) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1861. Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 394.

[*A*] *Son of Thomas Cranmer, Eſq.*] That Family is ſaid to have come in with William the Conqueror, and to have been fixed for many generations in Nottinghamſhire, and in Lincolnſhire, where there is a Houſe ſtill called Cranmer-hall. There were ſtill in France ſome of his name and family in King Henry the VIIIth's time; one whereof came in company with the French Embaſſador; to whom, for name, or relation ſake, our Biſhop gave a noble Entertainment. The Family's Arms, were, Three Cranes; but King Henry the VIIIth altered them to Three Pelicans (1).

[*B*] *When he had finiſhed his book.*] In that book, he ſhowed, by the authorities of the Scriptures, of general Councils, and ancient writers, that the Biſhop of Rome (or the Pope) had no ſuch authority, as that he might diſpenſe with the word of God (2).

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of his Divorce, that he made him a party and an actor almoſt in every ſtep he took in that affair (a). It was he that pronounced the ſentence of Divorce between King Henry and Queen Catharine at Dunſtable, May the 23d, 1533; and he likewiſe it was who married him to Anne Boleyn [C], and confirmed her marriage on the 28th following. March the 30th, 1533, he was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury (b), by the Biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Aſaph, when he made an unuſual Proteſtation [D]. The Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick were reſtored to him the 29th of April following (c). Soon after he forbad all preaching throughout his Dioceſe, and viſited it this year in December (d). The Pope threatning him with excommunication, on account of his ſentence againſt Queen Catharine, he appealed from his Holineſs to a general Council; and, in the enſuing Parliaments, ſtrenuouſly diſputed againſt the Pope's ſupremacy (e). All along he ſhowed himſelf a zealous promoter of the Reformation; and, as the firſt ſtep towards it, procured the Convocation to petition the King that the Bible might be tranſlated into Engliſh. When that was obtained, he diligently encouraged the printing and publication of it, and cauſed it to be recommended by Royal Authority, and to be diſperſed as much as he poſſibly could (f). Next, he forwarded the diſſolution of the Monaſteries [E], which were one of the greateſt obſtacles to a reformation (g); and, in every point, he endeavoured by all gentle and human means to reſtore the Church of England to its true and original purity. In 1535 he performed a Provincial Viſitation, in order to recommend the King's Supremacy (h); and preached upon that ſubject in ſeveral parts of his Dioceſe [F]. In 1536, he divorced King Henry from Anne Boleyn (i). In 1537 he viſited his Dioceſe, and endeavoured to aboliſh the ſuperſtitious obſervation of Holidays (k). In 1538, he was in a commiſſion againſt the Anabaptiſts, and viſited the Dioceſe of Hereford (l). The next year, he and ſome of the Biſhops fell under the King's diſpleaſure, becauſe they could not be brought to give their conſent in Parliament, that the Monaſteries ſhould be ſuppreſſed for the King's ſole uſe (m). He alſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Act for the ſix Articles, in the Houſe of Lords, ſpeaking three days againſt it (n); and upon the paſſing of that Statute ſent away his wife into Germany (o). In 1540 he was one of the Commiſſioners for inſpecting into matters of Religion, and explaining ſome of its chief Doctrines (p). The reſult of their commiſſion was, the book intitled 'A neceſſary Erudition of any 'Chriſtian man.' After Lord Cromwell's death, (in whoſe behalf he had written to the King), he retired, and lived in great privacy, meddling not at all with State affairs (q). In 1541, he gave orders, purſuant to the King's directions, for taking away ſuperſtitious Shrines: and exchanging Biſhopſbourn for Bekeſbourn, united the latter to his Dioceſe (r). In 1542, he procured the 'Act for the advancement of true Religion, and the aboliſhment 'of the contrary;' which moderated the rigour of the Six Articles (s). But, the year following, ſome enemies preferring accuſations againſt him [G], he had like to have been ruined, had not the King interpoſed in his behalf (t). Nay, he was complained of in the Houſe of Commons [H], and in the Privy-Council [I], and was very near being ſent to

(a) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 17. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 131; and Collect. of Records, p. 120, 121.

(b) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 128, 129. Strype's Memorials, &c. p. 18. Fuller's Church Hiſt. B. v. p. (185).

(c) Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xiv. p. 456.

(d) Strype, *ibid.* p. 21.

(e) *Ib.* p. 22, 23. and Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1862.

(f) Strype, *ibid.* p. 24, 57, &c. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. vol. i. p. 171, &c. 249, &c.

(g) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 35. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 190.

(h) Strype, *ibid.* p. 30. 32.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 49.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 55.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 72.

(n) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1185. *Antiquit. Brit.* p. 332.

(o) Strype, *ibid.* p. 72.

(p) *Idem.* p. 773 and Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 286, &c.

(q) Strype, *ibid.* p. 86.

(r) *Ib.* p. 91. 93.

(s) *Ib.* p. 99; and Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 321.

(t) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1866, &c. This whole affair is related at full length in *Antiq. Britann.* p. 335—337.

[C] *He likewiſe it was who married him to Ann Boleyn.*] This is expreſsly aſſerted by the author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ* (3). But the Lord Herbert ſays (4), they were privately married by Rowland Lee afterwards Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield; none being preſent but the Lady Ann's father, mother, and brother; Dr. Cranmer, and the Duke of Norfolk.

(3) Edit. Hanov. p. 329. See Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 18.

(4) Hiſt. of King Henry VIII.

[D] *When he made an unuſual Proteſtation.*] The curious Reader may ſee the form of it, in the Appendix to Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, N° V. p. 9. His Deſign was by this expedient to ſave his Liberty, to renounce every clauſe in his Oath which barred him doing his duty to God, the King, and his Country. A certain Church Hiſtorian (5) who loves upon all occaſions to blacken our firſt Reformers, thinks there was ſomething of human infirmity in this management, becauſe it was not made at Rome to the Pope, nor by Cranmer's proxies there, before the obtaining of the Bulls.

(5) Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 74.

[E] *He forwarded the diſſolution of the Monaſteries.*] Inſtead of thoſe nurſeries of Idleneſs, and out of their Revenues, he had projected, That there ſhould be a Proviſion made, in every Cathedral, for Readers of Divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of Students to be both exerciſed in the daily worſhip of God, and trained up in ſtudy and devotion; whom the Biſhop might tranſplant out of this nurſery, into all the parts of his Dioceſe. And thus every Biſhop ſhould have had a College of Clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit. But this Deſign miſcarried (8).

(8) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 302.

[F] *Preached upon that ſubject, in ſeveral parts of his Dioceſe.*] In his Sermons, he ſhowed, 1. That the Biſhop of Rome was not God's vicar upon earth, as he was taken. Here he declared by what arts and crafts the Biſhop of Rome had obtained his uſurped authority. 2. That the Holineſs that See ſo much boaſted of, and by which name Popes affected to be ſtiled, was but a Holineſs in name; and that there was no ſuch Holineſs at Rome. And here he launched out into the Vices of the Court of Rome. 3. He inveighed againſt the Biſhop of Rome's Laws; which were miſcalled *Divinæ Leges*, and *Sacri Canones* (9).

(9) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 30, 31.

[G] *Some enemies preferring accuſations againſt him.*] Theſe enemies were, Richard Thornden Suffragan of Dover, Arthur Sentleger, Richard Parkhurſt, William Gardiner, John Milles, all Canons of Canterbury. And Robert Serles, and Edmund Shether, two of the ſix Preachers there: with Dr. Willoughby, the King's Chaplain. The ſum of their Accuſations againſt the Archbiſhop and his Chaplains was, That they oppoſed the ſix Articles, and other parts of Popery. See Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer (10).

(10) P. 109, &c.

[H] *He was complained of in the Houſe of Commons.*] By Sir John Goſtwick, one of the Knights for Bedfordſhire; for preaching hereſy againſt the Sacrament of the altar. But the King ſeverely rebuked Goſtwick for his impertinence (11).

(11) *Ib.* p. 123, &c.

[I] *And in the Privy-Council.*] The ſubſtance of his Accuſation there, was, 'That he, with his learned 'men, had ſo infected the whole Realm with their 'unſavoury Doctrine, that three parts of the land were 'become abominable hereticks. And that it might 'prove dangerous to the King, being likely to produce 'ſuch commotions and uproars, as were ſprung up in 'Germany. And therefore they deſired, that the 'Archbiſhop might be committed to the Tower, till 'he could be examined.' The whole was a contrivance of Gardiner's (12).

(12) *Ib.* p. 124. *Antiq. Britan.* p. 334.

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the Tower; but the King again protected him, and gave him his Ring, as a token that he took the affair into his own hands (*u*). In the year 1545, he undertook to reform the Canon-Law; but the book he compiled upon that subject was, through Bishop Gardiner's artifices, never confirmed by the King. He likewise corrected some Service or Prayer-books (*w*). Upon King Henry's decease, he was one of the Executors of his Will, and one of the Regents of the Kingdom (*x*). February the 20th, 1545-6, he crowned King Edward VI. to whom he had been godfather; as he was also to the Lady Elizabeth (*y*). Soon after, he took out a Commission for executing his office of Archbishop (*z*); and caused the Homilies to be composed, being himself the author of some of them; and likewise encouraged the translation of Erasmus's paraphrase on the New Testament (*a*). He also laboured earnestly in the Reformation of Religion: and, for that purpose, procured the repeal of the Six Articles; the establishment of the Communion in both kinds; and a new office for that Sacrament; the revisal and amendment of the rest of the Offices of the Church; frequent preaching; a Royal visitation to inspect into the manners and abilities of the Clergy; and visited his own Diocese himself for the same purpose (*b*). He likewise showed himself a patron to the Universities, in defending their Rights, securing their Revenues, and encouraging the Learning there professed and taught (*c*). In 1549, he was one of the Commissioners for examining Bishop Bonner, with a power to imprison or deprive him of his Bishoprick (*). Upon the insurrection in Devonshire, he expressed his zeal for Religion and his Prince, by giving an excellent and full answer to the Rebels articles, and ordered Sermons to be composed and preached upon that occasion (*d*). The same year he ordained several Priests and Deacons according to the new form of Ordination in the Common-Prayer-Book; which, through the Archbishop's care, was now finished and settled by Act of Parliament [*K*]. A review was made of this book towards the end of the next year, and several things changed or amended that were thought to savour too much of superstition (*e*). In 1552, it was printed again with amendments and alterations, by the Archbishop's care, and authorized by Parliament [*L*]. This same year, he and some others compiled the Articles of Religion, and caused them to be enjoined by the King's authority (*f*). He confined not his care to the Church of England, but extended it also to those Protestant Foreigners who fled to England [*M*], by obtaining Churches for them, and recommending them to the favour and protection of the Crown (*g*). Another point that much employed his thoughts, was, to preserve the Revenues of the Church, which the greedy Courtiers were swallowing up without mercy, and parcelling out among themselves (*h*). As the Archbishop had in 1534 endeavoured to save the lives of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More (*i*); so now, when Tonstal Bishop of Durham came into trouble, and a Bill was brought into the House of Lords for attainting him for misprision of Treason, Cranmer spoke freely, nay protested, against it, though they two were of different persuasions (*k*). In 1553, he opposed the new settlement of the Crown upon Lady Jane Gray, and would no way be concerned in that affair, (though at last, through many importunities, he was prevailed upon to set his hand to it,) neither would he join in any of Dudley's ambitious projects (*l*). However, upon King Edward the VIth's decease, he appeared for Jane Gray. Soon after, it being reported that he had offered to sing mass at the funeral of the late King, he vindicated himself in a Declaration (*m*). But now his Troubles came upon him apace, after Queen Mary's accession to the Throne. He was, first, ordered to appear before the Council, and bring an inventory of his Goods; which he did August the 27th, when he was commanded to keep his house, and be forth-coming. September the 13th, he was again summoned before the Council, and enjoined to be at the Star-Chamber the next day, when he was committed to the Tower (*n*); partly, for setting his hand to the instrument of the Lady Jane's succession; and, partly, for the public offer he had made a little before, of justifying openly the religious Proceedings of the late King (*o*). Some of his friends, foreseeing the storm that was likely to fall upon him, advised him to fly, but he absolutely refused [*N*]. In the ensuing Parliament, on November the 3d, he was attainted, and at Guild-hall found guilty of High Treason; whereupon the

(*u*) *Antiq. Brita.* p. 334. 336. Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 109—126. Burnet, *ibid.* p. 327, &c. 342.
(*w*) Strype, *ibid.* p. 132.
(*x*) Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xv. p. 110.
(*y*) Strype, p. 142.
(*z*) *Id.* p. 141.
(*a*) *Ib.* p. 149, 150, &c.
(*b*) *Idem*, p. 146, 157, &c. 182. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 25. 72, &c.
(*c*) Strype's Memorials of T. Cranmer, p. 162, &c.
(*) Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. xv. p. 191.
(*d*) Strype, p. 185, &c.
(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 193. 210, 289. Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 71, 72, &c. — 79. 155, 169.
(*f*) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 272. 293.
(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 234.
(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 247.
(*i*) Page 26—28.
(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 289.
(*l*) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1870. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 224. Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 454.
(*m*) *Ibid.*
(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 230.
(*o*) Strype, p. 307. 314. See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. ii. Collect. p. 249.

[*K*] *The Common-prayer-book — — — — was now finished and settled by Act of Parliament.*] The persons by whom it was composed, were *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of Canterbury; *Nicolas Ridley*, Bishop of Rochester, afterwards of London; *Tho. Goodrich*, Bishop of Ely; *Henry Holbech*, Bishop of Lincoln; *John Skip*, Bishop of Hereford; *Tho. Thirlby*, Bishop of Westminster, afterwards of Ely; *Geo. Day*, Bishop of Chichester; Dr. *John Taylor*, Dean, afterwards Bishop, of Lincoln; Dr. *Richard Cox*, Chancellor of Oxford, and Dean of Christ-Church and Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Ely; Dr. *William May*, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. *Tho. Robertson*, Archdeacon of Leicester, afterwards Dean of Durham; Dr. *Simon Heines*, Dean of Exeter; and Dr. *John Redmayne*, Master of Trinity College in Cambridge (13).

[*L*] *Authorized by Parliament.*] And it was enacted, That it should begin to be used every where by All-Saints-day next following (14).

[*M*] *He extended his care to those Protestant Foreigners*, &c.] They were, Martin Bucer, made Professor of Divinity, and Paulus Fagius, Professor of the Hebrew tongue, at Cambridge: Peter Martyr, Professor of Divinity at Oxford: John a Lasco, the first Minister of the Dutch Church at London: Peter Alexander, Bernardine Ochinus, Matthew Negelinus, Immanuel Tremellius, Valerand, &c (15).

[*N*] *Some of his friends — — — advised him to fly, but he absolutely refused.*] Saying, 'It would be no 'ways fitting for him to go away, considering the post 'he was in; and to shew, that he was not afraid to 'own all the Changes that were by his means made in 'Religion, in the last reign (17).'

(13) Appendix, containing an historical Account of the compiling of the Liturgy, in Sam. Downes's edit. of Bp. Sparrow's *Rationale*, &c. edit. 1722, p. cxlvii. cxlix.
(14) Stat. 5 & 6 Edw. VI.
(15) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 195, &c. and Godwin, *ubi supra*,
(16) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 314.

fruits

fruits of his Archbiſhoprick were ſequeſtered. However, upon his humble and repeated application, he was pardoned the Treaſon, but it was reſolved he ſhould be proceeded againſt for hereſy (*p*). In April 1554, he, and Ridley and Latimer, were removed to Oxford, in order for a public diſputation with the Papiſts (*q*); which was accordingly held there towards the middle of the month, with great noiſe, triumph, and impudent confidence on the Papiſts ſide, and with as much gravity, learning, modeſty, and convincing ſufficiency on the ſide of the Proteſtant Biſhops [*O*]. The 20th of April, two days after the end of theſe diſputations, Cranmer and the two others were brought before the Commiſſioners, and aſked, whether they would ſubſcribe (to Popery)? which they unanimouſly refuſing, were condemned as hereticks (*r*). From this ſentence the Archbiſhop appealed to the juſt judgment of the Almighty; and wrote to the Council, giving them an account of the diſputation, and deſiring the Queen's pardon for his treaſon, which it ſeems was not yet remitted (*s*). By the Convocation, which met this year, his 'Defence of the true and 'Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt,' was ordered to be burnt (*t*). Some of his friends petitioned the Queen in his behalf; putting her in mind, how he had once preſerved her in her father's time, by his earneſt interceſſions with him for her [*P*]; ſo that ſhe had reaſon to believe he loved her, and would ſpeak the truth to her, more than all the reſt of the Clergy. But all his friends endeavours were ineffectual (*u*). The Sentence pronounced againſt him by Weſton at Oxford being void in Law, becauſe the Pope's authority was not yet re-eſtabliſhed in England, a new Commiſſion was ſent from Rome for his trial and conviction. Accordingly, on September the 12th, 1555, he appeared before the Commiſſioners [*Q*] at St. Mary's Church, Oxon, where he was accuſed of blaſphemy, perjury, incontinency, and hereſy [*R*], againſt all which he vindicated himſelf (*w*). At laſt, he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, to anſwer in perſon; which he ſaid he would do, if the King and Queen would ſend him, but no care was taken to ſend him. Therefore, the Pope diſpatched, on December the 14th, his Letters executory to the King and Queen, and to Bonner and Thirlby Biſhops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him (*x*). In theſe Letters, Cranmer was declared contumacious, for not appearing at Rome within eighty days, according to his citation: which was a moſt ſhameleſs and infamous allegation; for, how could he poſſibly appear at Rome, when he was all the while kept a priſoner? However, upon the coming of the letters, Bonner and Thirlby, with Dr. Martin and Dr. Story the King's and Queen's Proctors, went to Oxford to degrade him. They dreſſed him in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbiſhop, only in mockery every thing was of canvas, and old clouts: and then he was, piece by piece, ſtript of all again. When they came to take the Croſier out of his hand, he refuſed to part with it, and pulled out an Appeal, whereby he appealed to the next general Council (*y*). After he was degraded, they put him on a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare, and a towns-man's cap, and remanded him to priſon (*z*). From thence he wrote Letters to the Queen, to give her a true and impartial account of what had paſſed at his degradation, to prevent miſ-reports, and to juſtify himſelf in what he had ſaid and done (*a*). Hitherto the Archbiſhop had manifeſted a great deal of courage, wiſdom, and fortitude in his ſufferings, but at laſt human frailty made him commit ſuch a fault, as was the greateſt blemiſh of his life. For, through flatteries, promiſes, importunities, threats, and the fear of death, he was prevailed upon to ſign a Recantation [*S*], wherein he renounced the Proteſtant Religion, and embraced again all the Errors of Popery;

(*p*) Strype, p. 320, 321. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 257.

(*q*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 334, &c. Burnet, p. 280, &c.

(*r*) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1871, &c.

(*s*) Strype, p. 341.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 348.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 368. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 241.

(*w*) Strype, p. 371. Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1871, &c. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 331.

(*x*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 375.

Feb. 14, 1555-6.

(*y*) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1882, 1883.

(*z*) *Ibid.*

(*a*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 377, &c.

[*O*] *He, and Ridley, and Latimer, were removed to Oxford in order for a public Diſputation*, &c.] The Queſtions there diſputed upon, were theſe, 1. In the Sacrament of the Altar, the natural body of Chriſt conceived of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, are really preſent, under the ſpecies of bread and wine, by virtue of the divine word pronounced by the Prieſt. 2. After the conſecration, there doth not remain the ſubſtance of bread and wine, nor any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of Chriſt, God and man. 3. In the maſs, there is a lively propitiatory ſacrifice of the Church, for the ſins as well of the living as of the dead (*).

(*) Strype, p. 354.

[*P*] *How he had preſerved her in her father's time*, &c.] Namely, when the King was reſolved to ſend her to the Tower, and to make her ſuffer as a ſubject: becauſe ſhe would not obey the Laws of the Realm, in renouncing the Pope's Authority and Religion (18).

(18) Strype, p. 368. 431.

[*Q*] *He appeared before the Commiſſioners.*] Brooks Biſhop of Glouceſter was appointed upon this occaſion Subdelegate to Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this proceſs; and Martin, and Story, Doctors of the Civil Law, were the Queen's Commiſſioners (19).

(19) *Ibid.* p. 371.

[*R*] *Where he was accuſed of blaſphemy, perjury, incontinency, and hereſy.*] He was accuſed of *blaſphemy* and *hereſy* for his writings againſt Popery; of *perjury*, for breaking his oath to the Pope; and of *incontinency*, or *adultery*, on account of his being married (20).

(20) *Ib.* p. 372.

[*S*] *He was prevailed upon to ſign a Recantation.*] We are informed by the induſtrious Mr. Strype (21), that Archbiſhop Cranmer was ſubtilly drawn in by the Papiſts to ſubſcribe ſix different Papers; the firſt being expreſſed in ambiguous words, capable of a favourable conſtruction, the five following were added as explanations of it. That *firſt* Recantation was in theſe words, 'For as much as the King's and Queen's Ma-'jeſties, by conſent of their Parliament, have received 'the Pope's Authority within this Realm, I am con-'tent to ſubmit myſelf to their Laws herein, and to 'take the Pope for chief Head of this Church of 'England, ſo far as God's Laws, and the Laws and 'Cuſtoms of this Realm, will permit.' In the *next*, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Catholic Church of Chriſt, and unto the Pope, ſupreme Head of the ſame Church. In the *third*, he ſubmitted to the King and Queen, and to all their Laws, as well concerning the Pope's ſupremacy, as others: and promiſed, that he would ſtir and move all others to live in quietneſs and obedience to their Majeſties. As for his Book, he was content to ſubmit to the Judgment of the Catholic Church, and the next General Council. This was followed by a *fourth*, wherein he profeſſed firmly, ſtedfaſtly, and aſſuredly to believe in all Articles and Points

(21) Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 232—238.

Popery; which Recantation was immediately printed and diſperſed about by his enemies (*b*). Notwithſtanding that, the mercileſs Queen, not ſatisfied with this conqueſt, reſolved to glut her revenge, by committing Cranmer to the flames. Accordingly, ſhe ſent for Dr. Cole, Provoſt of Eton, and gave him inſtructions to prepare a Sermon for that mournful occaſion (*c*). And on the 24th of February a Writ was ſigned for the burning of Cranmer (*d*). The 21ſt day of March, which was the fatal day, he was brought to St. Mary's Church, and placed on a kind of ſtage over againſt the pulpit, where Dr. Cole was to preach. While Cole was haranguing, the unfortunate Cranmer expreſſed great inward confuſion; often lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven; and frequently pouring out floods of tears (*e*). At the end of the Sermon, when Cole deſired him to make an open profeſſion of his Faith, as he had promiſed him he would; he, firſt, prayed in the moſt fervent manner; then made an exhortation to the people preſent, not to ſet their minds upon the world; to obey the King and Queen; to love each other; and to be charitable. After this he made a Confeſſion of his Faith, beginning with the Creed, and concluding with theſe words, 'And I believe every word and ſentence taught by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, 'his Apoſtles and Prophets, in the Old and New Teſtament.—And now, added he, I 'come to the great thing, that ſo much troubleth my conſcience more than any thing I ever 'did or ſaid in my whole life; and that is the ſetting abroad a writing contrary to the 'truth, which I here now renounce as things written with my hand contrary to the truth 'which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to ſave my life if it might 'be; that is, all ſuch bills and papers which I have written or ſigned with my hand ſince 'my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And foraſmuch as my 'hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand ſhall firſt be puniſhed; for, may 'I come to the fire, it ſhall be firſt burned. As for the Pope, I refuſe him as Chriſt's 'enemy and antichriſt, with all his falſe doctrine. And as for the Sacrament, I believe 'as I have taught in my book againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter (*f*).' Thunderſtruck as it were with this unexpected Declaration, the enraged Popiſh crowd admoniſhed him not to diſſemble: 'Ah, replied he with tears, ſince I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of 'falſhood, and a lover of ſimplicity, and never before this time have I diſſembled (*g*).' Whereupon, they pulled him off the ſtage with the utmoſt fury, and hurried him to the place of his martyrdom, over-againſt Baliol-College (*h*); where he put off his clothes in haſte, and ſtanding in his ſhirt, and without ſhoes, was faſtened with a chain to the ſtake (*i*). Some preſſing him to agree to his former recantation, he anſwered, ſhowing his hand, 'This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it ſhall firſt ſuffer puniſhment (*k*).' Fire being applied to him, he ſtretched out his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmoved (except that once with it he wiped his face) till it was conſumed, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended;' and often repeating, 'This unworthy right 'hand (*l*).' At laſt, the fire getting up, he ſoon expired, never ſtirring or crying out all the while, only keeping his eyes fixed to heaven, and repeating more than once, 'Lord 'Jeſus receive my ſpirit.' Such was the end of the renowned Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age. As to his Character: He is repreſented as a man of an open and generous Mind, of great Sincerity and Candour, a lover of Truth, and a declared enemy to Falſhood and Superſtition: Humble and affable; and in every condition the ſame. Gentle and mild in his Temper; always ready to forgive, and be reconciled: Not ſoon heated, nor apt to give his opinion raſhly of perſons, or things. And though his Gentleneſs often expoſed him to his Enemies, who from it took an advantage to uſe him ill, yet it did not lead him into ſuch a weakneſs of Spirit, as to conſent to every thing that was uppermoſt: But, in general, he never diſſembled his opinion, nor diſowned his friend. His Charity and Munificence to the indigent were extenſive, and his Hoſpitality well regulated, not beſtowed upon the Rich and the Powerful, but on his honeſt and poor Neighbours. He

(*b*) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1884.

(*c*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 383. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 334.

(*d*) Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xv. p. 432. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, and Collection of Records, p. 300.

(*e*) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1886.

(*f*) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1887.

(*g*) *Ibid.* Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 388.

(*h*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 334, &c.

(*i*) Strype *ubi ſupra*, p. 389. Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1889.

(*k*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 389.

(*l*) Fox, *ibid.* Strype, *ibid.*

Points of the Chriſtian Religion and Catholic Faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe. Moreover, as concerning the Sacraments, he declared he believed unfeignedly in all points as the ſaid Catholic Church did. In the *fifth* Paper, which is that in Fox (22), and has been thought to be his only Recantation, they required of him, to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian hereſies and errors; to acknowledge the one only Catholic Church, to be that whereof the Pope is the Head; and to declare him Chriſt's Vicar. Then followed an expreſs acknowledgment of Tranſubſtantiation, the ſeven Sacraments, and of all the Doctrines of the Church of Rome in general. A *ſixth* was ſtill required of him, which was drawn up in ſo ſtrong terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it. For it contained a large acknowledgment of all the Popiſh errors and corruptions, and a moſt grievous accuſation of himſelf as a blaſphemer, enemy of Chriſt, and murderer of Souls, on account of his being the author of King Henry's divorce, and of all the calamities, ſchiſms, and hereſies of which that was the fountain. This was ſubſcribed on the 18th of March. Theſe ſix Papers were, ſoon after his death, ſent to the preſs by Bonner, and publiſhed with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to ſpeak at St. Mary's, before his Execution: and though he then ſpoke to a quite contrary effect, and revoked his former Recantations, Bonner had the confidence to publiſh this to the world, as if it had been approved and made uſe of by the Archbiſhop.——In 1736, William Whiſton, M. A. publiſhed a little book entitled, 'An Enquiry 'into the Evidence of Archbiſhop Cranmer's Recan-'tation: or Reaſons for a ſuſpicion that the pretend-'ed Copy of it is not genuine.' In that book he ſuppoſes, that what Cranmer ſigned, was only the firſt part of the Recantation printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as far as the words——'without which 'there is no Salvation,'—that the reſt was added by the Papiſts, but that Cranmer never ſet his hand thereto.

(22) Page 1884.

had

had a good Judgment, but no great quickneſs of apprehenſion, nor cloſeneſs of ſtile, which was diffuſed (*m*). However, he was a man of great Learning in Divinity, and in the Civil and Canon Laws (*n*). He generally ſpent about three parts of the day in ſtudy (*o*); and being of a moſt wonderful Diligence, he drew out of all the Authors he read, every thing that was remarkable, digeſting thoſe quotations into Common-place. He publiſhed, and left behind him in manuſcript, ſeveral works [*T*]. As he was a lover of Learning,

(m) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 336.
(n) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 439.
(o) *Ibid.* p. 431.

[*T*] *He publiſhed, and left behind him in manuſcript, ſeveral works.*] His printed works are, I. An account of Mr. Pole's book, concerning King Henry VIIIth's marriage (23). II. Several Letters, to divers perſons ——To King Henry VIII—To Secretary Cromwel. ——To Sir William Cecil. —— To foreign Divines (24). III. Three Diſcourſes, upon his review of the King's book, intituled, *The Erudition of a Chriſtian man* (25). IV. Other Diſcourſes of his (26). V. The Biſhops Book, in which he had a part. VI. Anſwers to the fifteen Articles of the Rebels in Devonſhire in 1549 (27). VII. The examination of moſt points of Religion (28). VIII. A Form for the alteration of the Maſs into a Communion (29). IX. Some of the Homilies. X. A Catechiſm, intituled, A ſhort Inſtruction to Chriſtian Religion, for the ſingular profit of Children and young People (30). XI. Againſt Unwritten Verities (31). XII. A Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt; with a Confutation of ſundry Errors concerning the ſame: Grounded and eſtabliſhed upon God's holy word, and approved by the conſent of the moſt ancient Doctors of the Church. This was tranſlated into Latin by John Young. In oppoſition to it, Gardiner publiſhed, 'An Explication and Aſſertion of the true 'Catholic Faith touching the moſt bleſſed Sacra-'ment of the Altar, with the Confutation of a book 'wrote againſt the ſame.' XIII. Cranmer replied in the following book, 'An Anſwer by the Reve-'rend Father in God, Thomas Archbiſhop of Can-'terbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, 'unto a crafty and ſophiſtical Cavillation, deviſed by 'Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Biſhop of 'Wincheſter, againſt the true and godly Doctrine of 'the moſt Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of 'our Saviour Chriſt. Wherein is alſo, as occaſion 'ſerveth, anſwered ſuch Places of the Book of Dr. 'Richard Smith, as may ſeem any thing worthy the 'anſwering. Alſo a true Copy of the book written, 'and in open Court delivered by Dr. Stephen Gar-'diner, not one word added or diminiſhed, but faith-'fully in all Points agreeing with the original.' Lond. 1551. reprinted 1580. It was tranſlated into Latin by Sir John Cheke. An Anſwer was alſo made to this book by Ste. Gardiner, under the feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Conſtantinus*, and entituled, *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus ſacroſanctum Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti ſolet.* Paris 1552. XIV. Cranmer began an Anſwer to this, and finiſhed three parts of it, but lived not to compleat the whole (32). XV. Preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible. XVI. A Speech in the Houſe of Lords, concerning a general Council (33). XVII. Letter to King Henry VIII. in juſtification of Anne Boleyn, May 3, 1535 (34). XVIII. The Reaſons that led him to oppoſe the Six Articles (35). For this he had like to come into great trouble, as may be ſeen in Fox (36). XIX. Reſolution of ſome Queſtions concerning the Sacrament (37). XX. Injunctions given at his viſitation within the Dioceſe of Hereford (38). XXI. A collection of paſſages out of the Canon-Law, to ſhow the neceſſity of reforming it (39). XXII. Some Queries in order to the correcting of ſeveral abuſes (40). XXIII. Concerning a farther reformation, and againſt ſacrilege (41). XXIV. Anſwers to ſome Queries concerning Confirmation (42). XXV. Some conſiderations offered to King Edward VI. to induce him to proceed to a farther reformation (43). XXVI. Anſwer to the Lords of the Privy-Council (44). XXVII. Manifeſto againſt the Maſs (45).

Thoſe works of his which ſtill remain in manuſcript, are I. Two large Volumes of Collections out of Holy Scripture, and the ancient Fathers, and later Doctors and Schoolmen. The firſt Volume contains 545 pages, and the ſecond above 559. They are chiefly upon the points controverted between us and the Church of Rome; namely, about their ſeven Sacraments, Invocation of Saints, Images, Relicks, of true Religion and Superſtition, the Maſs, Prayer, the Virgin Mary, &c. Theſe two Volumes are in the King's Library (46). When they were offered to ſale, they were valued at 100*l.* but Biſhop Beveridge, and Dr. Jane, appraiſers for the King, brought down the price to 50*l* (47). II. The Lord Burleigh had ſix or ſeven Volumes more of his writing (48). III. And Dr. Burnet mentions two Volumes beſides, that he ſaw, but they are ſuppoſed to be now loſt (49). IV. There are alſo ſeveral Letters of his in the Collections of Sir Robert Cotton (50). M.

(23) Memorials of T. Cranmer, by J. Strype, p. 6. and Append. p. 3.
(24) In ſeveral parts of the ſame book.
(25) Append. *ubi ſupra*, p. 57.
(26) *Ibid.*
(27) *Ib.* p. 86.
(28) *Ib.* p. 77; and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. i. Collect. No. 21. p. 201.
(29) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 139.
(30) *Ibid.* p. 159.
(31) Page 160.
(32) *Ibid.* p. 254, 255, 256. 259, 260, 261, 262. 370. Fox, p. 1870.
(33) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 174.
(34) *Ibid.* p. 200.
(35) *Ibid.* p. 265.
(36) Page 1185.
(37) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*. Coll. of Records, p. 201.
(38) *Ibid.* p. 182.
(39) *Ib.* p. 257.
(40) Addenda to vol. i. p. 317.
(41) Burnet, vol. iii. Collect. p. 236.
(42) *Ib.* p. 319.
(43) *Ib.* p. 320.
(44) *Ib.* Collect. p. 187.
(45) *Ibid.* p. 249.
(46) Royal Libr. 7 B. xi. xii. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. vol. i. p. 171.
(47) Caſley's Catalogue of the Royal Library, p. 124, 125.
(48) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*.
(49) *Ibid.*
(50) Cleopatra, E. & F. 20.

*** [The character of Archbiſhop Cranmer was in many reſpects extremely amiable, but it muſt at the ſame time be acknowledged, that there were ſeveral parts of his conduct which were very cenſurable. Some juſt obſervations on this ſubject have been made by the ingenious Mr. Gilpin, in his elegant Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer, publiſhed, in 8*vo.* in 1784. That Gentleman remarks, that 'the character of 'Archbiſhop Cranmer hath been equally the ſubject 'of exaggerated praiſe, and of undeſerved cenſure '(51).' The moſt indefenſible parts of the Archbiſhop's character are the readineſs with which he ſometimes concurred in the unjuſtifiable proceedings of Henry VIII. and the inſtances wherein he ſhewed himſelf to be actuated by intolerant principles.

(51) Pref. to the Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. i.

He firſt recommended himſelf to Henry by the zeal which he diſplayed in promoting the King's Divorce from Queen Catharine; and Mr. Gilpin, ſpeaking of his undertaking to collect the opinions of the foreign Univerſities in Henry's behalf, makes the following obſervations: 'This expedition ſo readily 'projected, and ſo chearfully undertaken, does not 'perhaps place Dr. Cranmer in the moſt advanta-'geous point of light. There were good political 'reaſons, no doubt, to induce the King to wiſh for a 'divorce. His marriage with Catharine was by no 'means generally approved, either at home, or 'abroad: the legitimacy of Mary, in treaties of 'marriage with neighbouring Princes, had been 'queſtioned; and the terrible effects of the late civil 'wars in England, occaſioned by diſputed titles, 'were wounds not yet entirely healed. Male iſſue 'to the King, which might prevent ſuch conſe-'quences, was therefore very deſirable to all men. 'But reaſons of State, however admiſſable in a Cabi-'net, ſhould never be ſuppoſed to influence a church-'man. We allow, that Dr. Cranmer might think 'the marriage wrong: but though it poſſibly might 'be a point of conſcience with the King, it could 'however be none with him; and there was mani-'feſtly a difference between adviſing not to do a 'thing; and adviſing to undo it, when already done; 'at leaſt in a matter of ſo diſputable a nature. He 'knew, that, in the Old Teſtament, the marriage of 'a ſiſter was allowed; and among the Patriarchs 'often practiſed: and that the marriage of a brother's 'wife was, in ſome caſes, enjoined. The New 'Teſtament was ſilent on the ſubject. There 'could, therefore, be no moral turpitude in it: nor 'any thing but the common law, and uſage of na-'tions, to reſtrain it.

'On the other hand, the baſeneſs, and ungenerous 'behaviour, which followed the contrary part, were 'evident at ſight. To repudiate a woman, with 'whom the King had cohabited near twenty years 'as his wife; and to illegitimate a daughter, bred 'up in the higheſt expectations, and now marriage-'able, were acts of ſuch cruelty, that it ſeems to in-'dicate a want of feeling to be in any degree acceſ-'ſary to them. To this may be added, that the no-'toriety of the King's paſſion for Anne Boleyn, 'which all men believed to be, if not the firſt mover,

Learning, ſo was he alſo an encourager of it; allowing yearly Salaries to many Scholars in Germany, and other places (*p*). With regard to ſome of his Opinions; he had the ſame

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 285. Fox, p. 1864.

'at leaſt the principal ſpring of his pretended ſcru-
'ples, threw a very indelicate imputation on all who
'had any concern in the affair. No ſerious Church-
'man, one would imagine, could be fond of the idea
'of adminiſtering to the King's paſſions. It is with
'concern, therefore, that we ſee a man of Dr. Cran-
'mer's integrity and ſimplicity of manners, acting ſo
'much out of character, as to compound an affair of
'this kind, if not with his conſcience, at leaſt with
'all delicacy of ſentiment; and to parade through
'Europe, in the quality of an Ambaſſador, defend-
'ing every where the King's *pious intentions*.

'But the cauſe animated him. With the illega-
'lity of the King's marriage, he endeavoured vir-
'tually to eſtabliſh the inſufficiency of the Pope's
'diſpenſation; and the latter was an argument ſo
'near his heart, that it ſeems to have added merit to
'the former. We cannot, indeed, account for his
'embarking ſo zealouſly in this buſineſs, without
'ſuppoſing his principal motive was to free his
'country from the tyranny of Rome, to which this
'ſtep very evidently led. So deſirable an end would,
'in ſome degree, he might imagine, ſanctify the
'means (52).'

(52) Life of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 19—22.

Of two of the inſtances of perſecution, in which Archbiſhop Cranmer was concerned, Mr. Gilpin gives the following account. 'Joan Bocher and
'George Paris were accuſed, though at different
'times, one for denying the humanity of Chriſt; the
'other for denying his divinity. They were both
'tried, and condemned to the ſtake: and the Arch-
'biſhop not only conſented to theſe acts of blood;
'but even perſuaded the averſion of the young King
'into a compliance. "Your Majeſty muſt diſtin-
"guiſh (ſaid he, informing his Royal Pupil's con-
"ſcience) between common opinions, and ſuch as
"are the eſſential articles of faith. Theſe latter we
"muſt on no account ſuffer to be oppoſed." Mr. Gilpin juſtly obſerves, that 'nothing even plauſible
'can be ſuggeſted in defence of the Archbiſhop on
'this occaſion; except only that the ſpirit of Popery
'was not yet wholly repreſſed (53).' Theſe in-
ſtances of injuſtice and barbarity were, indeed, to-
tally indefenſible, and a great diſgrace to Cranmer, and to all who were concerned in them. It does not appear, that he endeavoured to promote the death of Lambert; but, as Mr. Gilpin obſerves, "it were to
"be wiſhed he had rid his hands of the diſputation
"likewiſe (54)." The public diſputation, in which Cranmer bore ſome part, proved the means of bringing Lambert to the ſtake.

(53) *Ibid.* p. 131, 132.

(54) *Ibid.* p. 59.

It has been obſerved in the text, that Cranmer "was one of the examiners of thoſe that took the
"degrees in Divinity." In this office he was eminently uſeful. Mr. Strype ſays, that 'out of the
'value the Univerſity had of his learning, he was
'appointed one of the examiners of ſuch as com-
'menced Bachelors and Doctors in Divinity. Ac-
'cording to whoſe approbations, the Univerſity
'allowed them to proceed. In which place he did
'much good; for he uſed to examine theſe candi-
'dates out of the Scriptures. And by no means
'would let them paſs, if he found they were unſkil-
'ful in it, and unacquainted with the Hiſtory of the
'Bible. So were the Friars eſpecially, whoſe ſtudy
'lay only in ſchool-authors. Whom, therefore, he
'ſometimes turned back as inſufficient, adviſing them
'to ſtudy the Scriptures for ſome years longer, be-
'fore they came for their degrees, it being a ſhame
'for a Profeſſor in Divinity to be unſkilled in the
'book, wherein the knowledge of God, and the
'grounds of Divinity lay. Whereby he made him-
'ſelf from the beginning hated by the Friars. Yet
'ſome of the more ingenuous ſort of them afterwards
'rendered him great and public thanks for refuſing
'them; whereby, being put upon the ſtudy of God's
'word, they attained to more ſound knowledge in
'religion. One of theſe was Dr. Barat, a White
'Friar, who lived afterwards in Norwich (55).'

(55) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 3.

One of the moſt honourable tranſactions of Archbiſhop Cranmer's life, was the firm ſtand that he made againſt the Act of the Six Articles. This Act was ſo ſtrongly ſupported by the King, that even the Proteſtants in Parliament made little oppoſition to it. But Cranmer oppoſed it with great zeal and ſteadineſs. 'The good Archbiſhop,' ſays Mr. Gilpin, 'never appeared in a more truly Chriſtian light, than
'on this occaſion. In the midſt of ſo general a de-
'fection, (for there were numbers in the Houſe, who
'had hitherto ſhewn great forwardneſs in reforma-
'tion), he alone made a ſtand. Three days he
'maintained his ground; and baffled the arguments
'of all oppoſers. But argument was not their wea-
'pon; and the Archbiſhop ſaw himſelf obliged to ſink
'under ſuperior power. Henry ordered him to leave
'the Houſe. The Primate refuſed: "It was God's
"buſineſs," he ſaid, "and not man's." And
'when he could do no more, he boldly entered his
'proteſt. Such an inſtance of fortitude is ſufficient
'to wipe off many of thoſe Courtly ſtains, which have
'faſtened on his memory (56).'

(56) Life, p. 71.

His behaviour in the caſe of the Duke of Norfolk was alſo entitled to great commendation. 'The laſt
'Act of this reign,' ſays Mr. Gilpin, 'was an Act of
'blood; and gave the Archbiſhop a noble opportu-
'nity of ſhewing, how well he had learned that great
'Chriſtian leſſon of forgiving an enemy. Almoſt
'without the ſhadow of juſtice, Henry had given di-
'rections to have the Duke of Norfolk attainted by
'an Act of Parliament. The King's Mandate ſtood
'in lieu of guilt; and the Bill paſſed the Houſe with
'great eaſe. No man, except the Biſhop of Win-
'cheſter, had been ſo great an enemy to the Arch-
'biſhop as the Duke of Norfolk. He had always
'thwarted the Primate's meaſures; and oftener than
'once had practiſed againſt his life. How many
'would have ſeen with ſecret pleaſure the workings
'of Providence againſt ſo rancorous an enemy; ſa-
'tisfied in having themſelves no hand in his unjuſt
'fate! But the Archbiſhop ſaw the affair in another
'light: he ſaw it with horror; and although the
'King had in a particular manner intereſted himſelf
'in this buſineſs, the Primate oppoſed the Bill with
'all his might; and when his oppoſition was vain, he
'left the Houſe with indignation, and retired to
'Croydon (57).'

(57) *Ibid.* p. 109, 110.

He was remarkable for the placability of his temper, and for ſhewing kindneſs to thoſe by whom he had been greatly injured. Hence it is mentioned, in Shakeſpeare's Henry the Eighth, as a common ſaying concerning him:

——— "Do my Lord of Canterbury
"But one ſhrewd turn, and he's your friend for
"ever."

Biſhop Burnet takes notice of ſome malevolent accuſations that had been privately brought to the King againſt Cranmer, with a view to ruin him, including a charge of hereſy, and on which ſubject his Majeſty converſed with him; and the Biſhop adds: 'His
'candour and ſimplicity wrought ſo on the King,
'that he diſcovered to him the whole plot that
'was laid againſt him; and ſaid, that inſtead of
'bringing him to any trial about it, he would
'have him try it out, and proceed againſt thoſe
'his accuſers. But he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid
'it would not be decent for him to ſit Judge in
'his own cauſe. But the King ſaid to him, he was
'reſolved none other ſhould judge it, but thoſe he
'ſhould name. So he named his Chancellor, and
'his Regiſter; to whom the King added another:
'and a commiſſion being given them, they went into
'Kent, and ſat three weeks to find out the firſt con-
'trivers of this accuſation. And now every one
'diſowned it, ſince they ſaw he was ſtill firmly rooted
'in the King's eſteem and favour. But it being ob-
'ſerved, that the Commiſſioners proceeded faintly,
'Cranmer's friends moved, that ſome man of courage
'and authority might be ſent thither, to canvas this
'accu-

(58) Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 328, 329

same notions as Calvin about Predestination and Grace. He also was zealous at first for the real presence, but afterwards altered his mind (q). And he seemed to make Ecclesiastical

(q) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 65, 66.

' accusation more carefully. So Dr. Lee, Dean of ' York, was brought up about Allhallow-tide, and ' sent into Kent. And he, who had been well ac- ' quainted with the arts of discovering secrets, when ' he was one of the visiters of the Abbies, managed ' it more vigorously. He ordered a search to be ' made of all suspected persons; among whose papers ' letters were found, both from the Bishop of Win- ' chester, and Dr. London, and some of those whom ' Cranmer had treated with the greatest freedom and ' kindness, in which the whole plot against him was ' discovered. But it was now near the Session of ' Parliament: and the King was satisfied with the ' discovery, but thought it not fit to make much noise ' of it. And he received no addresses from the ' Archbishop to prosecute it further: who was so ' noted for his clemency, and following our Saviour's ' rule of *doing good for evil*, that it was commonly ' said, the way to get his favour was to do him an ' injury. These were the only instances in which he ' expressed his resentments. Two of the conspira- ' tors against him had been persons signally obliged ' by him. The one was the Bishop Suffragan of ' Dover; the other was a civilian, whom he had em- ' ployed much in his business. But all the notice he ' took of it was to shew them their letters, and to ' admonish them to be more faithful and honest for ' the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, ' and carried it so to them afterwards, as if he had ' absolutely forgotten what they had contrived ' against him. And a person of quality coming to ' him about that time, to obtain his favour and as- ' sistance in a suit, in which he was to move the King, ' he went about it, and had almost procured it: but ' the King calling to mind, that he had been one of ' his secret accusers, asked him whether he took him ' for his friend. He answered that he did so. Then ' the King said, the other was a knave, and his mortal ' enemy; and bad him, when he should see him next, ' call him knave to his face. Cranmer answered, ' that such language did not become a Bishop. But ' the King sullenly commanded him to do it; yet his ' modesty was such, that he could not obey so harsh a ' command. And so he passed the matter over. ' When these things came to be known, all persons, ' that were not unjustly prejudiced against him, ' acknowledged, that his behaviour was suitable to ' the example and doctrine of the meek and lowly ' Saviour of the world: and very well became so ' great a Bishop, and such a reformer of the Chris- ' tian Religion; who in those sublime and extraor- ' dinary instances practised that which he taught ' others to do (58).'

(58) Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 328, 329.

Archbishop Cranmer was a great friend and patron of learned foreigners, who had been persecuted for their attachment to the principles of the Reformation. Mr. Gilpin says, ' the suffering professors of Protes- ' tantism, who were scattered in great numbers about ' the various countries of Europe, were always sure ' of an asylum with him. His Palace at Lambeth ' might be called a seminary of learned men; the ' greater part of whom persecution had driven from ' home. Here, among other celebrated reformers, ' Martyr, Bucer, Alesius, Phage found sanctuary. ' Martyr, Bucer, and Phage were liberally pensioned ' by the Archbishop, till he could otherwise provide ' for them. It was his wish to fix them in the two ' Universities, where he hoped their great knowledge, ' and spirit of inquiry, would forward his designs of ' restoring learning; and he at length obtained Pro- ' fessorships for them all. Bucer and Phage were ' settled at Cambridge; where they only shewed ' what might have been expected from them, both ' dying within a few months after their arrival. But ' at Oxford, Martyr acted a very conspicuous part; ' and contributed to introduce among the Students ' there a very liberal mode of thinking.

' Alesius had been driven from Scotland, his native ' country, for the novelty of his opinions. The ' cause in which he suffered, added to his abilities ' and learning, so far recommended him to the Uni- ' versity of Leipsic, to which he retired, that he was ' chosen a Professor there. At this place he became ' acquainted with Melancthon, who having written a ' treatise on some part of the controversy between the ' Papists and Protestants, was desirous of consulting ' the Archbishop on a few points; and engaged ' Alesius, otherwise not averse to the employment, to ' undertake a voyage into England for that purpose. ' In the course of the conference, the Archbishop was ' so much taken with his simplicity and learning, ' that he settled a pension on him, and retained him ' in his family.

' The misfortunes of the times drew Alasco also ' into England, where the Archbishop became an ' early patron to him; and shewed, on this occasion ' at least, the candour and liberality of his senti- ' ments, by permitting a person, who held many ' opinions very different from his own, to collect his ' brethren, and such as chose to communicate with ' him, into a Church. At the head of this little ' assembly Alasco long presided; exhibiting an emi- ' nent example of piety and decency of manners.

' Among other learned foreigners, John Sleidan ' was under particular obligations to the Archbishop. ' Sleidan was, at that time, engaged in writing the ' History of the Reformation; a work from which ' much was expected; and which the Archbishop, by ' allowing him a pension, and opportunities of study, ' enabled him to prosecute with less difficulty, than had attended the beginning of his labours (59).'

(59) Life of Cranmer, p. 133, 134, 135.

As Archbishop Cranmer was a learned man him- self, so he was also a great patron of all solid learn- ing, and of whatever he thought calculated to promote it. Mr. Gilpin observes, that ' the Arch- ' bishop always thought himself much interested ' in the welfare of both the Universities, but of ' Cambridge in particular; and though he does not ' appear to have had any legal power there, yet such ' was his interest at Court, and such was the general ' dependence of the more eminent Members of that ' Society upon him, that scarcely any thing was done ' there, either of a public or a private nature, with- ' out consulting him. It was his chief endeavour to ' encourage, as much as possible, a spirit of inquiry; ' and to rouse the Students from the slumber of their ' predecessors; well knowing, the *libertas philoso- ' phandi* was the great mean of detecting error, and ' that true learning could never be at variance with ' true religion. Ascham, and Cheke, two of the ' most elegant scholars of that age, were chiefly relied ' on, and consulted by the Archbishop in this ' work (60).'

(60) *Ibid.* p. 129.

Mr. Gilpin also observes, that ' Leland, the first ' British Antiquarian, was among the Archbishop's ' particular friends. Leland had a wonderful faci- ' lity in learning languages; and was esteemed the ' first Linguist in Europe. The Archbishop soon ' took notice of him; and, with his usual discern- ' ment, recommended him to be the King's Libra- ' rian. His genius threw him on the study of anti- ' quities; and his opportunities, on those of his own ' country. The Archbishop, in the mean time, by ' procuring preferment for him, enabled him to make ' those inquiries, to which his countrymen have been ' so much indebted.

' Among others, who were under obligations to ' the Archbishop's generosity, was the amiable Bishop ' Latimer; who not choosing to be reinstated in his ' old Bishopric, and having made but an indifferent ' provision for his future necessities, spent a great part ' of his latter life with the Archbishop, at Lambeth.

' Besides this intimacy with learned men at home, ' the Archbishop held a constant correspondence with ' most of the learned men in Europe.

' The great patron of Erasmus had been Archbi- ' shop Warham; than whom, to give Popery its due, ' few churchmen of those times led a more apostolical ' life. When Cranmer succeeded Warham, Erasmus ' was in the decline of age. He found, however, during

ſtical Functions and Offices wholly dependant on the Magiſtrate, as much as the Civil were (r). What was moſt blameable in his Conduct (beſides his Recantation) was the part

(r) Burnet, vol. i. p. 172.

' during the ſhort time he lived, as beneficent a ' friend under the new Archbiſhop, as he had loſt in ' the old one.

' The Primate correſponded alſo with Oſiander, ' Melancthon, and Calvin, His foreign correſpond- ' ence, indeed, was ſo large, that he appointed a ' perſon with a ſalary at Canterbury, whoſe chief ' employment it was, to forward, and receive, his ' packets.

' Among the moſt eminent of his correſpondents, ' was Herman, Archbiſhop and Elector of Cologn. ' This Prelate had been early impreſſed with the ' principles of the Reformation by Melancthon; and ' had uſed all his influence to introduce them in his ' Electorate. But he met with powerful oppoſition; ' the Pope and Emperor combining againſt him, the ' former in his ſpiritual, the latter in his temporal ' capacity. So potent a combination cruſhed him. ' Terms, indeed, were offered; but he would hearken ' to no diſhonourable compromiſe. " Nothing," ' he would ſay, " can happen to me unexpectedly: " I have long ſince fortified my mind againſt every " event." Inſtead of a ſplendid life, therefore, at ' variance with his opinions, he choſe a private ſta- ' tion; in which he enjoyed the pleaſures of ſtudy, ' the friendſhip of good men, and the tranquility of ' a good conſcience (61).'

(61) Life of Cranmer, p. 136, 137, 138.

Of the learning of Archbiſhop Cranmer, Mr. Gilpin remarks, that ' it was chiefly confined to his ' profeſſion. He had applied himſelf in Cambridge ' to the ſtudy of the Greek and Hebrew languages; ' which though eſteemed at that time as the mark of ' hereſy, appeared to him the only ſources of attain- ' ing a critical knowledge of the Scriptures. He ' had ſo accurately ſtudied canon-law, that he was ' eſteemed the beſt canoniſt in England: and his ' reading in theology was ſo extenſive, and his col- ' lections from the Fathers ſo very voluminous, that ' there were few points, in which he was not accu- ' rately informed; and on which he could not give ' the opinions of the ſeveral ages of the Church from ' the times of the Apoſtles. " If I had not ſeen " with my own eyes," ſays Peter Martyr, " I could " not eaſily have believed, with what infinite pains " and labour, he had digeſted his great reading into " particular chapters, under the heads of Councils, " Canons, Decrees, &c." His parts were ſolid, ' rather than ſhining; and his memory ſuch, that it ' might be called an index to the books he had read, ' and the collections he had made (62).'

(62) *Ibid.* p. 217, 218.

' He was a ſenſible writer, rather nervous than ' elegant. His writings were entirely confined to ' the great controverſy which then ſubſiſted; and ' contain the whole ſum of the theological learning ' of thoſe times. His Library was filled with a very ' noble collection of books; and was open to all men ' of letters. " I meet with authors here, Roger " Aſcham would ſay, which the two Univerſities " cannot furniſh." At the Archbiſhop's death, the ' greater part of his original MSS. were left at his ' Palace of Ford near Canterbury, where they fell ' into the hands of his enemies. In the days of Eli- ' zabeth, Archbiſhop Parker, who had an intimation, ' that many of them were ſtill in being, obtained an ' order from Lord Burleigh, then Secretary of State, ' in the year 1563, to ſearch for them in all ſuſpected ' places; and recovered a great number of them. ' They found their way afterwards into ſome of the ' principal Libraries of England; but the greateſt col- ' lection of them were depoſited in Benet-College in ' Cambridge (63).'

(63) *Ibid.* p. 220, 221.

Mr. Gilpin, after remarking that Archbiſhop Cranmer preached often, wherever he viſited, ſays, ' In his ſermons to the people he was very plain and ' inſtructive; inſiſting chiefly on the eſſentials of ' Chriſtianity.'—' Sir Richard Morriſon, a Gentle- ' man who had been much employed in embaſſies ' abroad, both under Henry the eighth and Edward ' the ſixth, gives us this character of the Archbiſhop's ' ſermons, of which he was a frequent auditor. " The ſubjects of his ſermons, for the moſt part, " were, from whence ſalvation is to be fetched; and " on whom the confidence of man ought to lean. " They inſiſted much on doctrines of faith and " works; and taught what the fruits of faith were, " and what place was to be given to works. They " inſtructed men in the duties they owed their " neighbour; and that every one was our neighbour, " to whom we might any way do good. They de- ' clared, what men ought to think of themſelves, " after they had done all; and laſtly, what promiſes " Chriſt hath made; and who they are, to whom he " will make them good. Thus he brought in the " true preaching of the Goſpel, altogether different " from the ordinary way of preaching in thoſe days, " which was to treat concerning ſaints, to tell legen- " dary tales of them, and to report miracles wrought " for the confirmation of tranſubſtantiation, and " other Popiſh corruptions. And ſuch a heat of " conviction accompanied his ſermons, that the peo- " ple departed from them with minds poſſeſſed of a " great hatred of vice; and burning with a deſire of " virtue (64)."

(64) *Ibid.* p. 161, 162, 163.

He was a great œconomiſt of his time. Mr. Gilpin ſays, ' He roſe commonly at five o'clock; and con- ' tinued in his ſtudy till nine. Theſe early hours, ' he would ſay, were the only hours he could call his ' own. After breakfaſt he generally ſpent the re- ' mainder of the morning either in public, or private ' buſineſs. His Chapel-hour was eleven; and his ' dinner-hour twelve. After dinner, he ſpent an ' hour either in converſation with his friends, in ' playing at cheſs, or in what he liked better, over- ' looking a cheſs-board. He then retired again to ' his ſtudy, till his Chapel-bell rang at five. After ' prayers, he generally walked till ſix, which was, in ' thoſe times, the hour of ſupper. His evening meal ' was ſparing. Often he ate nothing; and when ' that was the caſe, it was his uſual cuſtom, as he ſat ' down to table, to draw on a pair of gloves; which ' was as much as to ſay, that his hands had nothing ' to do. After ſupper, he ſpent an hour in walking, ' and another in his ſtudy, retiring to his bed-cham- ' ber about nine. This was his uſual mode of liv- ' ing, when he was moſt vacant; but very often his ' afternoons, as well as his mornings, were engaged ' in buſineſs. To this his cheſs-hour after dinner ' was commonly firſt aſſigned, and the remainder of ' the afternoon, as the occaſion required. He gene- ' rally however contrived, if poſſible, even in the ' buſieſt day, to devote ſome portion of his time to ' his books beſides the morning. And Mr. Fox ' tells us, he always accuſtomed himſelf to read and ' write in a ſtanding poſture; eſteeming conſtant ſit- ' ting very pernicious to a ſtudious man (65).'

(65) *Ibid.* p. 216, 217.

Mr. Gilpin alſo obſerves, that ' he was a very ' amiable maſter in his family; and admirably pre- ' ſerved the difficult medium between indulgence and ' reſtraint. He had, according to the cuſtom of the ' times, a very numerous retinue; among whom the ' moſt exact order was obſerved. Every week the ' Steward of his houſhold held a kind of court in the ' great Hall of his Palace, in which all family affairs ' were ſettled; ſervants wages were paid; complaints ' were heard; and faults examined. Delinquents ' were publickly rebuked, and after the third admo- ' nition diſcharged.

' His hoſpitality and charities were great and no- ' ble, equal to his ſtation, greater often than his abi- ' lities. A plentiful table was among the virtues of ' thoſe days. His was always bountifully covered. ' In an upper room was ſpread his own; where he ' ſeldom wanted company of the firſt diſtinction. ' Here a great many learned foreigners were daily ' entertained, and partook of his bounty. In his ' great Hall a long table was plentifully covered, ' every day, for gueſts, and ſtrangers of a lower ' rank; at the upper end of which were three ſmaller ' tables, deſigned for his own Officers, and inferior ' Gentlemen. The learned Tremellius, who had

' himſelf

part he had in Lambert's death (*s*), and in Joan Bocher's and Van Pare's (*t*). But notwithstanding theſe blemiſhes, he muſt be allowed to have been the Glory of England, and one of the chief Founders and Ornaments of the Reformation.

(*s*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 253.

(*t*) *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 111, 112.

' himſelf often been an eye-witneſs of the Archbi-
' ſhop's hoſpitality, gives this character of it:
' *Archiepiſcopi domus, publicum erat doctis, et piis om-*
' *nibus hoſpitium; quod ipſe hoſpes, Mecænas, et pater,*
' *talibus ſemper patere voluit, quoad vixit, aut potuit;*
' *homo φιλοξενος nec minus φιλολογος.*'

' Among other inſtances of the Archbiſhop's
' charity, we have one recorded which was truly
' noble. After the deſtruction of monaſteries, and
' before hoſpitals were erected, the nation ſaw no
' ſpecies of greater miſery, than that of wounded
' and diſbanded ſoldiers. For the uſe of ſuch miſe-
' rable objects, as were landed on the ſouthern coaſts
' of the iſland, the Archbiſhop fitted up his Manor-
' houſe of Beckeſburn in Kent. He formed it indeed
' into a compleat Hoſpital; appointing a Phyſician,
' a Surgeon, Nurſes; and every thing proper, as well
' for food, as phyſic. Nor did his charity ſtop here.
' Each man, on his recovery, was furniſhed with
' money to carry him home, in proportion to the
' diſtance of his abode (66)."

(66) Life of Cranmer, p. 233.

It appears, that in his youth, and even after he became an Archbiſhop, Cranmer was a good horſeman, and not unpractiſed in field-ſports and exerciſes. Mr. Strype ſays, ' Though his father were minded
' to have his ſon educated in learning, yet he would
' not he ſhould be ignorant of civil and gentleman-
' like exerciſes. Inſomuch that he uſed himſelf to
' ſhoot. And many times he permitted himſelf to
' hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horſes. So that
' when he was Biſhop, he feared not to ride the
' rougheſt horſes that came into his ſtables; which he
' would do very comely. As otherwiſe, at all times,
' there was not any in his houſe that would become
' an horſe better. And after his ſtudies, when it was
' time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt,
' the game being prepared for him. And ſometimes
' he would ſhoot in the long bow, and many times
' kill his deer with the croſs-bow, though his ſight
' was not perfect; for he was pore-blind (67).'

(67) Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 2.

It has been taken notice of in the text, that after the paſſing of the Act for the Six Articles, Archbiſhop Cranmer ſent his wife into Germany. But ſhe afterwards returned again to England; and Mr. Strype informs us, that ' in the time of King Edward, when
' the marriage of the Clergy was allowed, he brought
' her forth, and lived openly with her (68).' Mr. Gilpin ſays, ' He left behind him a widow and chil-
' dren; but as he always kept his family in obſcurity,
' for prudential reaſons, we know little about them.
' They had been kindly provided for by Henry the
' Eighth; who, without any ſolicitation from the
' Primate himſelf, gave him a conſiderable grant
' from the Abbey of Welbeck in Nottinghamſhire;
' which his family enjoyed after his deceaſe. King
' Edward made ſome addition to his private fortune:
' and his heirs were reſtored in blood by an Act of
' Parliament, in the reign of Elizabeth (69).'

(68) *Ibid.* p. 418.

(62) Life, p. 235.

Mr. Hume ſays, that Archbiſhop Cranmer was ' undoubtedly a man of merit; poſſeſſed of learning
' and capacity; and adorned with candour, ſincerity,
' and beneficence, and all thoſe virtues which were
' fitted to render him uſeful and amiable in ſociety.
' His moral qualities procured him univerſal reſpect;
' and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell
' ſhort of the rigid inflexibility obſerved in many,
' made him the hero of the Proteſtant party (70).']

(70) Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 461. edit. 2vo. 1763.

T.

*** [CRASHAW (RICHARD), (*) an accompliſhed Scholar and a devout Poet of the laſt century, whoſe genius and virtue, though celebrated by one of the moſt eloquent among his poetical cotemporaries, have ſuffered ſuch unmerited neglect, that his name was omitted in the firſt edition of this work. The ſingular incidents of his life, and the peculiar turn of his conmpoſitions may, in great meaſure, account for the oblivion into which he ſunk for ſo conſiderable a period. Few particulars of his perſonal hiſtory can be traced; and for theſe we are chiefly indebted to Anthony Wood; who placing the name of Craſhaw in his Liſt of Perſons admitted to Degrees in Oxford [*A*] *Ann. Dom.* 1641, 17 *Car.* I. proceeds to inform us, that he was the ſon of an eminent Divine whoſe name was William; that he was educated at the Charterhouſe, that he became a Student of Pembroke-hall, and a Fellow of Peterhouſe in Cambridge, where he was diſtinguiſhed for his poetical talents in 1637; for it appears from the ſignature to one of his academical Latin Poems, that he was at this time Fellow of Peterhouſe (*a*). As the reſearches which have been made in the two ſocieties of Cambridge to which this amiable ſcholar belonged, have furniſhed no new memorials of his perſon or his genius, we muſt content ourſelves with repeating the few melancholy incidents which have hitherto formed the ſlender hiſtory of his life. In 1644, when the Earl of Mancheſter, under the authority of the Parliament, new-modelled the Univerſity of Cambridge, by expelling ſuch Members as refuſed the Covenant, Craſhaw, on the loſs of his Fellowſhip, ſought a refuge in France, and embraced the religion of that country [*B*]. Being found there in great diſtreſs by Cowley, his generous

(*) This article has been obligingly preſented to the Editor by William Hayley, Eſq.

(*a*) Nichol's Poems, vol. vii. p. 103.

[*A*] *Degrees in Oxford.*] Not that it appears ſo in the public Regiſter, ſays Wood, but in the private obſervations of a certain Maſter of Arts, that was this year living in the Univerſity; but in what degree he was incorporated thoſe obſervations mention not (1).

(1) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. Faſt. p. 3.

The name of Richard Craſhaw occurs in the Index to the manuſcript Lives of illuſtrious men, educated at Cambridge, which were compiled by Morris Drake Morris, and are preſerved in the Harleian collection. But this Index ſeems to comprize a Liſt of all the Lives, which the author intended to execute; for in his work itſelf, which he left unfiniſhed, no article is allotted to our Poet.

[*B*] *The religion of that country.*] Thoſe who have attributed the converſion of Craſhaw to motives of intereſt, muſt have been utterly unacquainted with the extreme tenderneſs and enthuſiaſm of his character. So far from being induced to change his religion from any worldly motives, he ſeems rather to have been converted by his paſſionate admiration for that fair canonized enthuſiaſt, St. Tereſa of Spain: her pious compoſitions appear to have been his favorite ſtudy, and the reader who peruſes the following addreſs to her, whatever he may think concerning the tender bigotry of the Poet, will hardly ſuſpect that his piety was not perfectly ſincere.

O thou undaunted daughter of deſires,
By all thy dower of lights and fires;
By all the eagle in thee, all the dove,
By all thy lives and deaths of love;
By thy large draughts of intellectual day,
And by thy thirſts of love more large than they;

By

generous admirer, in 1646. He was recommended by that Poet to the patronage of the exiled Queen, Henrietta Maria. This Princeſs, who wanted rather power than inclination to reward Engliſh Catholics, ſupplied Craſhaw with Letters of Recommendation to Italy. He became Secretary to a Cardinal at Rome; and obtained the office of a Canon in the Church of Loretto, where he died of a fever ſoon after his election; and to uſe Wood's expreſſion, about 1650—Had the intereſting letters of Cowley been given to the world by his friend and biographer Dr. Sprat, they would probably have ſupplied us with many particulars relating to a literary exile, ſo warmly beloved by a Poet remarkable for the fervency and ſteadineſs of his friendſhip. But although ſuch particulars might have gratified our curioſity, they could hardly have added to the honour which the talents and virtues of Craſhaw have received, from the Poem of Cowley on his Death [*C*]. Our author appears to have been perſonally regarded by another very eminent literary character of his time [*D*]. Whatever eſteem his genius and his probity might obtain from

By all thy brim-fill'd bowls of fierce deſire,
By thy laſt morning's draught of liquid fire;
By the full kingdom of that final kiſs,
That ſeal'd thy parting ſoul and made thee his;
By all the heavens, thou haſt in him
Fair ſiſter of the ſeraphim;
By all of him we have in thee,
Leave nothing of myſelf in me;
Let me ſo read thy life, that I
Unto all life of mine may die (2).

(2) Craſhaw's Poems, p. 197.

[*C*] *On his death.*] "Cowley ſeems to have had," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "what Milton is believed to have "wanted, the ſkill to rate his own performances by "their juſt value; and has therefore cloſed his Miſ-"cellanies with the Verſes upon Craſhaw, which "apparently excell all that have gone before them; "and in which there are beauties which common "authors may juſtly think not only above their at-"tainment, but above their ambition (3)."

(3) Life of Cowley.

The Poem, which our celebrated Critic has thus commended, with a quaint obſcurity, rarely found in his forcible language, is indeed ſo beautiful, and ſo highly honourable, both to Craſhaw and Cowley, that long as it is, the poetical reader may wiſh to find it inſerted here at full length.

On the DEATH of Mr. CRASHAW.

Poet and Saint! to thee alone are given
The two moſt ſacred names of earth and heaven;
The hard and rareſt union which can be,
Next that of Godhead and humanity.
Long did the Muſes baniſh'd ſlaves abide,
And built vain pyramids to mortal pride:
Like Moſes thou (tho' ſpells and charms withſtand)
Haſt brought them nobly home, back to their holy land.

Ah, wretched we, Poets of earth! but thou
Wert living the ſame Poet which thou'rt now;
Whilſt angels ſing to thee their ayres divine,
And joy in an applauſe ſo great as thine.
Equal ſociety with them to hold,
Thou need'ſt not make new ſongs, but ſay the old;
And they (kind ſpirits!) ſhall all rejoice to ſee,
How little leſs than they, exalted man may be.

Still the old heathen gods in numbers dwell,
The heavenlieſt thing on earth ſtill keeps up hell:
Nor have we yet quite purg'd the Chriſtian land;
Still idols here, like calves at Bethel ſtand.
And tho' Pan's death long ſince all or'cles broke,
Yet ſtill in rhyme the fiend Apollo ſpoke;
Nay, with the worſt of heathen dotage, we
(Vain men!) the monſter woman deifie;
Find ſtars, and tie our fates there in a face,
And Paradiſe in them, by whom we loſt it, place.
What diff'rent faults corrupt our muſes thus?
Wanton as girls, as old wives fabulous.

Thy ſpotleſs muſe, like Mary, did contain
The boundleſs Godhead; ſhe did well diſdain
That her eternal verſe employed ſhould be
On a leſs ſubject than eternity;
And for a ſacred miſtreſs ſcorn'd to take
But her whom God himſelf ſcorn'd not his ſpouſe to make:
It (in a kind) her miracle did do,
A fruitful mother was, and virgin too.

How well (bleſt Swan) did fate contrive thy death,
And made thee render up thy tuneful breath
In thy great miſtreſs' arms? Thou moſt divine,
And richeſt offering of Loretto's ſhrine!
Where, like ſome holy ſacrifice t' expire,
A fever burns thee and love lights the fire.
Angels (they ſay) brought the fam'd chapel there,
And bore the ſacred load in triumph thro' the air:
'Tis ſurer much they brought thee there; and they,
And thou, their charge, went ſinging all the way.

Pardon, my mother Church, if I conſent
That angels led him, when from thee he went;
For ev'n in error, ſure no danger is,
When join'd with ſo much piety as his.
Ah! mighty God, with ſhame I ſpeak't, and grief;
Ah! that our greateſt faults were in belief!
And our weak reaſon were ev'n weaker yet,
Rather than thus, our will's too ſtrong for it!
His faith, perhaps, in ſome nice tenets might
Be wrong; his life, I'm ſure, was in the right:
And I, myſelf, a Catholick will be;
So far at leaſt, great Saint! to pray to thee.

Hail, Bard triumphant! and ſome care beſtow
On us, the Poets militant below:
Oppos'd by our old enemy, adverſe Chance,
Attack'd by Envy and by Ignorance;
Enchain'd by Beauty, tortured by deſires,
Expos'd by Tyrant-love, to ſavage beaſts and fires.
Thou from low earth in nobler flames didſt riſe,
And like Elijah mount alive the ſkies.
Eliſha like (but with a wiſh much leſs,
More fit thy greatneſs and my littleneſs;)
Lo here I beg (I whom thou once didſt prove
So humble to eſteem, ſo good to love)
Not that thy ſpirit might on me doubled be,
I aſk but half thy mighty ſpirit for me:
And when my muſe ſoars with ſo ſtrong a wing,
'Twill learn of things divine, and firſt of thee to ſing.

In theſe verſes, fine as they are, Cowley has ſometimes fallen into the principal defect of the Poet whom he is praiſing. He now and then ſpeaks of ſacred things with a vulgar and ludicrous familiarity of language, "by which (to uſe a happy expreſſion of "Dr. Johnſon's) Readers, far ſhort of ſanctity, may "be offended in the preſent age, when devotion, "perhaps not more fervent, is more delicate."—Let us add, that if the poetical talents of Craſhaw ſeem not to anſwer this glowing panygerick; yet in his higher character of *Saint*, he appears to have had the pureſt title to this affectionate Eulogy.

[*D*] *Another very eminent literary character of his time.*] The learned Selden, who in his *Table Talk* has the following paſſage under the article *Poetry*.

"I never converted but two, the one was Mr. "Craſhaw from writing againſt plays, by telling him "a way how to underſtand that place (of putting on "women's apparel) which has nothing to do in the "buſineſs; as neither has it that the fathers ſpeak "againſt plays in their time with reaſon enough; for "they had real idolatries mixed with their plays, "having three altars perpetually upon the ſtage."

his

his contemporaries, his poetry was ſinking into utter oblivion, when the merits of this neglected Bard were aſſerted by an Editor who favoured the public with a judicious ſelection from his works (*b*). But his zeal in vindicating the memory of Craſhaw, has led him to make ſome ſevere, and, we apprehend, unjuſt remarks on ſeveral Engliſh Poets; particularly on Pope, who ſeems to be wrongfully accuſed of an invidious deſire to ſink the reputation of his poetical and Catholic brother: A point, that for the credit of Parnaſſus, we ſhall diſcuſs in a note of conſiderable length [*E*]. One of the moſt ſtriking perform-

(b) See Poetry, by R. Craſhaw, publiſhed by Peregrine Philips, 1785.

[*E*] *A note of conſiderable length.*] We ſhall begin with quoting the paſſages from Pope's Letters, in which he ſpeaks of our author.

" This Poem (the celebrated Latin production of Strada, on the Nightingale) was many years ſince imitated by Craſhaw, out of whoſe verſes the following are very remarkable.

From this to that, from that to this he flies,
Feels Muſic's pulſe in all its arteries;
Caught in a net, which there Apollo ſpreads,
His fingers ſtruggle with the vocal threads"(4).

(4) Pope's Letters to H. Cromwell, Lett. xxii. Nov. 11, 1710.

LETTER XXVI.

Dec. 17, 1710.

" It ſeems that my late mention of Craſhaw, and my quotation from him, has moved your curioſity. I therefore ſend you the whole author, who has held a place among my other books of this nature for ſome years; in which time, having read him twice or thrice, I find him one of thoſe whoſe works may juſt deſerve reading. I take this Poet to have writ like a Gentleman; that is, at leiſure hours, and more to keep out of idleneſs than to eſtabliſh a reputation; ſo that nothing regular or juſt can be expected from him. All that regards deſign, form, fable, (which is the ſoul of poetry); all that concerns exactneſs or conſent of parts (which is the body) will probably be wanting; only pretty conceptions, fine metaphors, glittering expreſſions, and ſomething of a neat caſt of verſe (which are properly the dreſs, gems, or looſe ornaments of poetry) may be found in theſe verſes. This is indeed the caſe of moſt other poetical Writers of Miſcellanies; nor can it well be otherwiſe, ſince no man can be a true Poet who writes for diverſion only. Theſe authors ſhould be conſidered as verſifiers and witty men, rather than as Poets; and under this head will only fall the thoughts, the expreſſions, and the numbers. Theſe are only the pleaſing part of poetry, which may be judged of at a view, and comprehended all at once. And (to expreſs myſelf like a painter) their colouring entertains the ſight, but the lines and life of the picture are not to be inſpected too narrowly.

This author formed himſelf upon Petrarch, or rather upon Marino. His thoughts, one may obſerve, in the main, are pretty; but oftentimes farfetched, and too often ſtrained and ſtiffened to make them appear the greater. For men are never ſo apt to think a thing great, as when it is odd or wonderful; and inconſiderate authors would rather be admired than underſtood. This ambition of ſurprizing a reader, is the true natural cauſe of all fuſtian or bombaſt in poetry. To confirm what I have ſaid, you need but look into his firſt Poem of the Weeper, where the 2d, 4th, 6th, 14th, 21ſt ſtanzas are as ſublimely dull, as the 7th, 8th, 9th, 16th, 17th, 20th, and 23d ſtanzas of the ſame copy are ſoft and pleaſing; and if theſe laſt want any thing, it is an eaſier and more unaffected expreſſion. The remaining thoughts in that poem might have been ſpared, being either but repetitions, or very trivial and mean: and by this example in the firſt, one may gueſs all the reſt to be like this, a mixture of tender gentle thoughts, and ſuitable expreſſions, of forced and inextricable conceits, and of needleſs fillers-up to the reſt. From all which it is plain, this author writ faſt, and ſet down what came uppermoſt. A reader may ſkim off the froth, and uſe the clear underneath; but if he goes too deep, he will meet with a mouthful of dregs: either the top or bottom of him are good for little; but what he did in his own natural middle way is beſt.

To ſpeak of his numbers is a little difficult, they are ſo various and irregular, and moſtly Pindaric. 'Tis evident his heroic verſe (the beſt example of which is his Muſic's Duel) is careleſsly made up: but one may imagine from what it now is, that had he taken more care, it had " been muſical and pleaſing " enough; not extremely majeſtic, but ſweet: and " the time conſidered of his writing, he was (even " as uncorrect as he is) none of the worſt verſifi- " cators.

" I will juſt obſerve, that the beſt pieces of this " author are a Paraphraſe on Pſalm xxiii,—On " Leſſius,—Epitaph on Mr. Aſhton,—Wiſhes to his " ſuppoſed Miſtreſs, and the *Dies Iræ*."

" The Reader muſt determine (ſays the Editor of " Craſhaw) whether Mr. Pope has mentioned the " beſt pieces: on the contrary, whether many much " ſuperior are not to be met with in the little work " before us; and if ſo, what fair reaſon could there " be for ſuch a partial ſelection (4)."

(5) Philip's Craſhaw, p. 22.

In anſwer to this queſtion, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that Pope, when he drew this character of Craſhaw, was writing, at the age of twenty-two, a private letter to a friend, and of courſe delivered his genuine ſentiments of the author in queſtion, without a chance of his being influenced by any invidious deſign. Whoever takes the trouble of comparing the opinion of Pope with the paſſages of Craſhaw, to which he has referred in his letter, will find no reaſon to queſtion the integrity of his judgement. His not commending the tranſlation from Marino, might proceed from his contempt of the original author, who was then conſidered as the prime corrupter of Italian poetry. The Editor of Craſhaw, in ſpeaking of paſſages borrowed from his works, ſuppoſes that Pope's " faint praiſe might be the moſt " probable means of ſecreting his obligations to one " whom he affects rather to contemn." But Pope was ſo far from wiſhing to ſecrete his obligations to Craſhaw, that he has profeſſedly borrowed a line from this Poet in his Eloiſa, and ſurely no compliment could be more flattering. If Pope has taken other paſſages without acknowledgment, it is but juſt to imagine that he thought the obligation too trifling to be noticed; or what is equally probable, that he was not aware of it. Many inſtances may be found in the records of Poetry, where an author has written the verſe of another with a full perſwaſion that it belonged ſolely to himſelf. Gray, who ſeems to have been moſt ſcrupulous in noting his ſlighteſt imitations, has failed to remark that his line,

The Curfew tolls the knell of parting day,

is cloſely copied, in point of expreſſion, from the following paſſage in Dryden's Prologue to his Troilus and Creſſida;

For love they rhyme diſpenſe,
That tolls the knell of their departed ſenſe:

and if our memory does not deceive us, the following very beautiful verſe in the Elegy juſt cited,

The paths of Glory lead but to the grave,

is literally tranſlated from the Latin proſe of Bartholine, in his Eſſay on Daniſh Antiquities. It is highly unjuſt to accuſe an author of intentional and invidious ſecrecy, who does not always ſpecify his obligations of this kind, becauſe it is hardly poſſible, from the nature of the human faculties, that he ſhould be able, at all times, to diſtinguiſh the genuine on-

performances of Craſhaw is, a Tranſlation from a poſthumous and ſcarce work of Marino, a Poet, to whom ſevere critics might apply, what Boileau ſaid of Le Moine,

Il s'eſt trop elevé pour en dire du mal;
Il s'eſt trop egaré pour en dire du bien.

that he is too ſublime to be cenſured, and too fantaſtic to be praiſed. He had certainly a ſtrong, though not a refined imagination; and as the verſion of Craſhaw is executed with ſpirit, we ſhall ſelect from it a few paſſages, with the correſponding ſtanzas of the Italian [*F*]. As the original verſes of Craſhaw are chiefly devoted to pious ſubjects, we ought

ſpring of his own imagination, from the adopted children of memory. As it is fair, however, that all ſuch literary property ſhould be marked with the name of the original proprietor, we ſhall, in juſtice to our author, tranſcribe the paſſages of Pope, with thoſe from which they ſeem to be borrowed.

Oh! Death, all-eloquent, you only prove
What duſt we doat on, when 'tis man we love (6).

(6) Pope's Eloiſe.

All-daring duſt and aſhes, only you
Of all interpreters read nature true (7).

(7) Craſhaw's Death's Lecture.

This modeſt ſtone, what few vain marbles can,
May truly ſay, here lies an honeſt man (8).

(8) Pope's Epitaph on Fenton.

The modeſt front of this ſmall floor,
Believe me, Reader, can ſay more
Than many a braver marble can,
Here lies a truly honeſt man (9).

(9) Craſhaw's Epitaph on Mr. Aſhton.

Is it in heaven a crime to love too well (10)?

(10) Pope's Elegy to the Memory of an unfortunate Lady.

And I, what is my crime? I cannot tell,
Unleſs it be a crime to have lov'd too well (11).

(11) Craſhaw's 3d Elegy on St. Alexis.

We ſhall hazard a conjecture, that theſe Elegies of Craſhaw, ſuggeſted to Pope the idea of his Eloiſe. They are written as the complaint of a tender female deſerted on her wedding night by her bridegroom, from motives of religion. But if Pope borrowed any thing from Craſhaw in this article, it was only as the ſun borrows from the earth; when drawing from thence a mere vapor, he makes it the delight of every eye, by giving it all the tender and gorgeous colouring of heaven.

[*F*] *Of the Italian.*] The Poem of Marino was publiſhed at Venice 1633, eight years after the death of its author. It is entitled *Strage de gli Innocenti*; The Slaughter of the Innocents; and conſiſts of four books with the following titles, 1. *Soſpetto d'Herode*, Suſpicion of Herod. 2. *Conſiglio de Satrapi*, Council of Nobles. 3. *Eſſecutione della Strage*, Execution of the Slaughter. 4. *Il Limbo*—Limbo.—The complete Poem was publiſhed in Engliſh verſe, by an anonymous Tranſlator, 1675 (12): but in Craſhaw we find only the firſt book, which opens thus,

(12) Maty's Review, April 1785.

I.

Muſe, now the ſervant of ſoft loves no more,
Hate is thy theme; and Herod, whoſe unbleſt
Hand—what dares not jealous greatneſs?—tore
A thouſand ſweet babes from their mother's breaſt,
The blooms of martyrdom! O be a door
Of language to my infant lips, ye beſt
Of confeſſors! whoſe throats anſwering his ſwords,
Gave forth your blood for breath!—ſpoke ſouls for words.

I.

Muſa, non piú d'amor cautiam lo ſdegno!
Del crudo Ré che mille infanti afflitti
(Ahi! che non pote aviditá di regno?)
Fé dal materno ſen cader trafitti.
E voi reggete voi l'infermo ingegno
Nantii di Chriſto, e teſtimoni invitti
Che deſte fuor de le ſquarciate gole
Sangue in vece di voce, e di parole.

After an invocation to the Viceroy of Naples, the native city of Marino, the Poem exhibits this ſtriking portrait of Lucifer.

V.

Below the bottom of the great abyſs,
There, where one center reconciles all things,
The world's profound heart pants: there placed is
Miſchief's old maſter; cloſe about him clings
A curl'd knot of embracing ſnakes that kiſs
His correſpondent cheeks: theſe loathſome ſtrings
Hold the perverſe Prince in eternal ties
Faſt bound, ſince firſt he forfeited the ſkies.

VI.

The Judge of Torments and the King of Tears,
He fills a burniſh'd throne of quenchleſs fire;
And for his old fair robes of light he wears
A gloomy mantle of dark flames: the tire
That crowns his hated head on high appears,
Where ſeven tall horns, his Empire's pride, aſpire;
And, to make up hell's majeſty, each horn
Seven creſted Hydras horribly adorn.

VII.

His eyes, the ſullen dens of death and night,
Startle the dull air with a diſmal red;
Such his fell glances as the fatal light,
Of ſtaring comets that look kingdoms dead!
From his black noſtrils and blue lips, in ſpite
Of hell's own ſtink, a worſer ſtench is ſpread:
His breath hell's light'ning is; and each deep groan
Diſdains to think that heaven thunders alone.

VIII.

His flaming eyes, dire exhalation!
Unto a flaming pile gives fiery breath,
Whoſe unconſum'd conſumption preys upon
The never-dying life of a long death.
In this ſad houſe of ſlow deſtruction
(His ſhop of flames) he fries himſelf beneath
A maſs of woes; his teeth for torment gnaſh,
While his ſteel ſides ſound with his tail's ſtrong laſh.

IX.

Three rigorous Virgins waiting ſtill behind,
Aſſiſt the throne of th' iron-ſcepter'd King
With whips of thorns and knotty vipers twin'd,
They rouſe him when his rank thoughts need a ſting:
Their locks are beds of uncomb'd ſnakes, that wind
About their ſhady brows in wanton rings.
Thus reigns the wrathful King; and while he reigns
His ſcepter and himſelf both he diſdains.

V.

Sotto gli abiſſi, in mezzo al cor del Mondo
Nel punto univerſal de l'univerſo,
Dentro la bolgia del più cupo fondo
Staſi l'antico ſpirito peruerſo,
Conmordaci ritorte un groppo immondo
Lo ſtringe di cento aſpidi à traverſo.
Di tai legami in ſempiturno il cinſe
Il gran Campion, che'n Paradiſo il vinſe.

VI.

Giudice di tormento, e Re di pianto,
D'ineſtinguible foco ha' trona, e veſta;
Veſta, gia ricco, e luminoſo manto,
Hor difiamme, e di tenebre conteſta

Porta

ought to obſerve, for the honour both of Poetry and Religion, that the works of our Poet have been neglected not merely becauſe they are devotional, but becauſe their author has frequently fallen into the worſt defects of ſtyle, in his mode of treating ſubjects that peculiarly require a chaſte dignity of expreſſion [*G*]. He ſeems to have choſen the pious George Herbert for his model; and the anonymous poems ſubjoined to the works of that very religious and once popular Bard, are ſaid, by Mr. Granger (*c*), to have been written by Craſhaw. The publication which bears his name [*H*], firſt appeared during the exile of

(*c*) Biographical Hiſtory. Article (HERBERT).

Porta (e ſol queſto è del ſuo regno il vanto)
Di ſette corna alta corona in teſta.
Fan d'ogi' intorno al ſuo diadema regio,
Hidre verdi, e Ceraſte horribil fregio.

VII.

Ne gli occhi, oue meſtitia alberga, e morte,
Luce fiameggia torbida, e vermiglia
Gli ſquardi obliqui, e le pupille torte
Sembran Comete, è lampadi le ciglia.
E da lenari, e da le labra ſmorte
Caligine, e fetor vomita, e figlia,
Iracondi, ſuperbi, e diſperati,
Tuoni i gemiti ſon, folgori i fiati.

VIII.

Che la viſta peſtifera, e ſanguigna
Con l'alito crudel, ch áuampa, e fuma,
La pira accende horribile, e maligna,
Che'n conſumabilmente altrui conſuma.
Con amaro ſtridor batte, e digrigna
I denti aſpri di augine, e di ſchiuma;
E de membri d'acciaio entro le fiamme
F'a con E'eſtremo ſuo ſonar le ſquamme.

IX.

Tre rigoroſe Virgini vicine
Sonno aſſiſtenti, a l'infernal Tiranno,
E con sferze di vipere, e di ſpine
Intente ſempre à ſtimular lo ſtanno
Creſpi han di ſerpi innanellato il crine,
Ch' horrida intorno al Volto, ombra lor fanno
Scettro ei ſoſtien di ferro, e mentre regna
Il ſuo regno, e ſe ſteſſo abhorre, e ſdegna.

We ſhall add a ſpeech of Alecto to the infernal King, obſerving that Milton has been thought indebted to the Verſion of Craſhaw.

34.

What thy Alecto, what theſe hands can do,
Thou mad'ſt bold proof upon the brow of heaven;
Nor ſhould'ſt thou bate in pride, becauſe that now
To theſe thy ſooty kingdoms thou art driven.
Let heavens, Lord, chide above, louder than thou,
In language of his thunder; thou art even
With him below. Here thou art, Lord, alone,
Boundleſs and abſolute: hell is thine own.

35.

If uſual riot and ſtrength will do no good,
Vertues of ſtones, nor herbs; uſe ſtronger charms,
Anger and love, beſt hooks of humane blood;
If all fail, we'll put on our proudeſt arms,
And pouring on heaven's face the ſeas huge flood,
Quench his curl'd fires; we'll wake with our alarms
Ruine, wher'ere ſhe ſleeps at nature's feet,
And cruſh the world till his wide corners meet.

34.

Provaſti in Ciel la magnanim' opra
Ciò che sà far con le compagne Aletto.
Nè perc' hoggi quaggiu t'accoglia, e copra
Ombroſo albergo, e ferrugineo tetto,
Mem ſuperbir dei tù; che ſe la ſopra
Al Monarca tonante eri ſoggetto,
Qui fiedi Ré, che libero, et intero
Hai de la Terra, é l'Abiſſo impero.

35.

Se vater potrà nulla induſtria, ò ſenno,
Virtu d'herbe, e di pietre, ò ſuon di carmi
Inganna, Ira, et Amor, che ſpeſſo fenno
Correr gli huomini al ſangue, e trallar l'armi
Tu ci vedrai (ſol che ti piaccia) à un cenno
Trar le ſtelle dal Ciel, l'ombre da i marmi
Por ſoſſoura la terra, e'l mar profondo,
Crollar, ſpiantar da le radici il Mondo.

It is very remarkable that Milton has taken no notice of this Poem in his Latin Epiſtle to his elegant Italian friend, Manſo, where he alludes to the other work of Marino, whoſe life is ſuppoſed to have been written by that accompliſhed Nobleman, the Biographer of Taſſo. It is the more remarkable, as Milton viſited Italy about four years after the publication of this ſingular performance, which it ſeems he has now and then condeſcended to imitate in his infinitely nobler poem the Paradiſe Loſt, if indeed the ſimilar paſſages may be juſtly called imitations, a point that we ſhall leave the Editors of our divine Bard to ſettle.

[*G*] *Require a chaſte dignity of expreſſion.*] We ſhall inſert a very ſtriking example of the deplorable conceits by which pious poetry was ſometimes debaſed in the pages of Craſhaw upon the infant Martyrs.

To ſee both blended in one flood,
The mother's milk, the children's blood,
Makes me doubt if heaven will rather
Roſes hence, or lilies gather.

Let us add, in juſtice to our unequal author, that he has paſſages as tender and as beautiful as the preceding lines are abſurd and diſguſting. The following verſes from an Epitaph, on a faithful couple buried together, have a certain pathetic ſweetneſs (bordering on affectation) highly characteriſtic of this ſingular Poet.

Peace, good Reader, do not weep!
Peace, the lovers are aſleep!
They (ſweet turtles) folded lye,
In the laſt knot love could tye.

[*H*] *The publication which bears his name.*] This volume is divided into three parts, 1. *Steps to the Temple*; 2. *The Delight of the Muſes*; 3. *Sacred Poems preſented to the Counteſs of Denbigh, by her moſt devoted Servant, Richard Craſhaw, in hearty acknowledgment of his immortal obligation to her Goodneſs and Charity*. Perhaps the laſt diviſion to which Car's Poem is prefixed, was the only one publiſhed in 1646. The ſecond edition appeared in 1649, and afterwards with the falſe date of 1670. Since the preceding pages were prepared for the preſs, the liberality of Dr. Farmer has indulged us with the ſight of a literary curioſity, a Collection of Sacred Epigrams in Latin, printed at Cambridge, 1634, and dedicated to Benjamin Lany, Maſter of Pembroke-hall, with the ſignature of R. C. Theſe are unqueſtionably the production of our Author, and the fruits (as he tells us in the Dedication) of a tender age. Indeed, tenderneſs and piety were the characteriſtics of Craſhaw at every period of his life; many of the Epigrams contain preciſely the turn which we find in his Engliſh compoſitions. For example, On the Infant Martyrs mentioned in a preceding note.

Sic pueros quiſquis vidit, dubitavit an illos
Lilia cælorum diceret anne Roſas.

We ſhall inſert one Epigram becauſe it contains a well-known verſe, which has been frequently celebrated without being appropriated to its real author.

Joan.

of the author, 1646. He entrusted his muse to a very affectionate Guardian, who, under the signature of Thomas Car, informs us in a few introductory verses,

Sweet Crashaw was his friend, he Crashaw's brother,
So Car hath title then: 'twas his intent
That what his riches penn'd, poor Car should print;
Nor fears he check, praising that happy one
Who was beloved by all, disprais'd by none.

Car's panegyrick does not appear extravagant; and we trust this article will not be thought too long, when it is remembered that Crashaw, however neglected in later days, was the companion of Selden, and the idol of Cowley.]

Joan. 2.
Aquæ in vinum versæ.

Unde rubor vestris, et non sua purpura lymphis;
Quæ rosa mirantes tam nova mutat aquas.
Numen (Convivæ) præsens agnoscite numen
Nympha pudica deum vidit et erubuit.

We are indebted for an English Version of it to a little circle of poetical friends, who having translated the Epigram various ways, selected the four following lines—

Whence does the chrystal redden to the eye,
And lucid water take a roseate dye?
Here own him present who gives nature law!
This element saw God; and blush'd with awe.

CREECH (THOMAS), famous for his Translations of *Lucretius* [*A*], *Horace* [*B*], and from other antient authors, both in prose and verse [*C*], was son of Thomas

[*A*] *His Translation of* Lucretius.] It is intitled; *T. Lucretius Carus, Of the Nature of Things. Translated into English verse by* Thomas Creech, A. M. *and fellow of* Wadham *College in* Oxford. It was printed at Oxford in 1682, in 8*vo.* and recommended by a Latin Distich of Dr. Edward Barnard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in that University, and by a copy of English verses of Mr. Thomas Brown of Christ-Church. It was re-printed in the year following, with Commendatory verses by several eminent hands (1): among which, those, which pass under the names of Mr. Dryden and Mr. Waller, we are assured from undoubted authority, were not theirs. However, Mr. Dryden, who himself translated some parts of *Lucretius*, has given the highest character of Mr. Creech's performance, in the following words. 'This puts me in 'mind of what I owe to the ingenious and learned 'translator of *Lucretius*. I have not here designed to 'rob him of any part of that commendation, which he 'has so justly acquired by the whole author, whose 'fragments only fall to my portion. The ways of our 'translations are very different: he follows him more 'closely than I have done; which became an interpreter of the whole Poem. I take more liberty, because it best suited with my design, which was to 'make him as pleasing as I could. He had been too 'voluminous, had he used my method in so long a 'work, and I had certainly taken his, had I made it 'my business to translate the whole. The preference 'then is justly his, and I join with Mr. Evelyn (*) in 'the confession of it, with this additional advantage to 'him; that his reputation is already established in this 'poet, mine is to make its fortune in the world. If 'I have been any where obscure, in following our 'common author, or if Lucretius himself is to be condemned, I refer myself to his excellent Annotations, 'which I have often read, and always with some new 'pleasure (2).' Mr. Creech published an Edition of *Lucretius* in Latin, intitled; *Titi Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura libri sex, quibus Interpretationem et Notas addidit Thomas Creech. Oxon.* 1695, 8*vo.* The Annotations on this Latin Edition were afterwards printed at the end of the English Translation, and all together by themselves. In the Edition of Mr. Creech's *Lucretius*, London 1714, in Two Volumes Octavo, all the verses of the Text, which Mr. Creech had left untranslated, are supplied. Those particularly that were omitted towards the end of the 4th book, where the poet treats of the nature of love, are taken from Mr. Dryden's translation of that part of the author. The Translator's Notes are disposed in the body of the Book, under the several places to which they properly belong; intermixed with several Annotations by another hand; and all together forming a compleat System of the Epicurean Philosophy (3). And here impartiality obliges us not to suppress the severe censure passed on Mr. Creech by a certain writer, who, having observed, that *the only book now in being, which from one end to the other is an open defence of Atheism, is that of* Lucretius, tells us (4), that 'this most impious book in Charles IId's reign 'was with infinite pains turned into English verse, 'that the smoothness and sweetness of the metre 'might supply what was wanting in the argument; 'that the elegance of the expression, the melodious 'harmony of numbers, and all those other bewitching beauties, which attend good poetry, might insensibly instil the poison into the minds of unthinking people, especially of the youth, whose imagination is generally too strong for their reason, and 'their fancy too powerful for their judgment. And 'this celebrated Translation was not only made by an 'Oxford Scholar (who was thereupon preferred) but 'it was licensed by the University of Oxford, where 'he was looked on as a raw lad, that had not read 'the *Lucretius* of Creech, who died, as he lived, like 'a true Atheist; but being a High-Church Priest, his 'murdering himself was not made to pass for a judgment.' This calumny is sufficiently answered in the Preface to the two volumes.

[*B*] *His Translation of* Horace.] It is entitled; *The Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace. Done into English by Mr. Creech.* It is dedicated *To the very much esteemed* John Dryden, Esq; In the Preface, having observed, that Quintilian was of opinion, that *all* Horace's *Odes* ought not to be interpreted, he adds: 'what he means by *Interpretation* is evident to every 'one that understands the extent of the word, and the 'Ancients method of instructing: and why this 'caution is restrained to the *Odes*, and not applied to 'the *Satires* as well, since the reason upon which he 'fixes it seems common to both, must be taken from 'the design and subject-matter of the Poems. To 'describe and reform a vicious man necessarily requires some expressions, which an *Ode* can never want. 'The paint, which an Artist uses, must be agreeable 'to the piece which he designs. *Satire* is to instruct, 'and that supposeth a knowledge and discovery of 'the Crime; while *Odes* are made only to delight and 'please, and therefore every thing in them that justly 'offends is unpardonable.' These *principles*, he says, *made* him *cautious of some* Odes, *though* he omitted to translate *three more upon a different Account*. The *Odes*, not translated by Mr. Creech, are; the 6th, 9th, 21st, 25th, and 27th of the *Third Book*; the 4th of the *Fourth Book*; and the 12th Epode. As to the *Satires* of Horace, he was advised, he tells us, *to turn them to our own time*, since Rome *was now rivaled in her*

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 1104, 1105.

(*) Mr. Evelyn translated the first Book of Lucretius.

(2) Preface to the First Part of Miscellany Poems, &c. edit. 1727, p. 21.

(3) See the Preface to Creech's Lucretius, Lond. 1714.

(4) The nation vindicated from the aspersions cast on it in a late Pamphlet, intituled, *A Representation of the present State of Religion*, &c. P. ii. p. 38. Lond. 1712, 8*vo.*

Thomas Creech, Gent. and born, in 1659, at Blandford in Dorſetſhire. He was educated in Grammar learning under Mr. Thomas Curganven, Maſter of the Free-ſchool at Sherburne; and admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford [*D*], in Lent-Term 1675, under the tuition of Mr. Robert Pit, and afterwards of Mr. Robert Balch, Fellows of that College. The 28th of September the year following, he was admitted a Scholar of that Houſe, and acquired the reputation of a good Philoſopher, Poet, and a ſevere Student (*a*). October the 27th, 1680, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*). In 1680, he was appointed by his Tutor Mr. Balch, then one of the Proctors of the Univerſity, his Quodrageſimal Collector of the Bachelors that were to determine the latter end of that year (*c*). June the 13th, 1683, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*); and about the beginning of November following, was elected a Probationer-Fellow of All-Souls College, having given ſingular proofs of his Claſſical learning and Philoſophy before his Examiners (*e*). In 1701, having taken Holy Orders, he was preſented by his College to the Living of Wellwyn in Hertfordſhire: but, before he had taken poſſeſſion of it, he unfortunately put an end to his own life [*E*], at Oxford (*f*). He has the character of

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 1104.

(*b*) *Id. Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 212.

(*c*) *Id. Ath.* ib.

(*d*) *Id. Faſti*, ib. col. 221.

(*e*) *Id. Ath.* ib.

(*f*) Jacob's Poetical Regiſter, &c. vol. i. p. 39.

her vices; and parallels for Hypocriſy, Profaneneſs, Avarice, and the like, were eaſy to be found. But thoſe crimes, he declares, 'were much out of his acquaint-'ance, and ſince the character is the ſame whoever 'the perſon is, he was not ſo fond of being hated, as 'to make any diſobliging application.' *Such pains,* ſays he, *would look like an impertinent labour to find a dunghill, only that I might ſatisfy an unaccountable humour of dirtying one man's face, and beſpattering another.* He concludes his Preface with acknowledging himſelf indebted to other writers, particularly Lord Roſcommon, to whoſe admirable verſion he owed the ſenſe, and the beſt lines in the *Art of Poetry*.

[*C*] *His tranſlations from other antient authors, both in proſe and verſe.*] They are: I. *A Tranſlation of the Idylliums of* Theocritus, *with* Rapin's *Diſcourſe of Paſtorals*, Oxford, 1684, 8*vo*; dedicated to Mr. Arthur Charlett of Trinity College in Oxford. II. *The* 2d *Elegy of* Ovid's *Firſt Book of Elegies:* and *the* 6th, 7th, 8th, *and* 12th *of* Ovid's *Second Book of Elegies:* and *the Story of* Lucretia, *out of* Ovid de Faſtis. III. The 2d *and* 3d *of* Virgil's *Eclogues*; and *part of* Virgil's *Fourth Georgic*. IV. *The Thirteenth Satire of* Juvenal, *with Notes*. V. *A Tranſlation into Engliſh of the verſes prefixed to* Mr. Quintinie's Compleat Gardiner. VI. *The Lives of* Solon, Pelopidas, *and* Cleomenes, *from* Plutarch. VII. *The Life of* Pelopidas *from* Cornelius Nepos. VIII. *Laconic Apophthegms, or remarkable Sayings of the* Spartans, *from* Plutarch. IX. *A Diſcourſe concerning* Socrates *his Dæmon*, and *The two firſt Books of the Sympoſiacs, from* Plutarch. X. *A Tranſlation of* Manilius's Aſtronomicon.

[*D*] *Admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford.*] The Author of the *Poetical Regiſter* (5) tells us, that his parents circumſtances not being ſufficient to ſupport him in a liberal Education, his diſpoſition and capacity for learning raiſed him a Patron in Colonel Strangeways, whoſe generoſity ſupplied that defect; and that this gentleman ſent him to Wadham-College, where he was admitted a ſcholar on the foundation.

(5) Vol. i. p. 39.

[*E*] *He put an end to his own life.*] Neither the motives to, nor the circumſtances of, this affair are certainly known. The author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (6), informs us, that, in the year 1700, Mr. Creech fell in love with a woman, who treated him with great neglect, though ſhe was complaiſant enough to ſeveral others. This affront he could not bear, and reſolved not to ſurvive it. Whereupon he ſhut himſelf up in his ſtudy, where he hanged himſelf about the end of June 1700, and was found in that circumſtance three days after. The *Poetical Regiſter* ſays nothing of the particular manner of his death, but only that he unfortunately made away with himſelf in the year 1701; and aſcribes (7) this fatal cataſtrophe of Mr. Creech's life to the moroſeneſs of his temper, which made him leſs eſteemed than his great merit deſerved, and engaged him in frequent animoſities and diſputes upon that account. B.

(6) For Sept. 1701.

(7) *Ubi ſupra.*

Our predeceſſor is miſtaken, both with regard to the time in which Mr. Creech became poſſeſſed of the Rectory of Welwyn, and the time of his deceaſe. In a bond for the payment of the firſt fruits of that Rectory into the Exchequer, (in the poſſeſſion of the late John Baynes, Eſq.) dated June the 9th, 1699, and in which Dr. Lloyd of Doctor's Commons, and Jacob Tonſon the Bookſeller, are bound along with him, he is called *Thomas Creech de Welwin in Com. Herts.* It is evident, therefore, that he had been preſented to that living in the year 1699. It is equally evident, from the Letters of Adminiſtration granted to the Executrix of his will, and from a clauſe added to the will, that he died in 1700, and that his death muſt have taken place between the 18th and the 28th of June in that year.

The account given in note [*E*], that our author deſtroyed himſelf becauſe he was treated with great neglect by a woman whom he loved, appears to be groundleſs. From an original letter of Arthur Charlett, preſerved in the Bodleian Library, it has lately been diſcovered, that this unhappy event was owing to a very different cauſe. There was a fellow Collegian of whom Creech frequently borrowed money; but repeating his applications too often, he met one day with ſuch a cold reception, that he retired in a fit of gloomy diſguſt, and in three days was found hanging in his ſtudy (9).

(9) Warton's Life of Ralph Bathurſt, p. 198. note.

From Creech's will, an authentic copy of which was, likewiſe, in Mr. Baynes's poſſeſſion, and of which he favoured me with a tranſcript, ſeveral particulars may be collected concerning our Poet that have not hitherto been known. In this will he orders, that his body be buried in the Church-yard of the pariſh where he dies, that no ſtone or inſcription be put upon the grave, and that nothing be given or diſtributed at his funeral beſides one pair of white gloves to each of his bearers. He adds, that he would particularly remember his College, and his good friends Colonel Codrington, Dr. Charlett, Dr. Sykes, Dr. Bathurſt, Dr. Eaton, Rivers, Hinton, Colins, Kenton, &c. but that he is not in a condition to give legacies, and he hopes none will think this omiſſion to be diſreſpect. He then directs, that all the goods he leaves behind him be ſold, and the money ariſing by the ſale, together with the ready caſh he leaves, and what debts are owing him, after his debts are paid, be divided into two equal portions, one of which he gives and bequeaths to his dear ſiſter Bridget Baſtard of Blandford in the county of Dorſet, to be employed to the beſt advantage for the uſe of his father Thomas Creech, during his natural life, and after his deceaſe to his ſaid ſiſter for ever. The other portion he gives and bequeaths to Mrs. Philadelphia Playdell of St. Giles's pariſh in Oxford, Spinſter, for ever. He likewiſe conſtitutes and appoints the ſaid Philadelphia Playdell the ſole Executrix of this his laſt Will and Teſtament. The will bears date, Jan. 18, 1699; and on the 18th of June, 1700, a direction is added, that all his written papers of all ſorts, excepting thoſe in his cheſt of drawers and his almanack, be burnt without reading. It was on the 28th of the ſame month that Letters of Adminiſtration were granted to his Executrix.

*** [Beſides being Maſter of Arts, Mr. Creech took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, on the 18th of March, 1696 (8); and he gives himſelf this title in his laſt will.

(8) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates.

of having been a man of excellent parts and found judgment; a perfect maſter of the Greek and Latin Languages; but naturally of a moroſe temper, and too apt to deſpiſe the underſtandings and performances of others (g).

(g) Jacob's Poetical Regiſter, &c. vol. i. p. 39.

Mrs. Philadelphia Playdell was a Lady in Oxford whom Mr. Creech wiſhed to have married, but he could not obtain the conſent of her friends. There is reaſon to believe that their affection was mutual; for, in a will of her's, dated April 24, 1703, ſhe makes the following bequeſt: "Item, I give and "bequeath to Mr. Thomas Creech of Blanford in "the county of Dorſett the intereſt and produce of "one hundred and fifty pounds for and during the "term of his natural life." It is moſt probable, not to ſay certain, that it muſt have been the father of the Poet whom ſhe thus remembers. This will, however, had no force, as ſhe was married, in 1704, to Mr. Ralph Hobſon, Butler of Chriſt-Church. That ſhe did not long live with her huſband, is evident from the following inſcription, which was over her tomb at Oxford, on a braſs plate, now ſuppoſed to be deſtroyed.

In
Memory of
Philadelphia,
Wife of
Ralph Hobſon, and
Daughter of,
Richard Playdell, Gent.
She deceaſed Feb. 22th.
Ann. Dom. 1705.
Aged 34 (10).

(10) From Mr. Baynes's Communications.

As to Creech's poetry, it will ſcarcely at preſent be deemed an object which calls for much criticiſm. He has of late years been regarded rather as a good ſcholar than a good Poet. Dr. Joſeph Warton, however, who will be allowed to be an admirable judge, has ſpoken of him in terms of applauſe. "Creech," ſays the Doctor, "in truth, is a much "better Tranſlator than he is uſually ſuppoſed and "allowed to be. He is a nervous and vigorous "writer: and many parts, not only of his Lucre-"tius, but of his Theocritus and Horace (though "now decried) have not been excelled by other "Tranſlators. One of his pieces may be pronounc-"ed excellent; his Tranſlation of the thirteenth "Satire of Juvenal; equal to any that Dryden has "given us of that author (11)."

(11) Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. vol. ii. p. 400, 401.

It has hitherto been almoſt univerſally underſtood, that Mr. Creech's Tranſlation of Lucretius is his capital production. In Horace it is generally allowed that he failed; and this was early the ſentiment of the public. Dr. William Coward, in his "Licen-"tia Poetica diſcuſſed," has the following lines.

"Wherefore be wiſe, if once you've rais'd your
"fame,
"And by juſt merit gain'd a popular name.
"After Lucretius was tranſlated well,
"Weak was th' attempt in Horace to excel (12)."

(12) From the Copy in the British Muſeum.

I have mentioned that for the hiſtorical part of this addition, I am indebted to the materials communicated by the late John Baynes, Eſq. It was the ſame Gentleman who enabled me to write the curious note concerning Anne, Counteſs of Dorſet, Pembroke, and Montgomery, which is ſubjoined to the article of her father, George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland. Many other obligations would have been conferred upon the Biographia Britannica by Mr. Baynes, if he had not been cut off by a putrid fever, this month of Auguſt, 1787, in the 30th year of his age, to the great concern of his friends, and, it may be added, to the great loſs of the public; for, if his life had been continued, there is no doubt but that he would have ariſen to diſtinguiſhed eminence, both as a Lawyer and a Scholar. It is propoſed to pay a tribute of reſpect to his abilities and character, under the article of Dr. John Jebb, with whom he was cloſely connected in friendſhip, and with whom he concurred in an ardent zeal for liberty, civil and religious, though without adopting every particular idea which was entertained by that excellent man.]

K.

CRESSEY or CRESSY (HUGH-PAULIN, or SERENUS) a celebrated writer, in behalf of the Papiſts, and one of their Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, who flouriſhed in the ſeventeenth Century. He derived his deſcent from an ancient and honourable family, ſeated formerly in Nottinghamſhire; but before his time it had removed into Yorkſhire, of which county he was himſelf a native, being born at Wakefield in the year 1605 (a). His father was Hugh Creſſey, Eſq; Barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn; his mother's name was Margery the daughter of Dr. Thomas Doylie, an eminent Phyſician in London (b). He was educated at a Grammar-ſchool in the place of his nativity, till ſuch time as he had attained the age of fourteen or thereabout, and then in Lent-term 1619, he was removed to Oxford where he ſtudied with great vigour and diligence, and in the year 1626 was admitted Fellow of Merton-college in that Univerſity (c). After taking the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts he entered into Holy Orders, and became Chaplain to Thomas Lord Wentworth, then Lord Preſident of the North, with whom he had the honour to live ſome years (d). About the year 1638 he went over to Ireland with that wiſe and worthy Nobleman Lucius Carey, Lord Viſcount Falkland, to whom he was likewiſe Chaplain, and by him much countenanced and eſteemed (e). By the favour of this noble perſon, when Secretary of State, he was in the year 1642, promoted to a Canonry in the Collegiate Church of Windſor, and to the dignity of Dean of Laughlin in the kingdom of Ireland, but through the diſturbances of the times he never attained the poſſeſſion of either of theſe preferments (f). After the unfortunate death of his patron, who was killed in the battle of Newbury, he found himſelf in a manner deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, and therefore readily accepted a propoſal that was made him of travelling with Charles Bertie, Eſq (g); afterwards created Earl of Falmouth, a great favourite of King Charles II. unhappily ſlain in a battle at ſea in the firſt Dutch war after the Reſtoration (h). He quitted England in the year 1644, and making the tour of Italy with his pupil, moved by the declining ſtate of the Church of England, he began to liſten to the perſuaſion of the Romiſh Divines, and in the year 1646 made a public profeſſion at Rome of his being reconciled to that Church (i). He went from thence to Paris, where he thought fit to publiſh what he was pleaſed to ſtile the motives of his converſion, which work of his, as might reaſonably be expected, was highly applauded by the Romaniſts, and is ſtill conſidered by them as a very

(a) Thoreſby's Topography of Leeds, p. 184.
(b) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 320. Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 394.
(c) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 528.
(d) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 356.
(e) Epiſtle apologetical to a perſon of Honour, ſect. vii.
(f) *Faſti, Oxon.* vol. i. col. 230. Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 356.
(g) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 528.
(h) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 52.
(i) See the Preface to his Exomologeſis. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 529.

very extraordinary performance [*A*]. After taking this ſtep he was much inclined to become a Monk of the Carthuſian Order, and had thoughts of entering into the Monaſtery of Engliſh Carthuſians at Newport in Flanders, but from this he was diſſuaded by ſome of his zealous countrymen, who were deſirous that he ſhould continue to employ his pen in defence of their religion, for which the ſevere diſcipline of that Order would have allowed him but little time; and therefore by their advice he laid aſide that deſign, and being recommended to Henrietta-Maria, Queen Dowager of England, he was taken under her protection, and being invited by the Benedictine College of Engliſh Monks at Douay in Flanders, he at length reſolved to retire thither, and for the expence of his journey received one hundred Crowns as a bounty from that Princeſs, who could but ill ſpare even ſo ſmall a ſum at that time. Sometime after his arrival at Douay he entered into the Benedictine Order, and upon that occaſion changed the name he received at his baptiſm of Hugh-Paulin, for that of Serenus de Creſſey, by which he was afterwards known to the learned world (*k*). He remained about ſeven years or more in that College, and during his reſidence there publiſhed a large work, of which the reader will find ſome notice taken at the bottom of the page [*B*]. After the Reſtoration and the marriage of King Charles II. Queen Catharine appointed our author, who was then become one of the Miſſion in England, her Chaplain, and thence forward he reſided in Somerſet-houſe in the Strand (*l*). The great regularity of his life, his ſincere and unaffected piety, his modeſt and mild behaviour, his reſpectful deportment to perſons of diſtinction, with whom he was formerly acquainted when a Proteſtant, and the care he took to avoid all concern in political affairs or intrigues of State, preſerved him in quiet and ſafety, even in the moſt troubleſome times. He was, however, a very zealous champion in the cauſe of the Church of Rome, and was continually writing in defence of her doctrines, or in anſwer to the books of controverſy, written by Proteſtants of diſtinguiſhed learning or figure, and as this engaged him in a variety of diſputes, he quickly gained a great reputation with both parties, the Papiſts looking upon him to be one of their ableſt advocates, and the Proteſtants allowing that he was a grave, a ſenſible, and a candid writer (*m*) [*C*]. But that which of all his performances contributed to make him moſt known, was his large and copious Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which was indeed a work of great pains and labour, and executed with much accuracy and diligence. He had obſerved that nothing made a greater impreſſion upon the people in general of his communion, than the reputation of the great antiquity of their Church, and the fame of the old ſaints of both ſexes, that had flouriſhed in this iſland; and therefore he judged that nothing could be more ſerviceable, to that which he ſtiled the Catholick Intereſt, than compoſing ſuch a Hiſtory as might ſet theſe points in the faireſt and fulleſt light poſſible. He had before him the example of a famous Jeſuit, Michael Alford, alias Griffith, who had adjuſted the ſame Hiſtory under the years in which the principal events happened, in four large volumes, collected from our ancient Hiſtorians: but as this was written in Latin, he judged that it was leſs ſuited to the deſign which he had in view, of bringing it into the hands of common readers; and therefore he ſet himſelf this painful taſk of putting it into Engliſh, with ſuch helps and improvements

(*k*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 356.

(*l*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 530.

(*m*) See Dr. Whitby's Preface to his Reply to S. C's. Anſwer to Dr. Pierce's Court-Sermon. The Chriſtian Moderator, Lon. 1652, p. 97.

[*A*] *As a very extraordinary performance.*] The author was pleaſed to entitle this work, EXOMOLOGESIS: *or a faithful narration of the occaſions and motives of his Converſion to Catholic Unity.* Paris 1647 *and* 1653, *in* 8*vo*. To the laſt edition is an appendix, *In which are cleared certain miſconſtructions of his* Exomologeſis, *publiſhed by* J. P. *author of the* Preface *to the Lord* Falkland's *diſcourſe of Infallibility.* As ſoon as this was finiſhed, he ſent it over to his dear friend Dr. Henry Hammond, as to one whoſe ſincerity he had experienced, and for whoſe judgment he had a high eſteem. That learned perſon wrote him a very kind letter in anſwer; in which he thanked him for his book, but at the ſame time, told him there was a vein of fallacy ran through the whole contexture of it; adding, we are friends, and I do not propoſe to be your antagoniſt. At the cloſe of this epiſtle, he invited him into England, aſſuring him that he ſhould be provided with a convenient place to dwell in, and a ſufficient ſubſiſtence to live comfortably, without being moleſted by any, about his religion and conſcience. This offer, though our author did not accept, yet he returned, as became him, an anſwer full of reſpect and gratitude to the kind friend who had made it (1). Few books are more admired than this by the Papiſts, who flatter themſelves, that he has fully anſwered the judicious Mr. Chillingworth, and his own kind patron the learned Lord Falkland; but we know that they are ſo apt to magnify the performances of all their converts, that there is no laying any great ſtreſs upon ſuch commendations (2).

(1) This circumſtance is taken from his Apologetical Epiſtle to a perſon of Honour, p. 47.

(2) The Chriſtian Moderator, by John Auſtin, to which an Anſwer was written under the title of *Legenda Lignea*, in the 36th chapter of which our author is very harſhly treated.

[*B*] *At the bottom of the page.*] This was a treatiſe of the myſtical theology, entituled, SANCTA SOPHIA; *or, Directions for the prayers of contemplation, &c. extracted out of more than* XL *treatiſes, written by the late Reverend Father* Aug. Baker, *a Monk of the Engliſh congregation of the holy order of St.* Benedict. *Douay*, 1657, *in* 2 vol. in a large 8*vo*. To which are added, *Certain patterns of devout exerciſes of immediate acts and affections of the will.* Of this Father Auguſtine Baker, whoſe true name was David Baker, who had ſtudied the Law in the Middle Temple, and who from being little better than an Atheiſt, became a convert to Popery, and a very zealous devotioniſt, the Oxford Hiſtorian has given us a very large account (3). He had once it ſeems ſome intention of writing the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England, for which he had made very copious collections, that were of great ſervice to our author, when he entered upon the execution of the ſame project.

(3) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 8.

[*C*] *That he was a grave, a ſenſible, and a candid writer.*] The firſt work that he publiſhed after his return to England, bore this title *A non eſt inventus returned to Mr.* Edward Baghaw's *enquiry and vainly boaſted diſcovery of weakneſs in the Grounds of the Church's infallibility.* 1662. 8*vo*.

He wrote next, *A letter to an Engliſh gentleman dated July 6th*, 1662, *wherein Biſhop Morley is concerned*, and therefore we find it printed amongſt ſome of the treatiſes of that Reverend Prelate.

He publiſhed after this, *Roman Catholic Doctrines no Novelties; or, an anſwer to Dr. Pierce's Court-Sermon, miſcalled*, The primitive rule of Reformation. 1663, 8*vo*; anſwered by Dr. Daniel Whitby.

as

as he thought neceſſary (*n*). His Hiſtory was very much approved by the moſt learned of his countrymen, of the ſame religion, as appears by the teſtimonies prefixed to it. To ſpeak impartially, the order, regularity, and coherence of the facts contained therein, deſerve to be commended, and the gravity, or rather ſolemnity of the language is very agreeable to the author's aim and intention, as are likewiſe the care and punctuality ſhewn in citing his authorities (*o*). But, on the other hand, he is juſtly, though modeſtly, cenſured by a learned prelate, for giving in to the ſuperſtitious notions of many of our old writers, and tranſcribing from them ſuch fabulous paſſages as have been long ago exploded by the inquiſitive and impartial criticks of his own faith (*p*). Anthony Wood thinks this however excuſable, becauſe he tells us whence he had them; and perhaps we may render this excuſe rather better, by obſerving that he meant to excite his readers to a zealous imitation of their pious anceſtors, rather than afford them hiſtorical inſtruction, from a nice and critical examination of what the authors, from whom he collected his materials, had delivered. The book however ſtill maintains its credit amongſt the Romaniſts, is reputed a moſt authentic eccleſiaſtical chronicle, and is frequently cited by their moſt conſiderable authors, as a performance of eſtabliſhed reputation (*q*) [*D*]. He propoſed to have publiſhed another volume of this Hiſtory, which was to have carried it as low as the diſſolution of monaſteries by King Henry VIII. but before he had proceeded full three hundred years lower than the Norman conqueſt, his life and labours were together ſuſpended (*r*). We are not however to ſuppoſe from hence, that his whole time was devoted to this large work. On the contrary, we find him very warmly engaged in all the controverſies of the times, and yet that he had ſome leiſure to beſtow upon works of another nature [*E*]. His laſt diſpute was in reference to a book written by the learned Dr. Stillingfleet,

(*n*) This account of his undertaking is collected out of his copious Preface to his Ch. Hiſt. of Brittany.

(*o*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 530.

(*p*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Library, p. 1. 11.

(*q*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 531.

(*r*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 356.

[*D*] *As a performance of eſtabliſhed reputation.*] The reader will form a very juſt and clear notion of the author's real intentions in compoſing this work, by peruſing the title of it, which, for this reaſon, I ſhall inſert at large. *The* Church Hiſtory *of* Brittany, *from the beginning of* Chriſtianity *to the* Norman Conqueſt; *under* Roman *Governors*, Britiſh *Kings*, *the* Engliſh Saxon Heptarchy, the Engliſh Saxon and Daniſh *Monarchy*. Containing, I. *The Lives of all our Saints, aſſigned to the proper ages wherein they lived.* II. *The erections of* Epiſcopal Sees, *and Succeſſion of* Biſhops. III. *The celebration of* Synods, National, Provincial, *and* Dioceſan. IV. *The foundations of* Monaſteries, Nunneries, *and* Churches. V. *And a ſufficient account of the Succeſſions of our* Kings, *and of the civil affairs of this Kingdom; from all which is evidently demonſtrated, that the preſent* Roman Catholic *Religion hath from the beginning, without interruption, or change, been profeſſed in this our holy Iſland, &c. By the Reverend Father* Serenus Creſſey, *of the Holy Order of St. Benedict*, 1668, *fol* (4). He very fairly acknowledges that the bulk and ſubſtance of his work is taken from the three firſt volumes of the *Eccleſiaſtical Annals*, written in Latin by Father Griffith, and that for the additions and improvements he has made, he ſtands chiefly indebted to the *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, publiſhed by Sir William Dugdale, the *Decem Scriptores*, the *Flores Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ*, by Dr. Smith, whom the Papiſts ſtiled Biſhop of Chalcedon, and the large collection of manuſcripts chiefly made by Father Auguſtine Baker, of whom ſome account has been given in the former note. He offers ſome apologies, for the fabulous relations inſerted in his Hiſtory; which however amounts to no more than this; that he did not think himſelf obliged to believe all that he had taken the pains to collect, and conſequently he leaves the ſame liberty to his reader, who without doubt is not at all bound to have a larger meaſure of faith than the author. There is one thing very ſingular in his preface. His education at Oxford had taught him civility, his living at Court had improved it, and the obligations he lay under to ſeveral eminent and worthy perſons of our religion, compelled him to ſhew it in the manner of his treating ſuch prelates of our Church, as he had occaſion to mention, in reference to the matters recorded in his Hiſtory. But for this however, he thought himſelf obliged to make an apology to thoſe of his own communion, which is ſo very remarkable as to deſerve the reader's particular notice.

(4) There is no name of the place in the title page of moſt of the copies, but it was actually printed at Roan.

'But for my excuſe, or defence, I muſt take leave to 'ſay, I. That herein I follow not only the example 'of the ancient beſt Fathers in their diſputes, even a-'gainſt Arians, Photinians, Novatians, &c. but of the 'moſt learned author of the Proteſtant's Apology. 'II. I am aſſured, that if my accuſers were per-'ſonally to converſe with theſe Proteſtant prelates, 'they would not after ſuch a manner change their 'titles. Now I ſee no reaſon, why an obligation 'ſhould be impoſed on any, to be uncivil with his 'pen, and not with his tongue. I do not find, that 'ever any Proteſtants eſteemed ſuch civility an ad-'vantage to them in the debate concerning their 'ordinations; for to inſtance in a caſe in juſt reaſon, 'far leſs diſputable than that, yet not long ago ac-'tually and terribly diſputed: If during the late re-'bellion, a faithful ſubject of the King ſhould have 'petitioned for a paſs to go through the rebels quar-'ters, no man would have ſuſpected him of diſ-'loyalty, becauſe in his petition to Fairfax, Crom-'well, or Waller, he ſtiled them Lords Generals. 'Has not the King himſelf, in addreſſes to the un-'lawful Parliament, done the like? yet all this ſurely 'without engagement to acknowledge their autho-'rity to be legitimate: particularly as touching the 'forementioned writers, it cannot be denyed but that 'we are much obliged to their diligence in the ſearch 'of public records, and their ſincerity in delivering 'what they found. True it is, that B. Parker, ac-'cording to the impulſe of a Calviniſtical ſpirit, often 'inſerts malicious invectives againſt the Catholic 'Church as being indeed the patriarch of Calviniſtical 'prelacy. B. Godwin is leſs cholerick, and may be 'excuſed, if now and then he ſeeks ſome advantage, 'particularly upon the account of married prelates. 'But as for B. Uſher, his admirable abilities in Chro-'nological and Hiſtorical Erudition, as alſo his faith-'fulneſs and ingenuous ſincerity in delivering without 'any provoking reflections, what with great labour 'he has obſerved, ought certainly at leaſt to exempt 'him from being treated by any one rudely and con-'temptuouſly, eſpecially by me, who am moreover 'always obliged to preſerve a juſt reſentment of very 'many kind effects of friendſhip, which I received 'from him.'

[*E*] *Some leiſure to beſtow upon works of another nature.*] We have already taken notice of his inclination to the Myſtic Divinity, which led him to take ſo much pains about the works of Father Baker, and from the ſame diſpoſition he alſo publiſhed *Sixteen revelations of divine love, ſhewed to a devout ſervant of our Lord, called Mother* Juliana, *an* Anchorete *of* Norwich, *who lived in the days of King* Edward III. printed 1670, 8*vo.* and dedicated to the Lady Blount, of Sodingdon, widow of Sir George Blount; and likewiſe changed from old into Modern Engliſh more compendiouſly. A book written before the change of Religion, entitled, An abridgment of the book called *The cloud of unknowing, and of the counſel referring to*

lingfleet, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, to which, though ſeveral anſwers were given by the ableſt of the Popiſh writers, there was none that ſeemed to merit reply, excepting that penned by Father Creſſey; and this procured him the honour of a very illuſtrious antagoniſt, his old friend and acquaintance at Oxford, Edward Earl of Clarendon (*s*), who, notwithſtanding, treated him upon this occaſion ſomewhat ſeverely, which induced our author to pen and publiſh that letter which is mentioned in the notes. Being now grown far in years and having no very promiſing ſcene before his eyes, from the warm ſpirit that appeared againſt Popery amongſt all ranks of people, and the many excellent books written to confute it by the moſt learned of the Clergy, he was the more willing to ſeek for peace in the ſilence of a country retirement; and accordingly withdrew for ſome time to the houſe of Richard Caryll, Eſq; a gentleman of an ancient family and affluent fortune, at Eaſt Grinſtead in the county of Suſſex, and dying upon the 10th of Auguſt 1674, being then near the ſeventieth year of his age, was buried in the pariſh church there (*t*). His loſs was much regretted by thoſe of his communion, as being one of their ableſt champions, ready to draw his pen in their defence on every occaſion, and ſure of having his pieces read with ſingular favour and attention (*u*). His memory alſo was revered by the Proteſtants, as well on account of the purity of his manners, and his mild and humble deportment, as for the plainneſs, candour, and decency, with which he had managed all the controverſies that he had been engaged in, and which had procured him in return, much more of kindneſs and reſpect, than almoſt any other of his party had met with, or indeed deſerved (*w*).

(*s*) His Work was called Animadverſions on a book intituled, *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed*, &c.

(*t*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 531.

(*u*) See the Character of our author by Edward Sheldon, Eſq.

(*w*) See Dr. Daniel Whitby's Preface to his Reply to our author's Anſwer to Dr. Pierce's Court-Sermon.

to the ſame. This is not printed, but in MS. and was ſhewn to Anthony Wood, by Father W. R. a Benedictine Monk (5).

(5) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 531.

The next performance of his was upon occaſion of a famous treatiſe, written by Dr. Stillingfleet, againſt the Church of Rome, which made a very great noiſe in thoſe days, and put for ſome time a ſtop to the encroachments their Miſſionaries were daily making, which highly provoked thoſe of the Roman communion. This was entitled,

Anſwer to part of Dr. Stillingfleet's *Book, entituled* Idolatry practiſed in the Church of Rome, 1672. 8*vo.* He publiſhed alſo,

Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr. Stillingfleet, *and the imputation refuted and retorted*, &c. 1672. 8*vo.*

Queſtion, Why are you a Catholic? Queſtion, Why are you a Proteſtant? 1673. 8*vo.*

In ſupport of Dr. Stillingfleet, the Earl of Clarendon wrote *Animadverſions* upon our author's *anſwer*; in which he very plainly tells him and the world, that it was not devotion, but neceſſity and want of a ſubſiſtence, which drove him firſt out of the Church of England, and then into a Monaſtery. As this noble peer knew him well at Oxford, it may be very eaſily imagined that what he ſaid made a very ſtrong impreſſion, and it was to efface this, that our author thought fit to ſend abroad an anſwer under the title of

Epiſtle apologetical to a Perſon of Honour, touching his vindication of Dr. Stillingfleet, 1674. 8*vo.* In this work he gives a large relation of the ſtate and condition of his affairs, at the time of what he ſtiles his converſion, in order to remove the imputation of quitting his faith to obtain bread. The laſt work that he publiſhed was entitled,

Remarks upon the Oath of Supremacy. C.

CREW (NATHANAEL), Biſhop of Durham in the end of the ſeventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth, century, was the fifth ſon of John Lord Crew of Stene in the county of Northampton [*A*], by Jemima, daughter and coheir of Edward Walgrave of Lawford in Eſſex, Eſq (*a*). He was born at Stene, the 31ſt of January 1633 (*b*): and in 1652 admitted Commoner of Lincoln-college in Oxford (*c*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts the 1ſt of February 1655-6 (*d*); ſoon after which he was choſen Fellow of that College (*e*). The 29th of June 1658, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*f*). At the Reſtoration, he declared heartily in favour of the Crown and Hierarchy (*g*); and in 1663 was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity (*h*). The year following, on the 2d of July, he took the degree of Doctor of Law (*i*): and ſoon after went into Holy Orders. Auguſt the 12th, 1668, he was elected Rector of Lincoln-college, upon the deceaſe of Dr. Paul Hood. On the 29th of April 1669, he was inſtalled Dean of Chicheſter, and held with that dignity the Præcentorſhip, in which he had been inſtalled the day before. He was alſo appointed Clerk of the Cloſet to King Charles II (*k*). In 1671, upon the tranſlation of Dr. Blandford to the See of Worceſter, he was elected Biſhop of Oxford in his room on the 16th of June, confirmed June the 18th, conſecrated July the 2d, and enthronized the 5th of the ſame month; being allowed to hold with it in commendam the Living of Whitney, and the Rectorſhip of Lincoln-college (*l*). But this laſt he reſigned the 18th of October 1672 (*m*). In 1673 he performed the ceremony of the marriage of

(*a*) Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 482.

(*b*) From his epitaph.

(*c*) Wood, *Ath.* edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 1177.

(*d*) *Ibid. Faſti*, col. 108.

(*e*) *Athen. ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) *Faſti*, col. 122.

(*g*) Wood tells us, that *he turned about*. But there is no evidence of his having been otherwiſe.

(*h*) *Athen. ubi ſupra*; & *Faſti*, col. 150.

(*i*) *Faſti*, col. 159; and Catalogue of Graduates.

(*k*) Wood, *Ath. ubi ſupra*; and J. Le Neve's Faſt. edit. 1716, p. 491. 61, 62.

(*l*) Wood, *Ath. ibid.* and Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; vol. ii. p. 434.

(*m*) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 491.

[*A*] *Was the fifth ſon of* John *Lord* Crew *of* Stene, &c.] This John Lord Crew was ſon and heir to Sir Thomas Crew, Kt. one of the Serjeants at Law to King Charles I. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons 21 Jacob. & 1 Caro. and deſcended from the ancient family of *Crew* in the County Palatine of Cheſter. Having been inſtrumental in the Reſtoration of K. Charles II. he was advanced by that King, in the 13th year of his reign, April 20, 1661, to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Crew of Stene, and to the heirs male of his body (1). ——The elder brother of Sir Thomas Crew above-mentioned, was Sir Randolph Crew, Kt. who on the 1ſt of July 1614, was made Serjeant at Law; and the 26th of January 162⅘ conſtituted Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, but deprived of the ſame again on the 9th of November 1626, for openly manifeſting his diſlike at King Charles the Iſt's. raiſing money by way of Loan. On his being diſplaced, we are informed, he diſcovered no more diſcontent, than the weary traveller is offended, when told that he is arrived at his journey's end. He is ſaid, to have firſt brought the model of excellent building into Cheſhire (2).

(1) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra.*

(2) Fuller's Worthies, in Cheſhire, p. 178; and Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, in the Liſt.

James Duke of York with Maria of Eſte (*n*). Through that Prince's intereſt, with whoſe meaſures he ſeems to have been very compliant, he was tranſlated, the 22d of October 1674, to the rich Biſhoprick of Durham; which had been kept vacant ever ſince the death of Biſhop Coſin, January 15, 1671-2 (*o*). In the beginning of the year 1675, he baptized Katharina-Laura, the new born daughter of James Duke of York (*p*). The 26th of April 1676, he was ſworn of the Privy Council to King Charles II (*q*). Upon the acceſſion of King James II. to the Crown, he was in great favour with that Prince, who thought him moſt obſequious to his will. Accordingly, on the 29th of December 1685, he was made Dean of his Majeſty's Royal Chapel in the room of Henry Biſhop of London who had been removed; and within a few days after, namely January 8, was admitted into the Privy Council (*r*). In 1686 he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners in the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion erected by King James (*s*), and ſeemed to be proud of that honour [*B*]. By virtue of that Commiſſion, he appeared, on the 9th of Auguſt, at the Proceedings againſt Henry Biſhop of London, and was for ſuſpending him during the King's pleaſure; though the Earl, and Biſhop, of Rocheſter, and Chief Juſtice Herbert, were againſt it (*t*). Immediately after that Biſhop's ſuſpenſion, Commiſſioners were appointed to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the Dioceſe of London, of which Biſhop Crew was one (*u*). The 20th of November following, he was preſent at, and conſenting to, the degradation of Mr. Samuel Johnſon (*w*); previouſly to the moſt ſevere puniſhment that was inflicted on that eminent Divine. In the fore-mentioned quality of an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, he countenanced with his preſence a proſecution carried on, in May 1687, againſt Dr. Peachy, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, for refuſing to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity, without taking the oaths (*x*). And, in July the ſame year, he offered to attend the Pope's Nuncio at his public Entry into London; but his coachman refuſed to drive him that way (*y*). His name was put again in a new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion iſſued out this year, in October (*z*); in which he acted, during the ſevere proceedings againſt Magdalen-college in Oxford, for refuſing to elect one Anthony Farmer their Preſident, purſuant to the King's mandate (*a*). The Biſhop continued acting as an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner till October 1688; when that Commiſſion was aboliſhed. Towards the end of the year 1687, he was employed, with the Biſhops of Rocheſter and Peterborough (*b*), to draw up a Form of Thankſgiving for the Queen's being with child (*c*). Thus he complied with the King's deſigns, till he found that the Prince of Orange's party was likely to prevail. But, then, he abſented himſelf from the Council board, and told the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he was ſorry for having ſo long concurred with the Court; and deſired now to be reconciled to his Grace, and the other Biſhops (*d*). Moreover, in the Convention that met January the 22d, 1688-9, to conſider of filling the Throne, he was one of thoſe who voted, on the 6th of February, that King James II. had abdicated the Kingdom (*e*). Notwithſtanding all this, his thorough compliance with the late Court's arbitrary deſigns, had rendered him ſo obnoxious to the Nation, that he was excepted by name out of the Pardon granted by King William and Queen Mary, May the 23d, 1690 (*f*), which ſo terrified him, that he abſconded for a time, and was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea [*C*]: and offered to compound, by reſigning his Biſhoprick (*g*). However he found means afterwards to make his peace, and to preſerve his Biſhoprick. But, in order to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of that dignity, he was forced to permit the Crown to diſpoſe of, or at leaſt to nominate to, his Prebends of Durham, as they ſhould become vacant (*h*). By the death of his two elder brothers, he became in 1691, Baron Crew of Stene; and, about the 21ſt of December the ſame year, he married, but left no iſſue (*i*). During the reſt of King William's reign, he remained quiet and unmoleſted, though not much conſidered. In the year 1710, he was one of the Lords that oppoſed the proſecution then carried on againſt Dr. Sacheverell, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewiſe proteſted againſt ſeveral ſteps taken in that affair (*k*). He applied himſelf chiefly, in the latter part of his life, to works of Munificence and Charity. Particularly, he was a very great benefactor to Lincoln-college, of which he

(*n*) See Appendix to the Life of King James II. 8vo. edit. 1703. p. 41.
(*o*) Willis, *ibid.* p. 251.
(*p*) Life of King James II. p. 19.
(*q*) Wood, *Ath.* as above, col. 1177.
(*r*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, vol. iii. p. 442. Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 1178.
(*s*) See that Commiſſion, publiſhed in 1688, 4to. It is alſo inſerted in the Comp. Hiſt. as above, p. 452, &c. and in The Life of King James II. p. 146, &c. It bore date Aug. 3.
(*t*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, vol. i. edit. 1724, p. 677.
(*u*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 483.
(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 450.
(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 501, 502.
(*y*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 494; and N. Salmon's Lives of the Engliſh Biſhops, &c. edit. 1731. p. 397.
(*z*) See Hiſt. of the Eccleſ. Commiſſion, edit. 1711. 8vo. p. 27.
(*a*) See a full account of that whole affair, in Complete Hiſt. as above, p. 502, &c.
(*b*) Tho. Sprat, and Tho. White.
(*c*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 496.
(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 527.
(*e*) Wood, *Ath. ubi ſupra.*
(*f*) See Statut. 2 Will. & Mary, Seſſ. 1. c. 10.
(*g*) Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 597, note (*a*); and Burnet, *ubi ſupr.* p. 822.
(*h*) From private information.
(*i*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 1178; and Willis, as above, p. 252.
(*k*) See Annals of Queen Anne, *ann.* 1710; and Hiſtory of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. folio, 1735, p. 428. 429. 444, 445.

[*B*] *And ſeemed to be proud of that honour.*] Biſhop Burnet tells us (3), 'that he was lifted up with it, 'and ſaid, now his name would be recorded in hiſtory: 'And when ſome of his friends repreſented to him, the 'danger of acting in a Court ſo illegally conſtituted, 'he ſaid, he could not live, if he ſhould loſe the 'King's gracious ſmiles: ſo low and ſo fawning (adds 'the Biſhop) was he.'

[*C*] *And was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea.*] This particular is variouſly related by two of our Hiſtorians. One of them (4) writes thus; 'The Biſhop of Durham had paid ſo much court to 'the King, and to the very Nuncio of the Pope, that 'he deſpaired of any favour at the Revolution; and 'he was once *got beyond Sea* in a fright: but being 'brought back by the importunity of a domeſtick ſervant, he made a new intereſt in the new Court and 'Parliament, and bought off the complaints of Mr. 'Samuel Johnſon, and others, who had ſuffered by 'him.' The other Hiſtorian's words are as follows (5), 'The poor Biſhop of Durham, who had ab-'ſconded for ſome time, and *was waiting for a Ship 'to get beyond Sea*, fearing public affronts, and had 'offered to compound by reſigning his biſhoprick, was 'now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new 'ſettlement to merit at leaſt a pardon for all that he 'had done: which, all things conſidered, was thought 'very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the reſt 'of his life and character.' He did not attempt to go beyond ſea till after he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity; ſo that the laſt writer is miſtaken in that particular.

(3) Hiſt. of his own Time, vol. i. edit. 1724, p. 676.
(4) Kennet, in Compl. Hiſt. as above, p. 597, note (*b*).
(5) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, vol. i. edit. 1724, p. 822.

had

had been Fellow, and Rector [*D*]; and laid out large ſums in beautifying the Biſhop's Palace at Durham (*l*); beſides many other inſtances of generoſity and munificence of a more private nature. At length, his Lordſhip departed this life on Monday September 18, 1721, aged eighty eight; and was buried in his Chapel at Stene, the 30th of the ſame month (*m*), with an inſcription on his monument [*E*]. He held the See of Durham forty-ſeven

(*l*) *Mag. Britan. &c.* edit. 1718, fol. vol. ii. p. 639.

(*m*) Willis, as above, p. 251.

[*D*] *He was a very great Benefactor to Lincoln-College, of which he had been Fellow, and Rector.*] He added Twenty pounds *per annum*, to the Headſhip, or Rectory; and Ten pounds *per annum* to each of the twelve Fellowſhips, for ever. He made up the Bible Clerk's place, and eight Scholarſhips belonging to that College, Ten pounds a year each, for ever, which before were very mean. He made an augmentation of Ten pounds *per annum* a-piece for ever, to the Curates of four Churches belonging to the ſaid College, viz. All-Saints and St. Michael in Oxford, Twyford in Buckinghamſhire, and Comb in Oxfordſhire. All theſe were to take place from Michaelmas 1717. He likewiſe ſettled Twenty pounds a year a-piece on twelve Exhibitioners, which took place at Lady-day 1718. His Lordſhip intended alſo to have rebuilt that College, or at leaſt the beſt part of it; but the Fellows having diſobliged him, in refuſing to chuſe for their Rector, a Gentleman whom he recommended to them, upon the death of Dr. Fitzherbert Adams; his Lordſhip thought fit to alter his deſign.

[*E*] *With an inſcription on his monument.*] Which is as follows.

Near this Place lyeth the Body
Of the Right Reverend and Right Honourable
NATHANIEL Lord CREW
Lord Biſhop of Durham, and Baron of Stene,
Fifth Son of *John* Lord CREW.
He was born *Jan.* 31, 1633.
Was conſecrated Biſhop of OXFORD 1671.
Tranſlated to Durham in 1674.
Was Clerk of the Cloſet and Privy Counſellor
In the Reigns of King Charles II. and
King JAMES II.
And died *Sept.* 18, 1721.
Aged 88. M.

*** [There was but little in the character and conduct of this prelate which could entitle him to a place in the Biographia. He was diſtinguiſhed, indeed, by paſſing through a variety of eccleſiaſtical preferments, by being the Rector of a College, and by ſuſtaining, for an uncommon length of time, a very high rank in the Church; but he was not celebrated either for his learning or for other eminent qualities. We do not read of any thing that was publiſhed by him; and his benefactions to Lincoln College did not take place till he was between eighty and ninety years of age. As a Peer of the Realm, he makes no figure in the annals of his country, unleſs his having joined in ſome Tory proteſts is to be conſidered in that light (6). The chief hiſtorical event of his life reflects nothing but diſhonour upon him; we mean his being one of King James the ſecond's eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, together with his behaviour in that character, which was marked with ſervility. Indeed, this ſervile ſpirit had been diſplayed by him many years before, on his promotion to the Biſhopric of Durham. After he had obtained the promiſe of that Biſhopric, it was long before he could get into the poſſeſſion of it, though he ſolicited the matter with great diligence. Still there was ſomething that hindered his ſucceſs, and which he could not find out till he applied to Lord Lumley. That Nobleman diſcovered that the King had promiſed a ſum of money to Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn, which was to be paid out of the Biſhopric, and that without an agreement with her nothing could be done. Upon this our Prelate applied to her, by his agent, and agreed to pay her five or ſix thouſand pounds. One Arden was bound with the Biſhop for the money, and upon this he was put into poſſeſſion of the See. The money, in the proper courſe of time, was duly paid, and the Biſhop appointed Arden to be his Steward (7). Dr. Walter Pope, in his Life of Dr. Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury, relates the following circumſtance concerning that Prelate. "I well "remember the time, when he told me, he had the "proffer of the Biſhopric of Durham, after Biſhop "Coſin's death. Pray my Lord, ſaid I, accept it: "we ſhall have brave horſes there, and the long "journey betwixt Biſhop's-Auclands and London "will conduce much to the melioration of your "health. He replied, I juſt now entered it in my "blue book, that this day I refuſed it. I replied, "and pray, my Lord, why did you ſo? *Becauſe*, ſaid "he, *I did not like the conditions*. But what they "were, it would have been unmannerly for me to "inquire, and he did not think it convenient to tell "me (8)." The conditions intended to be impoſed on Dr. Ward will probably be thought to receive ſome illuſtration from the preceding anecdote concerning Biſhop Crew.

So ſubſervient was this Prelate to the deſigns of James the ſecond, that he ſeverely checked Dr. Patrick, who had preached ſtrongly againſt popery, and refuſed to introduce that eminent Divine to the King, when his Majeſty had ſent for him (9). However, notwithſtanding all the Biſhop of Durham's compliances, he ſhrunk in the time of danger, and interpoſed his counſel for the retraction of the meaſures in which he had himſelf ſo zealouſly concurred. The following is the letter which he wrote to his Majeſty on the occaſion.

"To the King's moſt excellent;

"The moſt humble and faithful advice of your "Majeſty's ever dutiful ſubject and ſervant the Bi-"ſhop of Durham.

"That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to withdraw "your protection of thoſe Romiſh Chapels, which are "daily made the occaſion of ſo much diſturbance "and miſchief here, and, if continued any longer, "I fear, will unavoidably endanger the peace and "ſafety of this your great city, and conſequently of "your whole kingdom.

"That the Archbiſhopric of York, which your "Majeſty hath been pleaſed to offer me, may be fil-"led with ſome other more deſerving perſon: and "that your Majeſty would be pleaſed to make ano-"ther Dean of Chriſt Church in Oxford, inſtead of "Mr. Maſſey, who is utterly uncapable thereof by "law: that the Fellows of Sidney-College in Cam-"bridge, for whom I have ſo often moved your "Majeſty, may have leave to elect a new Maſter, in "the place of Mr. Baſſett (he being alſo unqualified "on the ſame account,) and to proceed on all other "affairs relating to that ſociety, according to their "original ſtatutes and conſtitution.

"That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to call a "free Parliament ſo ſoon as may be, this being the "only probable means for preſerving your ſacred "perſon, for preventing the effuſion of Chriſtian "blood, and for eſtabliſhing your Throne and Go-"vernment, both in Church and State, upon ſure "and laſting foundations."

N. Durham (10).

With regard to the Biſhop's attempt to make his eſcape from this country, the tradition about Durham, ſome years ago, was, that he actually hired a Sunderland Collier, and went over to Holland; but that the Maſter of the veſſel remonſtrated with him, and prevailed upon him to return back, inſtead of going beyond ſea (11). It was Dr. Burnet to whom he offered to reſign his Biſhopric, on the conſideration of his receiving a thouſand pounds a year during his life; and it was the interceſſion of Dr. Tillotſon to which he was principally indebted for being admitted to favour by the Government (12).

Vanity was among the other qualities which detracted from the character of Biſhop Crew. "The "organ

(6) Collection of Lords Proteſts, vol. i. p. 186. 207. 222. 232. 244. 246.

(7) Hutchinſon's Hiſtory and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, vol. i. p. 555.

(8) Life of Seth, Biſhop of Saliſbury, p. 90.

(9) Great General Dictionary, vol. viii. p. 196. It was Biſhop Sprat who introduced Dr. Patrick to the King.

(10) Gentleman's Magazine for 1784, p. 673.

(11) From private information.

(12) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 137, 138.

ſeven years, as he had done that of Oxford three, continuing a Biſhop fifty years, three months, and two days; which was a longer time than any Engliſhman ever enjoyed that honour,

" organ and ornaments about it at Durham Minſter," ſays a valuable correſpondent, " will be a laſting " monument of the vain munificence of this man. " His Baron's Coronet and Epiſcopal Mitre ſtuck " up together, may afford ſome matter of exultation " to thoſe who conſider the ornamenting of Churches " as proceeding ſometimes from motives foreign to " Chriſtian piety." A moſt ſtriking inſtance of his vanity was his giving Dr. Mangey a Prebend of Durham, for a flattering Dedication prefixed to a Sermon, which Sermon he never read. He was fully ſatisfied with the Dedication (13).

(13) Granger's Biographical Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 285.

The conduct of our Prelate to Mr. Henry Wharton involves him in a more ſerious charge. When he was one of the Commiſſioners for exerciſing the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of the Dioceſe of London, he was preſent at the examination of that learned young man for Orders, and ſo much admired the readineſs of his anſwers, that he promiſed to make him his Chaplain, which promiſe he violated. On this account, Mr. Wharton, in his manuſcript Diary of his Life, ſpeaks of the Biſhop with great contempt, as a man of no veracity. His language is, *Levis iſte ac verſipellis epiſcopus.——Summam leviſſimi viri perfidium deteſtatus* (14).

(14) Birch, *ubi ſupra.*

Lord Crew was very zealous in maintaining the Palatinate rights of his Dioceſe, and made ſtrict enquiry into the ancient Records, which he cauſed to be thoroughly ſearched, and ſtated by his Secretary. In one inſtance he endeavoured to carry his authority to a moſt unjuſtifiable exceſs. During the latter end of his time, on the death of Serjeant Stroud, he made an entry upon an eſtate at Hullam and Sheraton, claiming the ſame as an eſcheat for want of an heir; and getting the tenants to attorn, he kept poſſeſſion till the Heir at Law, Mr. Evans, brought his ejectment. All this was illegally done by the Biſhop, without an office found; in conſequence of which he was told by Mr. William Lee, the Heir at Law's Solicitor, that his predeceſſor, Anthony Beke, had been impeached in Parliament for the like offence. A letter of Mr. Lee's to our Prelate on the occaſion, is ſo admirably written, and contains ſuch a fund of conſtitutional and legal reaſoning, that it deſerves to be inſerted, in honour to the memory of the writer. The letter was as follows:

" My Lord,

" The rights and privileges of your Lordſhip's county palatine having been often examined in Parliament, upon ſeveral petitions and informations, which have been exhibited both by and againſt your Lordſhip's predeceſſors, Mr. Evans is adviſed by his Counſel, to exhibit his information in Parliament againſt your Lordſhip; for that your Lordſhip and agents have entered upon and detain his inheritance, (under pretence for being an eſcheat) without having either your Lordſhip's title firſt found upon record, or ſuing out of legal proceſs, to warrant the entry of your Lordſhip's officers.

" This proceeding, my Lord, he is adviſed, is a manifeſt violation of the rights and privileges of the gentlemen and freeholders of the county of Durham, eſtabliſhed to them by the public ſubmiſſions of your Lordſhip's predeceſſors; confirmed and ratified by the Crown.

" That it is directly contrary to the known uſage and conſtitution of the county palatine; that it tends to veſt a higher prerogative in your Lordſhip, than is claimed and enjoyed by the Crown itſelf, who cannot, in this caſe, enter upon the eſtate of any ſubject, without an inquiſition firſt taken to find the title of the Crown:

" That it tends to ſubvert and evade the ſeveral laws made for reſtraining of the prerogative, and for ſecuring the rights and properties of the ſubject; particularly by the ſtatute of Magna Charta, chap. 29, which provides, that no freemen be diſſeized of his freehold, without lawful judgment of his Peers. Stat. 28. Edw. III. chap. 3. which further provides, that no man ſhall be diſinherited without due proceſs of law; and hath been ſince confirmed by the petition of right, 3 Char. I. chap. 1. and the Stat. 16 Char. I. chap. 14. that it is alſo contrary to the ſtatute of 5 Rich. II. chap. 7. which provides, that none ſhall make entry into any lands, but where the entry is given by law: As alſo the ſtatute 8 Hen. VI. chap. 9. made againſt forcible detainer of poſſeſſion; and ſeveral other ſtatutes and public laws, too tedious to be recited:

" That if ſuch proceeding as this ſhould be brought into practice, it would abſolutely deſtroy the ancient privilege, which all the freeholders in this county have hitherto enjoyed, in having an opportunity given them to defend their rights both upon taking the inquiſition, or finding the title of the Biſhop, and traverſing the inquiſition after it is taken.

" And if this proceeding againſt Mr. Evans can be juſtified, it is conceived, the Biſhop of Durham may, under colour of the ſame right, enter and ſeize upon all men's inheritances within the county, and put all to make out their title, before the Biſhop makes out any.

" Your Lordſhip has certainly been very ill-adviſed in this affair, and if the opinion of any eminent Counſel has been taken, I doubt they have either been miſinformed, or not very well inſtructed in the conſtitution, rights and uſages of the county palatine.

" I dare, my Lord, undertake to produce five thouſand precedents of inquiſitions taken, for finding the Biſhop's title upon record, before an entry was ever made; and it does appear, that the Biſhop's officers uſed always to enter, in caſes of this nature, by virtue of a ſpecial writ for that purpoſe, ſetting forth the title as it was found; and (indeed my Lord) I have reaſon to believe that ſuch a ſeizure as this was never attempted by any of your Lordſhip's predeceſſors, ſince the time of Anthony Beke.

" That Biſhop (whoſe character your Lordſhip cannot be unacquainted with) did take upon him to ſeize on ſeveral eſtates within the county, without ſuing out any writ or commiſſion for having his title firſt found, and without awarding of any proceſs, to warrant that entry: But how ſenſible the gentlemen of the county then were of the tendency it had to bring them under ſlavery and arbitrary government, what diſturbance it bred within the county, and what were the conſequences that attended that caſe, will beſt appear from the records of thoſe times.

" I ſhall only beg leave to put your Lordſhip in mind, that one of the articles then agreed to between that Biſhop and the gentlemen and freeholders of the county, upon the mediation of King Edward I. was, That neither the Biſhop, nor any of his ſucceſſors, ſhould ever afterwards ſeize any man's eſtate without firſt ſuing a writ or commiſſion out of the Biſhop's Court of Chancery.

" I doubt (my Lord) your Lordſhip's agents do not diſtinguiſh very well betwixt the caſe of the Biſhop of Durham, and of an ordinary Lord of any manor, where no perſon is in poſſeſſion of the eſtate, againſt whom he may bring his eſcheat, for otherwiſe, the Lord of the manor would be without remedy.

" But the Biſhop of Durham will appear, I believe, to ſtand upon a different foot; he has rather remedy for eſcheat, and ought to be conſidered as a public perſon, (*quaſi rex*) and under a capacity much different from a private Lord of a petty manor; ſuch a right in a private Lord, and in a particular caſe only, cannot be hurtful to the public; but ſuch a power in the Crown, or in the Biſhop of Durham, who has *jura regalia*, within his county palatine, may admit of a different conſideration.

" It muſt be agreed, my Lord, that the Biſhops of Durham have been always eſteemed to be perſons inveſted with royal dignity, or as it is expreſſed in the ancient record, *juriſdictionem temporalem in omnes ſubditos ſuos libertatis Dunelmenſis et authoritatem regium tanquam perſonæ privilegiis regalibus, inſignite per miniſtros, exercuerunt*, or as another record expreſſes it, *tanquam*

honour, excepting Thomas Bourchier, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who held the Sees of Worceſter, Ely, and Canterbury, fifty-one years and twenty-one days. His Lordſhip dying without iſſue, the title of Baron Crew of Stene became extinct with him.

tanquam reges et principes mitram geſſerit loco coronæ in ſignum ſuæ regalitatis; yet it muſt be allowed at the ſame time, that all the liberties of the Biſhop have been adjudged to be derived, and ſtill dependent upon the Crown, to be circumſcribed by the ſame laws, to be all forfeited upon the miſuſer or abuſe of them, during the Biſhop's time who commits the abuſe; and that they have been accordingly ſeized, both upon judgment in Parliament, and other Courts; and that the reaſon given in ſome of theſe judgments, why the Biſhop's liberty ought to be forfeit, for any miſuſer or abuſe of it, is *quia juſtum eſt quod in eo quo peccat, in eo puniatur*; or as we find it expreſſed in another of them, *in eo quo inſignius delinquit, ſit de jure puniendus*.

" In ſhort (my Lord) Mr. Evans is adviſed, this proceeding is a very great miſuſer of the liberty, and he having received your Lordſhip's anſwer, that he is not to expect any favour, or any reſtitution of his eſtate, until he does by law recover it; your Lordſhip having likewiſe thought fit to deprive him of all the beſt Counſel of the Circuit, he is partly neceſſitated, and does reſolve to exhibit informations, both in Parliament and the Court of Queen's Bench, in order to have the illegality of theſe proceedings examined into.

" I was indeed deſired by him to exhibit his information in Parliament, the firſt day that the Parliament ſat, but I was unwilling, in a caſe of this nature, to take any advantage of your Lordſhip's abſence, or to proceed any farther upon it, until I had given your Lordſhip fair notice of the meaſures intended to be taken; ſo that your Lordſhip might have an opportunity of adviſing further upon the caſe, and of being ſatisfied, in theſe matters, from your Lordſhip's own Counſel.

" Mr. Evans, my Lord, knows nothing as yet, of my writing any thing to your Lordſhip; but I muſt do juſtice to my client, and intend to let him know by next poſt, what I have done, for he is very preſſing to have his proſecution carried on with all vigour and expedition; and it cannot, I think, reaſonably be expected, that an eſtate of three or four hundred pounds *per annum* ſhould be loſt without ſome ſtruggle; or that the title of Mr. Evans, which has been long ſince proved, allowed and decreed by the Court of Chancery, is to be eaſily overthrown by an imaginary title, that has not yet, in fifty years time, been ſo much as found by a common inqueſt.

" It is true, my Lord, Mr. Evans, at preſent, is ſomewhat a ſtranger to moſt of the Gentlemen of the country, and his intereſt in Parliament is not, perhaps, very conſiderable; however, he does not doubt, but that juſtice will prevail in that honourable Houſe, and that ſome will be found to ſtand up in the defence of the liberties of the country.

" I am afraid, my Lord, I have treſpaſſed too much upon your Lordſhip, but your Lordſhip may be aſſured, if it were not from a reſpect I have for your Lordſhip's honour, as well as intereſt, I ſhould hardly have taken ſo much pains to convince your Lordſhip, and to deprive myſelf, at the ſame time, of thoſe advantages, which I had reaſon to expect from ſuch a proſecution as this might be.

" I ſhall ſubmit the whole to your Lordſhip's cenſure and conſideration, hoping your Lordſhip will believe me to be, with the utmoſt reſpect, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt obedient ſervant,

" WILLIAM LEE."

It is to the credit of Lord Crew that he gave a due attention to this remonſtrance. He ſurrendered the poſſeſſion of the eſtate, and paid coſts; beſide which, he was ſo well ſatisfied with the Solicitor's plain dealing, or rather with his knowledge of the Palatine rights, that he granted to him and his ſon a Patent for life of the office of Regiſter of the Court of Chancery at Durham (15).

With all the faults of this Biſhop, he was poſſeſſed of ſome amiable qualities. He was hoſpitable, generous, and charitable; though it is ſaid that his charity was ſometimes obſerved to be exerted with too much oſtentation (16). Beſides the benefactions mentioned in note [*D*], he made large bequeſts, by his laſt will, to the purpoſes of Religion, education, and charity, an account of which may be ſeen in Mr. Hutchinſon's Hiſtory and Antiquities of the county palatine of Durham. " Many men, ſays " that Gentleman, have been canonized for much " inferior works of beneficence than thoſe of this " Prelate. His miſtaken principles in the affairs of " Government, though they ſtain his memory, under " the pens of political writers, are all obliterated " from the benevolent mind by his charity and ex- " tenſive acts of munificence (17)." This encomium would have been more juſt if the Biſhop's generoſity had not been diſplayed ſo late in life; and, indeed, if it had not been for the moſt part poſthumous. His benefactions, during the ſpace of forty-ſeven years, were not to be compared with thoſe which in eleven years had flowed from his predeceſſor in the See of Durham, Dr. Coſin.

In the former edition of the Biographia, Biſhop Crew is repreſented as having died on the 18th of September, 1722. Dr. Richardſon and Mr. Hutchinſon have both fallen into the ſame error with regard to the year of our Prelate's deceaſe (18). It is the more remarkable that theſe two Gentlemen ſhould have been guilty of ſuch a miſtake; as they immediately proceed to relate that it was in 1721 that Dr. William Talbot was tranſlated from the Biſhopric of Saliſbury to that of Durham.] K.

(15) Hutchinſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 562—564.

(16) Granger, *ubi ſupra*.

(17) Hutchinſon, *ubi ſupra*.

(18) Richardſon's *Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ*. p. 760.

*** [CRICHTON (JAMES), was a Scots Gentleman, who lived in the ſixteenth century, and of whom very extraordinary things are related, with regard to his endowments, both of body and mind. Theſe were eſteemed ſo great, that he obtained the appellation of " The Admirable Crichton," and by that title he has continued to be diſtinguiſhed, down to the preſent day. The accounts given of his abilities and attainments are indeed ſo wonderful, that they ſeem ſcarcely to be credible; and many perſons have been diſpoſed to conſider them as almoſt entirely fabulous, though they have been delivered with the utmoſt confidence, and without any degree of heſitation, by various writers. It is, therefore, with diffidence, and even with anxiety, that I have entered upon this article; being deſirous, on the one hand, not to detract from Crichton's real merit, and, on the other, to form a juſt eſtimate of the truth of the facts which are recorded concerning him. Upon mature deliberation, I have determined to relate, firſt, from his ſeveral Biographers, the repreſentations they have made of his talents and exploits, and then to ſubjoin ſuch obſervations, as may enable the reader to judge how far their ſtories are to be credited. In drawing up this life I am not only aſſiſted by the printed accounts of Crichton, but by a manuſcript memoir, compoſed by the Earl of Buchan for the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh; of which memoir his Lordſhip has obligingly permitted me to be favoured with a copy.

The time of Crichton's birth is ſaid, by the generality of writers, to have been in 1551 (*a*); but, according to Lord Buchan, it appears, from ſeveral circumſtances, that he was born in the month of Auguſt, 1560. What the circumſtances were which determined his Lordſhip to fix upon the latter date, are not related; though it cannot be doubted but that it was in conſequence of a more particular and accurate enquiry, that he was induced to differ in this reſpect from preceding authors. There is a difference, likewiſe, between the Earl of Buchan and other Biographers, with regard to the family of Crichton, and the rank and ſituation of his father. The common accounts aſſert that James Crichton's father was Robert Crichton of Clunie, in the county of Perth; and that this Robert Crichton commanded Queen Mary's army at the battle of Langſide, in the year 1568 (*b*). But from the Earl of Buchan we learn, that this Gentleman was of Elliock in the ſame county [*A*], and that he was Lord Advocate of Scotland in Queen Mary's Reign, from 1561 to 1573; part of which time he held that office in conjunction with Spens of Condie. The mother of James Crichton was Elizabeth Stuart, the only daughter of Sir James Stuart of Beath, who was a deſcendant of Robert Duke of Albany, the third ſon of King Robert the ſecond, by Elizabeth Muir or More, as ſhe is commonly called (*c*). It is hence evident that when the admirable Crichton boaſted (as he did abroad) that he was ſprung from Scottiſh Kings, he ſaid nothing but what was agreeable to truth. Nevertheleſs Thomas Dempſter, who ſufficiently amplifies his praiſes in other reſpects, paſſes a ſevere cenſure upon him on this account; which is the more remarkable, as Dempſter lived ſo near the time, and was well acquainted with the genealogies of the great families of Scotland (*d*) [*B*].

James Crichton is ſaid to have received his grammatical education at Perth, and to have ſtudied philoſophy in the Univerſity of St. Andrew. His Tutor in that Univerſity was Mr. John Rutherford, a Profeſſor at that time famous for his learning, and who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by writing four books on Ariſtotle's Logic, and a commentary on his Poetics. But nothing, according to Mackenzie, can give us a higher idea of Rutherford's worth and merit, than his being Maſter of that wonder and prodigy of his age, the great and admirable Crichton (*e*). However, it is not to this Profeſſor alone that the honour is aſcribed of having formed ſo extraordinary a character. There are others who may

(*a*) Mackenzie's Writers of the Scot's Nation, vol. iii. p. 198. Pennant's Tour in Scotland, vol. i. p. 313. Edinburgh Mag. vol. ii. p. 464.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Lord Buchan's Memoir.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 137, 138.

[*A*] *This Gentleman was of Elliock in the ſame county.*] Mr. Pennant's account ſays, that Robert Crichton was of Clunie and Elliock. But it is erroneous, according to Lord Buchan, to ſtyle him of Clunie. It may here be obſerved, that the life of the admirable Crichton, given in Mr. Pennant's tour, was not drawn up by that Gentleman, but is a narrative which was printed ſome years ago at Aberdeen. "I have had opportunity, ſays Mr. Pennant, of "comparing it with moſt of the authorities quoted "in ſupport of the hiſtory of ſo extraordinary a per"ſon, and find them uſed with judgment and fide"lity. Excepting a few notes, I preſent it to the "readers in the ſtate I found it (1)." The real character and authority of this compilation will hereafter appear.

(1) Pennant's Firſt Tour in Scotland, p. 313.

[*B*] *Was well acquainted with the genealogies of the great families of Scotland.*] Thomas Dempſter, after ſpeaking of the endowments of Crichton's mind, has theſe words: *Hunc ſane ingenii oſtentationem lubentius ferrem et fidentius prædicarem, quam poſſem pati jactabunde ad* Scotiæ *Reges genus ipſius referendum; nam inane eſt ea ſe gentis aut ſanguinis gloria perperam arrogata venditare, cum tanta claritudo in tenui fortuna ridicula videatur; quare ut verum ſit, familiam* Clunium *nobilem eſſe, ita illud mendaciſſimum, Reges* Scotiæ Jacobi Crichtoni *majores ullos extitiſſe* (2). In anſwer to this cenſure, Lord Buchan has traced the deſcent of Crichton from Robert the firſt and Murdoch the ſecond Duke of Albany, through Sir James Stuart, the fourth lawful ſon of the laſt named Duke, to Elizabeth Stuart, who married Robert Crichton, as above-mentioned. The only difficulty that occurs, is with regard to the legitimacy of the deſcendants of Sir James Stuart. This Gentleman retired to Ireland, where, by a Lady of the family of the Mac Donalds, he had ſeven ſons, three of whom were legitimated by King James the third, and were the anceſtors of ſeveral conſiderable families, particularly thoſe of Evandale and Ochiltree (3). Though, according to Lord Buchan, Sir James Stuart was really married to the Iriſh Lady, the marriage, nevertheleſs, having been contracted out of the kingdom, was, by the law of Scotland, at that time conſidered as illegitimate. "It is ſomewhat ſingular, ſays his Lord"ſhip, that although the marriage of Sir James Stu"art, fourth ſon of Murdoch Duke of Albany, with "his Iriſh Lady, ſeems to have been allowed, and "that, by the law of Scotland, the ante-nuptial "children were legitimated to all intents and pur"poſes by the ſubſequent marriage; yet, weak as "was the male ſtock of the Houſe of Stuart at that "time, the iſſue of this marriage was ſet aſide from "the Succeſſion to the Crown, and Letters of Legi"timation were paſſed in favour of Andrew Lord "Evandale, Arthur and Walter Stuart his brothers, "April 17th, Anno 1479. Thus injuſtice has been "ſanctified by the prejudices of a barbarous age, and "a long lapſe of time has now almoſt effaced the "remembrance of it, even from the tables of our "Genealogiſts (4)." Perhaps ſome of our readers may think that a cloud ſtill reſts upon the ſubject of Crichton's deſcent from Scottiſh kings; not with regard to the reality of it, but its ſtrict legitimacy, according to the legal ideas which then prevailed in Scotland. This, however, is not a matter of great importance, ſince his celebrity has ariſen from very different cauſes.

(2) Dempſter's *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica*, p. 189.

(3) Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 17.

(4) Lord Buchan's Memoir.

On the father's ſide, the family of the Admirable Crichton was undoubtedly noble; and this is acknowledged by Dempſter. Three branches of that family have been raiſed to the Peerage of Scotland. Theſe were James Crichton Earl of Caithneſs, in whom the title began and ended; the Crichtons, Lord Crichtons, and afterwards Viſcounts Frendraught; and the Crichtons, Lord Crichtons of Sanquhar, afterwards Earls of Dumfries; which Earldom, by female deſcent, now belongs to the Earl of Stair. The title of Viſcount Frendraught was loſt by the attainder of Lewis the fifth Viſcount. James Crichton of Auchingowl, Eſq; is the preſent repreſentative of the family (5). The great offices held by ſome of the Crichtons, and the high alliances formed by them, might be enlarged upon, were it neceſſary. William, the firſt Lord Crichton, was Chancellor of Scotland. James, the ſecond Lord, was Great Chamberlain of that kingdom. His Lady was the daughter and co-heireſs of James Dunbar, Earl of Murray, and was deſcended from the illuſtrious Thomas Randolph, the firſt Earl of that county. William, the third Lord Crichton, married Lady Margaret Stuart, daughter of King James the ſecond (6).

(5) Douglas, *ubi ſupra*, p. 112. 164—167. 198—201.

(6) Douglas, *ubi ſupra*. Lord Buchan's Manuſcript.

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put in their claim to a ſhare in the ſame glory; for Aldus Manutius, who calls Crichton firſt Couſin to the King, ſays that he was educated, along with his Majeſty, under Buchanan, Hepburn, and Robertſon, as well as Rutherford (*f*). Indeed, whatever might be the natural force of his genius, many Maſters muſt have been neceſſary, in order to his acquiring ſuch a variety of attainments as he is repreſented to have poſſeſſed. For it is related that he had ſcarcely arrived to the twentieth year of his age, when he had run through the whole circle of the Sciences, and could ſpeak and write to perfection in ten different languages. Nor was this all; for he had likewiſe improved himſelf to the higheſt degree in riding, dancing, and ſinging, and in playing upon all ſorts of inſtruments (*g*).

(*f*) Pennant, *ubi ſupra*, p. 314. note. Ald. Manut. Paradox. Cic. Dedic.

(*g*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 198. Pennant, *ubi ſupra*.

Crichton, being thus accompliſhed, went abroad upon his travels, and is ſaid to have gone to Paris, of his tranſactions at which place the following account is given. He cauſed ſix placards to be fixed on all the gates of the Schools, Halls, and Colleges belonging to the Univerſity, and on all the pillars and poſts before the houſes of the moſt renowned men for literature in the city, inviting all thoſe who were well verſed in any art or ſcience, to diſpute with him in the College of Navarre, that day ſix weeks, by nine of the clock in the morning, where he would attend them, and be ready to anſwer to whatever ſhould be propoſed to him in any Art or Science, and in any of theſe twelve languages, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Spaniſh, French, Italian, Engliſh, Dutch, Flemiſh, and Sclavonian; and this either in verſe or proſe, at the diſcretion of the diſputant. During this whole time, inſtead of cloſely applying to his ſtudies, he regarded nothing but hunting, hawking, tilting, vaulting, riding of a well-managed horſe, toſſing the pike, handling the muſket, and other military feats; or elſe he employed himſelf in domeſtic games, ſuch as balls, concerts of muſic vocal and inſtrumental; cards, dice, tennis, and the like diverſions of youth. This conduct ſo provoked the Students of the Univerſity, that, beneath the placard which was fixed on the Navarre gate, they cauſed the following words to be written: "If you would meet with this Monſter of Perfection, to make ſearch for him "either in the tavern or bawdy-houſe, is the readieſt way to find him." Nevertheleſs, when the day appointed arrived, Crichton appeared in the College of Navarre, and acquitted himſelf beyond expreſſion in the diſputation, which laſted from nine o'clock in the morning till ſix at night. At length, the Preſident, after extolling him highly, for the many rare and excellent endowments which God and Nature had beſtowed upon him, roſe from his chair, and, accompanied by four of the moſt eminent Profeſſors of the Univerſity, gave him a diamond ring, and a purſe full of gold, as a teſtimony of their love and favour. The whole ended with the repeated acclamations and huzzas of the ſpectators; and henceforward our young diſputant was called "The Admirable Crichton." It is added, that he was ſo little fatigued with the diſpute, that he went on the very next day to the "Louvre," where he had a match of tilting, (an exerciſe then in much requeſt,) and in the preſence of ſome Princes of the Court of France, and a great many Ladies, carried away the ring fifteen times ſucceſſively, and broke as many lances on the *Saracen* (*h*) [*C*] (*).

(*h*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 199, 200. Pennant, *ubi ſupra*, p. 315, 316. Sir Thomas Urquhart's Tracts, p. 65—70.

(*) What is meant by the *Saracen* no one has condeſcended to explain.

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[*C*] *And broke as many lances on the* Saracen.] The account given above, and which is taken from Mackenzie and Pennant, reſts entirely on the authority of Sir Thomas Urquhart, the language of whoſe narration has directly not been adopted, ſince it would only ſerve to caſt an air of ridicule on the whole ſtory. Mackenzie, however, and the writer in Pennant, have endeavoured ſtill farther to confirm the truth of the extraordinary exploits performed by Crichton at Paris, by the teſtimony of an author whom they conſider as an eye-witneſs. The paſſage which is produced for this purpoſe, is as follows: *In* Navarræ Collegium *venit adoleſcens quidam natus Annos XX, qui bonas Artes apprime callebat, ut peritiſſimi quique Academiæ magiſtri teſtabuntur. Præclare fidibus canebat: Numeris, voce, modis, ſymphonia cunctos vincebat, pingebat, et imaginibus, colores inducebat optime omnium. In militia experimentiſſimus eſt: Gladium ambabus manibus diſtringebat tam bene et fortiter ut cum eo certare nullus auderet: ſtatim atque videbit hoſtem ſuum, ſaltu ſe in eum projiciebat, remotus ſpatio Pedum XX aut XXIV. Erat magiſter in Artibus, in medicina, in utroque jure, in theologia. Nobiſcum in* Navarræ *ſchola diſputando congreſſus eſt, tametſi magiſtrorum quinquaginta perfectiſſimorum numerum excederemus. Mitto alios ter mille, et eo amplius, qui concertationi interfuerunt. Tam argute et cumulate reſpondit quæſtionibus quæ propoſitæ ſunt omnibus, ut niſi præſentium, certe abſentium fidem ſuperet.* Latine, Græce, Hebraice, Aribice, *et linguis aliis pluribus loquitur, ut qui politiſſime; equitabat quoque ut qui optime. Quin etiam ſi quis homo annos centum viveret, et ſine cibo et potu, dies noctesque inſomnes traduceret, quas ille animo complexus eſt ſcientias aſſequeretur nunquam, et revera metum ingentem nobis incuſſit, nam plura novit quam natura humana ferre poſſit. Doctores eccleſiæ quatuor redarguit; ſapientia comparandus nemini videbatur; pro antichriſto habitus eſt* (7). For this paſſage Mackenzie refers to Steph. Paſch. Diſquiſ. Lib. 5. Cap. 23. We ſhall inſert the tranſlation of it given in Pennant. "There came to the College of Navarre, a young "man of twenty years of age, who was perfectly "well ſeen in all the Sciences, as the moſt learned "Maſters of the Univerſity acknowledged. In "vocal and inſtrumental muſic none could excel "him; in painting and drawing in colours none "could equal him. In all military feats he was "moſt expert, and could play with the ſword ſo "dexterouſly with both his hands, that no man could "fight him. When he ſaw his enemy or antagoniſt, "he would throw himſelf upon him at one jump of "twenty or twenty-four feet diſtance. He was a "Maſter of Arts, and diſputed with us in the "Schools of the College in medicine, the civil and "canon Law, and Theology: and although we "were above fifty in number, beſides above three "thouſand that were preſent, ſo pointedly and "learnedly he anſwered to all the queſtions which "were propoſed to him, that none but they who "were preſent can believe it. He ſpake Latin, Greek, "Hebrew, and other languages moſt politely. He "was likewiſe a moſt excellent horſeman; and truly "if a man ſhould live a hundred years without "eating, drinking, or ſleeping, he could not attain "to this man's knowledge, which ſtruck us with a "panic fear; for he knew more than human nature "can

(7) Mackenzie's Scottiſh Writers, vol. iii. p. 199.

The next account we have of Crichton is, that he went to Rome, where he affixed a placard upon all the eminent places of the city, in the following terms: *Nos Jacobus Crichtonus Scotus, cuicunque Rei propositæ ex improviso respondebimus.* In a city which abounded in wit, this bold challenge, to answer to any question that could be proposed to him without his being previously advertised of it, could not escape the ridicule of a pasquinade. It is said, however, that being no wise discouraged, he appeared at the time and place appointed; and that, in the presence of the Pope, many Cardinals, Bishops, Doctors of Divinity, and Professors in all the Sciences, he displayed such wonderful proofs of his universal knowledge, that he excited no less surprize than he had done at Paris (*i*). Boccalini, who was then at Rome, gives something of a different relation of the matter. According to this author, the pasquinade against Crichton, which was to the following effect, "*And he that will see* it *let him go to the sign of the Falcon and* it *shall be shewn*," made such an impression upon him, that he left a place where he had been so grossly affronted as to be put upon a level with jugglers and mountebanks (*k*).

(*i*) Mackenzie, *ubi supra.* Pennant, *ubi supra*, p. 317, 318.

(*k*) Pennant, p. 317, note.

From Rome he went to Venice, at his approach to which city he appears to have been in considerable distress, of mind at least, if not with regard to external circumstances. This is evident from the following lines of his poem, *In suum ad urbem Venetam appulsum.*

Sæpè meos animo casus meditabar iniquos,
Sæpè humectabam guttis stillantibus ora.

The chief design of Crichton, in his poem, was to obtain a favourable reception at Venice, and particularly from Aldus Manutius, whose praises he celebrates in very high strains (*l*). When he presented his verses to Manutius, that Critic was struck with a very agreeable surprize, and judged, from the performance, that the author of it must be a person of an extraordinary genius. Upon discoursing with the stranger, he was filled with admiration; and finding him to be skilled in every subject, he introduced him to the acquaintance of the men of principal learning and note in Venice. Here he contracted an intimate friendship not only with Aldus Manutius, but with Laurentius Massa, Speron Speronius, Johannes Donatus, and various other learned persons, to whom he presented several poems in commendation of the City and University. Three of Crichton's Odes, one addressed to Aldus Manutius, another to Laurentius Massa, and a third to Johannes Donatus, are still preserved. At length, he was introduced to the Doge and Senate, in whose presence he made a speech, which was accompanied with such beauty of eloquence, and such grace of person and manner, that he received the thanks of that illustrious body, and nothing was talked of through the whole city but this *rara in Terris Avis*, this Prodigy of Nature (*m*). He held, likewise, disputations, on the subjects of theology, philosophy, and mathematics, before the most eminent Professors, and large multitudes of people. His reputation was so great, that the desire of seeing and hearing him brought together a vast concourse of persons, from different quarters, to Venice (*n*). It may be collected from Manutius, that the time in which Crichton exhibited these demonstrations of his abilities, was in the year 1580 [*D*].

(*l*) *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, p. 268—272.

(*m*) *Joannis Imperialis Museum Historium*, p. 140—143. *Aldi Manutii Dedicatio ad Ciceronis Paradoxa.* Mackenzie and Pennant, *ubi supra.*

(*n*) *Ald. Manut. ubi supra.* Lord Buchan's Memoir.

During his residence at Venice, he fell into a bad state of health, which continued for the space of four months. However, before he was perfectly recovered, he went, by the advice of his friends, to Padua, the University of which city was at that time in great reputation. The next day after his arrival, there was a meeting of all the learned men of the place, at the house of Jacobus Aloysius Cornelius; when Crichton opened the assembly with an extemporary Poem in praise of the city, the University, and the company who had honoured him with their presence. After this, he disputed for six hours with the most celebrated Professors, on various subjects of learning; and he exposed, in particular, the errors of Aristotle and his commentators, with so much solidity and acuteness, and, at the same time, with so much modesty, that he excited universal admiration. In conclusion, he delivered, extempore, an Oration in Praise of Ignorance, which was conducted with such ingenuity and elegance, that his hearers were astonished. This exhibition of Crichton's talents was on the fourteenth of March, 1581. Soon after, he appointed a day for another disputation, to be held at the Palace of the Bishop of Padua; not for the purpose of affording higher proofs of his abilities, for that could not possibly be done, but in compliance with the earnest solicitations of some persons, who were not present at the former assembly. However, several circumstances occurred, which prevented this meeting from taking place (*o*). Such is the account of Manutius; but Imperialis relates, that he was informed by his father, who was present upon the occasion, that Crichton was opposed by Archangelus Mercenarius, a famous philosopher, and that he acquitted himself so well

(*o*) *Ald. Manut. ubi supra.*

(8) Pennant's First Tour in Scotland, p. 314, 315.

" can well bear. He overcame four of the Doctors " of the Church; for in learning none could contest " with him, and he was thought to be Antichrist (8)." It will be seen in the sequel, how far this story relates to Crichton.

[*D*] *Was in the year* 1580.] As Aldus Manutius writes, in 1581, that he received the Ode addressed to himself in the former year, it is hence apparent that Crichton came to Venice in that year (9).

(9) Lord Buchan's Memoir.

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as to obtain the approbation of a very honourable company, and even of his antagoniſt himſelf (*p*) [*E*].

(*p*) *Joan. Imperial. Muſe. Hiſt. ubi ſupra.*

Amidſt the diſcourſes which were occaſioned by our young Scotſman's exploits, and the high applauſes that were beſtowed on his genius and attainments, ſome perſons there were who endeavoured to detract from his merit. For ever, therefore, to confound theſe invidious impugners of his talents, he cauſed a paper to be fixed on the gates of St. John and St. Paul's Church, wherein he offered to prove before the Univerſity, that the errours of Ariſtotle, and of all his followers, were almoſt innumerable, and that the latter had failed, both in explaining their maſter's meaning, and in treating on theological ſubjects. He promiſed, likewiſe, to refute the dreams of certain Mathematical Profeſſors; to diſpute in all the Sciences; and to anſwer to whatever ſhould be propoſed to him, or objected againſt him. All this he engaged to do, either in the common logical way, or by numbers and mathematical figures, or in a hundred ſorts of verſes, at the pleaſure of his opponents (*q*) [*F*]. According to Manutius, Crichton ſuſtained this conteſt without fatigue, for three days; during which time he ſupported his credit, and maintained his propoſitions, with ſuch ſpirit and energy, that, from an unuſual concourſe of people, he obtained acclamations and praiſes, than which none more magnificent were ever heard by men (*r*).

(*q*) *Ald. Manut.* Mackenzie and Pennant, *ubi ſupra.*

(*r*) *Ald. Manut. ubi ſupra.*

The next account we have of Crichton, and which appears to have been tranſmitted, through Sir Thomas Urquhart, to later Biographers, is of an extraordinary inſtance of bodily courage and ſkill. It is ſaid, that at Mantua there was at this time a Gladiator, who had foiled, in his travels, the moſt famous fencers in Europe, and had lately killed three perſons who had entered the liſts with him. The Duke of Mantua was much grieved at having granted this man his protection, as he found it to be attended with ſuch fatal conſequences. Crichton, being informed of his Highneſs's concern, offered his ſervice, not only to drive the murtherer from Mantua, but from Italy, and to fight him for fifteen hundred piſtoles. Though the Duke was unwilling to expoſe ſuch an accompliſhed Gentleman to ſo great a hazard, yet, relying upon the report he had heard of his warlike atchievements, he agreed to the propoſal; and the time and place being appointed, the whole Court attended to behold the performance. At the beginning of the combat, Crichton ſtood only upon his defence; while the *Italian* made his attack with ſuch eagerneſs and fury, that, having overacted himſelf, he began to grow weary. Our young Scotſman now ſeized the opportunity of attacking his antagoniſt in return; which he did with ſo much dexterity and vigour, that he ran him through the body in three different places, of which wounds he immediately died. The acclamations of the ſpectators were loud and extraordinary upon this occaſion; and it was acknowledged by all of them, that they had never ſeen Art grace Nature, or Nature ſecond the precepts of Art, in ſo lively a manner as they had beheld theſe two things accompliſhed on that day. To crown the glory of the action, Crichton beſtowed the prize of his victory upon the widows of the three perſons who had loſt their lives in fighting with the Gladiator (*s*).

(*s*) Pennant, *ubi ſupra*, p. 320, 321. Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. Sir Thomas Urquhart's Tracts, p. 59—64.

It is aſſerted that, in conſequence of this and his other wonderful performances, the Duke of Mantua made choice of him for Preceptor to his ſon Vincentio di Gonzaga, who is repreſented as being of a riotous temper and a diſſolute life. The appointment was highly pleaſing to the Court. Crichton, to teſtify his gratitude to his friends and benefactors, and to contribute to their diverſion, framed, we are told, a Comedy, wherein he expoſed and ridiculed all the weakneſſes and failures of the ſeveral employments in which men are engaged. This compoſition was regarded as one of the moſt ingenious ſatires that ever was made upon mankind. But the moſt aſtoniſhing part of the ſtory is, that Crichton ſuſtained fifteen characters in the repreſentation of his own play. Among the reſt, he acted the divine, the philoſopher, the lawyer, the mathematician, the phyſician, and the ſoldier, with ſuch inimitable grace, that every time he appeared upon the Theatre, he ſeemed to be a different perſon (*t*) [*G*].

(*t*) Pennant and Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra.* Urquhart, *ubi ſupra*, p. 71—76.

From

[*E*] *And even of his antagoniſt himſelf.*] Theſe are the words of Imperialis. *Mihi quidem ex patris mei, qui ipſum audiit, ſermonibus agnitum, ex Doctoribus unum, interriti ſpiritus acie, Arcangelum Mercenarium inſignem philoſophum, cum Critonio de Rebus Phyſicis copioſe, graviterque, diſſeruiſſe, impugnando, reſolvendo, interpretando ſubtiliter, ac promptè ſingula; qui propterea perhonorificum lectiſſimæ Coronæ, ac vel ipſius diſceptatoris indicium eſt emeritus.*

[*F*] *At the pleaſure of his opponents.*] The following is the copy of this challenge, or of theſe two Theorems, as they are called by Manutius. *Ut iis qui (virtute veraque animi nobilitate aliis-prælucentes) bene de virtutis amatoribus ſentire conſueverunt gratias agat immortales* Jacobus Critonius Scotus, *profligatiſque et perditis hominibus omnem in poſterum jactandi occaſionem auferat, errores* Ariſtotelis *pene innumerabiles et omnium Latinorum Philoſophorum, ſive cum de ipſius mente diſputant, ſive cum Res Theologicas atingunt; et nonnullorum quoque Matheſeos Profeſſorum Somnia refutabit, et ad objecta reſpondebit. Liberam ad hæc in omnibus diſciplinis, ſive illæ publice doceri ſoleant, ſive ſapientiſſimis tantum hominibus perviæ ſint, arguendi occaſionem dat reſponſurus, ſive logicis et conſuetis reſponſionibus, ſive per ſecretam numerorum rationem aut figuras mathematicas, ſive per aliquot ex centum carminum generibus, ex proponentium arbitrio. In D. D.* Johannis *et* Pauli *Æde ſacra, ipſo ſanctiſſimo Pentecoſtes Die, poſt meridiem,*

EXORDIUM SUMET.

[*G*] *He ſeemed to be a different perſon.*] As a ſpecimen of Sir Thomas Urquhart's manner of writing, we ſhall inſert part of his account of this tranſaction.

'It happened on a Shrove-Tueſday at night, that 'this ever-renowned *Crichtoun*, (who, in the after-'noon of that day, at the deſire of my Lord Duke '(the whole Court ſtriving which ſhould exceed the 'other

From being the principal Actor in a Comedy, Crichton ſoon became the ſubject of a dreadful Tragedy. One night, during the time of Carnival, as he was walking along the ſtreets

'other in foolery, and deviſing of the beſt ſports to 'excite laughter; neither my Lord, Ducheſs, nor 'Prince, being exempted from acting their parts, as 'well as they could) upon a Theatre ſet up for the 'purpoſe, begun to prank it (*à la Venetiana*) with 'ſuch a flouriſh of *mimick*, and *ethopoetick* geſtures, 'that all the Courtiers of both ſexes, even thoſe that 'a little before that, were fondeſt of their own con-'ceits, at the ſight of his ſo inimitable a garb, from 'raviſhing actors, that they were before, turned then 'raviſhed ſpectators. O! with how great livelineſs 'did he repreſent the conditions of all manner of 'men! how naturally did he ſet before the eyes of 'the beholders the rogueries of all profeſſions, from 'the overweening *monarch* to the peeviſh *ſwaine*, 'through all intermediate degrees of the ſuperficial '*courtier* or proud *warrior*, diſſembled *churchman*, 'doting *old man*, cozening *lawyer*, lying *traveler*, 'covetous *merchant*, rude *ſeaman*, pedantick *ſcholar*, 'the amorous *ſhepheard*, envious *artiſan*, vainglorious '*maſter*, and tricky *ſervant*; he did with ſuch variety 'diſplay the ſeveral humours of all theſe ſorts of 'people, and with a ſo-bewitching energy, that he 'ſeemed to be the *original*, they the *counterfeit*; and 'they the *reſemblance* whereof he was the *prototype:* 'he had all the jeers, ſquibs, flouts, buls, quips, 'taunts, whims, jeſts, clinches, gybes, mokes, jerks, 'with all the ſeveral kinds of equivocations, and 'other ſophiſtical captions, that could properly be 'adapted to the perſon by whoſe repreſentation he 'intended to inveagle the company into a fit of mirth, 'and would keep in that miſcellany diſcourſe of his '(which was all for the ſplene, and nothing for the 'gall) ſuch a climacterical and mercurially digeſted 'method, that when the fancy of the hearers was 'tickled with any conceit, and that the jovial blood 'was moved, he held it going, with another new 'device upon the back of the firſt, and another, yet 'another, and another againe, ſucceeding one an-'other, for the promoval of what is a ſtirring into a 'higher agitation; till in the cloſure of the luxuriant 'period, the *decumanal* wave of the oddeſt whimſy of 'al, enforced the charmed ſpirits of the auditory, '(for affording room to its apprehenſion) ſuddenly 'to burſt forth into a laughter; which commonly 'laſted juſt ſo long as he had leiſure to withdraw 'behind the ſkreen, ſhift off with the help of a page, 'the ſuite he had on, apparel himſelf with another, 'and return to the ſtage to act afreſh; for by that 'time their tranſported, diſparpled, and ſublimated 'fancies, by the wonderfully operating engines of 'his ſolacious inventions, had from the hight to 'which the inward ſcrues, wheeles, and pullies of 'his wit had elevated them, deſcended by degrees 'into their wonted ſtations, he was ready for the 'perſonating of another carriage; whereof, to the 'number of fourteen ſeveral kinds, (during the five 'hours ſpace, that at the Dukes deſire, the ſollicita-'tion of the Court, and his own recreation, he was 'pleaſed to hiſtrionize it) he ſhewed himſelf ſo natural 'a repreſentative, that any would have thought he 'had been ſo many ſeveral actors, differing in all 'things elſe, ſave only the ſtature of the body; with 'this advantage above the moſt of other actors, whoſe 'tongue, with its *oral* implements, is the onely in-'ſtrument of their minds diſcloſing, that, beſides 'his mouth with its appurtenances, he lodged almoſt 'a ſeveral oratour in every member of his body; his 'head, his eyes, his ſhoulders, armes, hands, fingers, 'thighs, legs, feet, and breaſt, being able to decipher 'any paſſion, whoſe character he purpoſed to give.

'Firſt, he did preſent himſelf with a crown on his 'head, a ſcepter in his hand, being clothed in a pur-'ple robe furred with ermyne; after that, with a 'mitre on his head, a croſier in his hand, and ac-'courtred with a paire of lawn ſleeves: and there-'after, with a helmet on his head, the viſiere up, a 'commanding-ſtick in his hand, and arrayed in a 'buff-ſuit, with a ſcarf about his middle: then, in a 'rich apparel, after the neweſt faſhion, did he ſhew 'himſelf, (like another *Sejanus*) with a periwig 'daubed with Cypres powder: in ſequel of that, he 'came out with a three cornered cap on his head, 'ſome parchments in his hand, and writings hang-'ing at his girdle like Chancery bills; and next to 'that, with a furred gown about him, an ingot of 'gold in his hand, and a bag full of money by his 'ſide; after all this, he appears againe clad in a 'country-jacket, with a prong in his hand, and a '*Monmouth*-like-cap on his head: then very ſhortly 'after, with a palmer's coat upon him, a bourdon 'in his hand, and ſome few cockle-ſhels ſtuck to his 'hat, he look't as if he had come in pilgrimage from '*Saint Michael*; immediately after that, he domi-'neers it in a bare unlined gowne, with a pair of 'whips in the one hand, and *Corderius* in the other: 'and in ſuite thereof, he *honderſpondered* it with a pair 'of pannier-like breeches, a Mountera-cap on his 'head, and a knife in a wooden ſheath, daggerways, 'by his ſide; about the latter end he comes forth 'again with a ſquare in one hand, a rule in the 'other, and a leather apron before him: then very 'quickly after, with a ſcrip by his ſide, a ſheep hook 'in his hand, and a baſket full of flowers to make 'noſegays for his miſtris: now drawing to a cloſure, 'he rants it firſt in *cuerpo*, and vapouring it with 'gingling ſpurrs, and his armes a kenbol like a *Don* '*Diego* he ſtrouts it, and by the loftineſs of his gate 'plaies the *Capitan Spavento:* then in the very 'twinkling of an eye, you would have ſeen him 'againe iſſue forth with a cloak upon his arm, in a 'livery garment, thereby repreſenting the ſerving-'man; and laſtly, at one time amongſt thoſe other, 'he came out with a long gray beard, and bucked 'ruff, crouching on a ſtaff tip't with the head of a 'Barber's Cithern, and his gloves hanging by a 'button at his girdle.

'Thoſe fifteen ſeveral perſonages he did repreſent 'with ſuch excellency of garb, and exquiſiteneſs of 'language, that condignely to perpend the ſubtlety 'of the invention, the method of the diſpoſition, the 'neatneſs of the elocution, the gracefulneſs of the 'action, and wonderful variety in the ſo dextrous 'performance of all, you would have taken it for 'a comedy of five acts, conſiſting of three ſcenes, 'each compoſed by the beſt poet in the world, and 'acted by fifteen of the beſt players that ever lived, 'as was moſt evidently made apparent to all the 'ſpectators, in the fifth and laſt hour of his action, '(which, according to our Weſtern account, was 'about ſix aclock at night, and, by the calculation 'of that country, half an hour paſt three and twenty, 'at that time of the yeer) for, purpoſing to leave of 'with the ſetting of the ſun, with an endeavour 'nevertheleſs to make his concluſion the maſter-piece 'of the work, he, to that effect, ſummoning all his 'ſpirits together, which never failed to be ready at 'the cal of ſo worthy a Commander, did, by their 'aſſiſtance, ſo conglomerate, ſhuffle, mix, and inter-'lace the geſtures, inclinations, actions, and very 'tones of the ſpeech of thoſe fifteen ſeveral ſorts of 'men whoſe carriages he did perſonate, into an ine-'ſtimable *Ollapodrida* of immaterial morſels of divers 'kinds, ſutable to the very Ambroſian reliſh of the 'Heliconian Nymphs, that in the *Peripetia* of this 'Drammatical exercitation, by the inchanted tranſ-'portation of the eyes and eares of its ſpectabundal 'auditorie, one would have ſworne that they all had 'looked with multiplying glaſſes, and that (like that 'Angel in the Scripture, whoſe voice was ſaid to be 'like the voice of a multitude) they heard in him 'alone the promiſcuous ſpeech of fifteen ſeveral ac-'tors; by the various raviſhments of the excellencies 'whereof, in the frolickneſs of a jocund ſtraine be-'yond expectation, the logofacinated ſpirits of the 'beholding hearers and auricularie ſpectators, were 'ſo on a ſudden ſeazed upon in their riſible faculties 'of the ſoul, and all their vital motions ſo univerſally 'affected in this extremitie of agitation, that to avoid 'the inevitable charmes of his intoxicating ejacula-'tions, and the accumulative influences of ſo power-'full a tranſportation, one of my Lady Dutcheſs chief

'Maids

(y) Confultò, an Caſu incertum.

(b) Imperialis, *ubi ſupra*. Lord Buchan's Me-moir.

(z) Pennant and Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*. Urquhart, *ubi ſupra*, p. 78.

ſtreets of Mantua, and playing upon his guittar, he was attacked by half a dozen people in maſks. The aſſailants found that they had no ordinary perſon to deal with, for they were not able to maintain their ground againſt him. In the iſſue, the leader of the company, being diſarmed, pulled off his maſk, and begged his life, telling him, that he was the Prince his pupil. Crichton immediately fell upon his knees, and expreſſed his concern for his miſtake; alledging, that what he had done was only in his own defence, and that if Gonzaga had any deſign upon his life, he might always be maſter of it. Then, taking his own ſword by the point, he preſented it to the Prince, who immediately received it, and was ſo irritated by the affront which he thought he had ſuſtained, in being foiled with all his attendants, that he inſtantly ran Crichton through the heart (*u*).

(*u*) Mackenzie, Pennant, Edinburgh Magazine, Adventurer, No. 81.

Various have been the conjectures concerning the motives which could induce Vincentio di Gonzaga to be guilty of ſo ungenerous and brutal an action. Some have aſcribed it to jealouſy, aſſerting that he ſuſpected Crichton to be more in favour than himſelf with a Lady whom he paſſionately loved; and Sir Thomas Urquhart has told a ſtory upon this head which is extravagant and ridiculous in the higheſt degree (*w*). Others, with greater probability, repreſent the whole tranſaction as the reſult of a drunken frolic; and it is uncertain, according to Imperialis, whether the meeting of the Prince and Crichton was by accident or deſign (*x*). However, it is agreed on all hands, that Crichton loſt his life in this renconter. The time of his deceaſe is ſaid, by the generality of his Biographers, to have been in the beginning of July, 1583; but Lord Buchan (we doubt not in conſequence of a more accurate enquiry) fixes it to the ſame month in the preceding year. There is a difference, likewiſe, with regard to the period of life at which Crichton died. The common accounts declare that he was killed in the thirty-ſecond year of his age; but Imperialis aſſerts that he was only in his twenty-ſecond, when that calamitous event took place, and this fact is confirmed by Lord Buchan (*y*).

(*w*) Urquhart, *ubi ſupra*, p. 79—96.

(*x*) Conſultò, an Caſu incertum.

(*y*) Imperialis, *ubi ſupra*. Lord Buchan's Memoir.

Crichton's tragical end excited a very great and general lamentation. If Sir Thomas Urquhart is to be credited, the whole Court of Mantua went, three quarters of a year, into mourning for him; the epitaphs and elegies that were compoſed upon his death, and ſtuck upon his hearſe, would exceed, if collected, the bulk of Homer's works; and, for a long time afterwards, his picture was to be ſeen in moſt of the bed-chambers and galleries of the Italian Nobility, repreſenting him on horſeback, with a lance in the one hand, and a book in the other. The ſame Author tells us, that Crichton gained the eſteem of Kings and Princes, by his magnanimity and knowledge; of Noblemen and Gentlemen, by his courtlineſs and breeding; of Knights, by his honourable deportment and pregnancy of wit; of the rich, by his affability and good fellowſhip; of the poor, by his munificence and liberality; of the old, by his conſtancy and wiſdom; of the young, by his mirth and gallantry; of the learned, by his univerſal knowledge; of the ſoldiers, by his undaunted valour and courage; of the merchants and artificers, by his upright dealing and honeſty; and of the fair ſex, by his beauty and handſomeneſs; in which reſpect, he was a maſterpiece of nature (*z*).

(*z*) Pennant and Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*. Urquhart, *ubi ſupra*, p. 78.

Extravagant as this account muſt appear, ſomething as extravagant hath been advanced by earlier writers. Joannes Imperialis, an Italian Biographer, to whom we have already referred, ſays, in his life of Crichton, that he was the Wonder of the laſt Age; the prodigious production of Nature; the glory and ornament of Parnaſſus, in a ſtupendous and unuſual manner; and that, in the judgment of the learned world, he was the phœnix of literature, and rather a ſhining particle of the divine Mind and Majeſty, than a model of what could be attained by human induſtry. The ſame Author, after highly celebrating the beauty of his perſon, aſſerts that his extraordinary eloquence, and his admirable knowledge of things, teſtified that he poſſeſſed a ſtrength of genius wholly Divine. "What, adds this writer, can more exceed our comprehenſion, than that Crichton, in the "twenty-firſt year of his age, ſhould be maſter of ten different languages, and perfectly "well verſed in philoſophy, mathematics, theology, polite literature, and all other Sciences? "Beſides, was it ever heard, in the whole compaſs of the globe, that, to theſe extraordi-"nary endowments of the mind, ſhould be added a ſingular ſkill in fencing, dancing, ſing-"ing, riding, and in every exerciſe of the gymnaſtic Art?" Nay, Imperialis, in his account of Crichton's death, declares that the report of ſo ſad a cataſtrophe was ſpread to the remoteſt parts of the earth; that it diſturbed univerſal Nature; and that in her grief

'Maids of Honour, by the vehemencie of the ſhock 'of thoſe incomprehenſible raptures, burſt forth into 'a laughter, to the rupture of a veine in her body; 'and another young Lady, by the irreſiſtible violence 'of the pleaſure unawares infuſed, where the tender 'receptibilitie of her too too tickled fancie was leaſt 'able to hold out, ſo unprovidedly was ſurpriſed, that 'with no leſs impetuoſitie of ridibundal paſſion then '(as hath been told) occaſioned a fracture in the 'other young Ladie's modeſtie, ſhe, not able longer to 'ſupport the well-beloved burthen of ſo exceſſive 'delight, and intranſing joys of ſuch Mercurial 'exhilarations, through the ineffable extaſie of 'an overmaſtered apprehenſion, fell back in a 'ſwown, without the appearance of any other life 'into her, then what by the moſt refined wits of 'theological ſpeculators is conceived to be exerced 'by the pureſt parts of the ſeparated *entelechies* of 'bleſſed ſaints in their ſublimeſt converſations with 'the celeſtial hierarchies: this accident procured the 'incoming of an Apothecarie with reſtoratives, as 'the other did that of a Surgeon, with conſolidative 'medicaments (10).'

(10) Sir John Hawkins's Life of Dr. Johnſon, p. 300—307. Urquhart's Tracts, p. 71—76.

for the loſs of the Wonder ſhe had produced, ſhe threatened never more to confer ſuch honour upon mankind [*H*]. Compared with theſe extravagancies, the aſſertion of Bayle, that Crichton was one of the greateſt prodigies of wit that ever lived, and the teſtimony of Fœlix Aſtolfus concerning his wonderful memory, may be conſidered as modeſt encomiums (*a*).

(*a*) Mackenzie and Pennant, *ubi ſupra*. *Aſtolfi Officina Iſtorica*, p. 102.

From the portraits which remain of Crichton, it appears that in his face and form he was beautiful and elegant, and that his body and limbs, though not muſcular or athletic, were well proportioned, and fitted for feats of agility. Aldus Manutius deſcribes him as diſtinguiſhed by a mark of a red roſe about his right eye. No ſuch mark, however, is to be traced in any of the pictures or prints of him which have come down to our times. There are two portraits of him in Scotland, one of which is in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Graham of Airth. From a copy of this picture, belonging to Lord Eliock, a Lord of Seſſions, the print is taken which is given by Mr. Pennant. A friend of the writer of this article is of opinion, that in Mr. Graham's Original, Crichton does not appear to be ſo handſome as he is repreſented in Mr. Pennant's print. The other portrait of Crichton is the property of Mr. Moriſon, of Bògnie and Frendraught in Aberdeenſhire. This Gentleman's father became poſſeſſed of the eſtate of Frendraught by purchaſe; at which time he found, in the principal Manſion, the picture of which we are ſpeaking. It is ſaid to be a very fine one, and is underſtood to have been ſent over from Italy to Lord Frendraught by Crichton himſelf, and to have been painted in the year of his death (*b*). There is a print of him in Imperialis, which, though poorly executed, is probably authentic (*c*).

(*b*) Lord Buchan's Memoir, Pennant, p. 326, note.

(*c*) *Imperialis, ubi ſupra*. Granger's Biographical Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 262, 2d edit.

Several of the Biographers of Crichton have given a formal Catalogue of his works, though it does not appear that any productions of his have ever been committed to the preſs, excepting four Latin Poems. What his Encomiaſts have been pleaſed to call his works are, for the moſt part, nothing more than the heads of the topics upon which he declaimed or diſputed, at the public exhibitions of his talents. That we may not, however, detract, in any degree, from his juſt praiſes, we ſhall inſert the Catalogue below [*I*]. Of the poetic encomiums that have been written upon him, three only have been preſerved, and theſe are not diſtinguiſhed by their merit. What they are, will be ſeen in the note ſubjoined [*K*].

[*H*] *She threatened never more to confer ſuch honour upon mankind.*] As Imperialis's Muſeum Hiſtoricum is not in every hand, we ſhall inſert the original paſſages. *Tranſacti dudum ſæculi monſtrum, prodigioſo Naturæ opificis conatu editum, quò parnaſſi ſpacia ſtupendo, et inuſitato ſpectaculo illuſtrarentur. Hic eſt totius adhuc orbis Judicio phœnix habitus ingeniorum, divinæ mentis igniculis ſummi potiùs datoris referens majeſtatem, quàm mortalem ad æmulandum laceſſens induſtriam.——Prælta facundia, rerumque notitia præclariſſimarum, dæmonicum prorſus ei ſubeſſe animi teſtabantur vigorem. Quid aut magnificentius, aut admirabilius, quàm in ipſis ephebis, belli detentum ſtudiis ingenium, tantam in doctrinarum arvis meſſem cogere potuiſſe? Quid humanum magis exſuperans captum, quàm vigeſimo Ætatis Anno, decem linguarum peritia; necnon philoſophiæ, mathematicæ, theologiæ, mitiorum artium, cæterarumque omnium diſciplinarum apicibus præſtitiſſe? Porrò quid magis in toto terrarum ambitu inauditum, quàm digladiandi, ſaltandi, ſonandi, equitandi, totius gymnaſticæ præſtantiam ſingularem, tot arcanis elatæ mentis junxiſſe prærogativis? ——Miſerabilis herculè fati rumor in ultimas uſque terras expanſus nedum tetricis viventes inſtitutis homines perculit, ſed naturam probe turbavit univerſam, quæ pompam excidiſſe ſuam ingemens, haud amplius tantis ſe mortales cumulaturam honoribus minatus eſt* (11).

(11) *Joan. Imperial. Muſeum Hiſtoricum & Phyſicum*, p. 140—143.

[*I*] *We ſhall inſert the Catalogue below.*] It is as follows: I. Odæ *ad Laurentium Maſſam* plures. II. *Laudes* Patavinæ, *Carmen extempore effuſum, cum in* Jacobi Moyſii Cornelii *Domo experimentum Ingenii coram tota Academiæ Frequentia non ſine Multorum Stupore faceret.* III. *Ignorationis Laudatio, extemporale Thema ibidem redditum, poſt ſex Horarum diſputationes, ut Præſentes Somnia potius fovere quam Rem ſe veram videre affirmarint, ait* Manutius. IV. *De Appulſu ſuo* Venetias. V. *Odæ ad* Aldum Manutium. VI. *Epiſtolæ ad Diverſos.* VII. *Prefationes ſolemnes in omnes Scientias ſacras et profanas.* VIII. *Judicium de Philoſophis.* IX. *Errores Ariſtotelis.* X. *Armis an Literæ præſtant, Controverſia oratoria.* XI. *Refutatio Mathematicorum.* XII. A Comedy in the Italian Language (12).

(12) Dempſter, *ubi ſupra*, p. 189. Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 307. Pennant, *ubi ſupra*, p. 328.

[*K*] *Will be ſeen in the note ſubjoined.*] The firſt is by Dr. John Johnſton, in his Hiſtorical Inſcriptions upon the Scottiſh Kings and Heroes. It is obſervable, that this writer places the death of Crichton in the year 1581.

Jacobus Crittonius Clunius,

Muſarum pariter ac martis alumnus, omnibis in ſtudiis admirabilis, Mantua a Ducis Mantuani filio cæſus, 1581.

Et genus et cenſum dat Scotia: Gallia pectus
Excolit. admirans Itala terra virum
Ambit, et eſſe ſuum vellet. Gens æmula vitam
Abſtulit. An ſatis hoc, dicat ut illa ſuum?
Mantua habet cineres, ſcelus exſecrata nefandum,
At tumuli tanti gaudet honore tamen (13).

(13) *De Illuſtribus Poetarum*, p. 696.

The inſcription prefixed, by Dr. Johnſton, to theſe verſes, is very inaccurately given in Mackenzie and Pennant.

The ſecond encomium is by Georgius Rotinus, an Italian.

Ignoto latuit Phœnix, Critonius ævo,
Funereis poſtquam Mantua merſit aquis.
Scilicet ut ſurgat redivivus in æthera Phœnix,
Auxilium poſſet qui dare nullus erat.
Famigeras iterum Critonius exit in auras,
Et volat ingenio docta per ora virum.
Addit imperio manſuras dædalus alas,
Et penna has pennas imperialis habet.

The laſt is by Julius Ranconius, another Italian.

Fert præjudicium ſapiens Critonius annis,
Dum vincit roſeis tempora cana comis.
Hinc parat inſidias quibus illa recedat
Invida quæ tantum nollet habere virum.
Aſt iterum ſuperat languens fera ſecula, namque
Quæ ſupereſt, famam non gelida urna capit.
Ingenio Phœnix, Phœnicis ſorte novare
Debuit occiduum non moritura Dies (14).

(14) *Imperialis, ubi ſupra*, p. 143. Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 206.

Who Rotinus and Ranconius were, it is not in my power to aſcertain; nor is it a matter of any importance. From a peruſal of their verſes, it appears highly probable that they were written for the purpoſe of being annexed to Imperialis's Life of Crichton, and conſequently long after Crichton's death.

Such

Such are the accounts which, by a ſucceſſion of writers, and particularly ſince the time of Mackenzie, have been given of the Admirable Crichton, with little variation, and ſcarcely with any degree of heſitation or reflection. It is, therefore, an object of importance, to examine, ſomewhat more accurately and extenſively than hath hitherto been done, what meaſure of faith is to be allotted to the different parts of the preceding narrative. And here it muſt be obſerved, that no credit can be granted to any facts which depend upon the ſole authority of Sir Thomas Urquhart. Sir John Hawkins, indeed, ſeems to think that the ſtories told of Crichton by this writer may be conſidered as ſufficiently authenticated to all the purpoſes of hiſtorical information (*d*). Mr. Pennant, likewiſe, ſpeaks of him with approbation; and Dr. Samuel Johnſon laid a ſtreſs on his veracity, in the account of Crichton which he dictated to Dr. Hawkſworth, and is inſerted in the eighty-firſt number of the Adventurer; of which account it may be obſerved, that it is only an elegant ſummary of the life written by Mackenzie. But with all deference to theſe reſpectable names, I muſt declare my full perſuaſion that Sir Thomas Urquhart is an author whoſe teſtimony to facts is totally unworthy of regard; and it is ſurprizing that a peruſal of his works does not ſtrike every mind with this conviction. His productions are ſo inexpreſſibly abſurd and extravagant, that the only rational judgment which can be pronounced concerning him is, that he was little, if at all, better than a madman. To the character of his having been a madman muſt be added that of his being a liar. Severe as this term may be thought, I apprehend that a diligent examination of the treatiſe which contains the memorials concerning Crichton would ſhew that it is ſtrictly true. But of his total diſregad to truth there is inconteſtible evidence in another work of his, entitled, "The true Pedigree, "and Lineal Deſcent, of the moſt ancient and honourable Family of the URQUHARTS in "the Houſe of CROMARTY, from the Creation of the World until the Year of God, "1652." In this work it is almoſt incredible what a number of falſities he has invented, both with reſpect to names and facts. Perhaps a more flagrant inſtance of impoſture and fiction was never exhibited; and the abſurdity of the whole pedigree is beyond the power of words to expreſs. It can only be felt by thoſe who have peruſed the Tract itſelf [*K*].

(*d*) Life of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, p. 299.

Such

[*K*] *It can only be felt by thoſe who have peruſed the Tract itſelf.*] Though a few ſpecimens cannot ſufficiently expoſe the abſurdity and falſhood of the whole performance, it may not be diſagreeable to our readers to be preſented with ſome examples of our author's fictions. In enumerating the Patriarchs before the Deluge, he regularly mentions the names of their wives, as he does thoſe of the wives of other perſons, through the whole ſucceeding ſeries. Seth, he aſſerts, married Shifkah; Enos, Mahla; Cainan, Bilhah; Mahalaleel, Timnah; Jared, Aholimah; Enoch, Zilpah; Methuſalah, Noema; Lamech, Ada; and Noah, Titea; who was the daughter of Tubal-Cain, the ſon of Jubal. Among his anceſtors poſterior to the Flood, he reckons ESORMON, in the eighteen hundredth and tenth year of the world, who was Sovereign Prince of Achaia. "For his fortune, ſays "Sir Thomas, in the wars, and his affability in "converſation, his ſubjects and familiars ſurnamed "him ευχαρτος, that is to ſay, *fortunate and well-beloved*. After which time, his poſterity ever ſince "has acknowledged him the father of all that carry the "name of URQUHART. He had for his arms three "banners, three ſhips, and three ladies, in a field "*Or*; with the picture of a young Lady above the "waiſt, holding in her right hand a brandiſhed "ſword, and a branch of myrtle in the left, for his "creſt: and for ſupporters two Javanites, after the "ſoldier habit of Achaia, with this motto in the "ſcroll of his coat-armour, Ταυτα ἡ τρια αξιοθεάτα: "that is, *theſe three are worthy to behold*. Upon his "wife Narfeſia, who was Sovereign of the Amazons, "he begat CRATYNTER. He was likewiſe ſurnamed ευχαετος, as ever ſince have been all the "male-race of Eſormon."——Of another of Sir Thomas Urquhart's anceſtors, whom he calls Phrenedon, he ſays, "This Phrenedon was in the houſe "of the Patriarch Abraham at the time of the Deſtruction of Sodom and Gomorrah."——Of Molin, who is placed in the Year of the World 2415, our author relates as follows: "This is he that came with "Gathelus from Egypt into Portugal, and of whom "are deſcended the Clanmoline-ſpick in Ireland. "His wife Panthea was the daughter of Deucalion "and Pirra, of whom Ovid maketh mention in the "firſt of his Metamorphoſis. In that part of Afric, "which, after his name, is till this hour called Molinea, by cunning and valour together, he killed, "in one morning, three lions, the heads whereof, "in a baſket, preſented to his Lady Panthea, ſo terrified her, that (being quick with child) for putting her right hand to her left ſide, with this ſudden exclamation, [*O Hercules, What is this?*] the "impreſſion of three lions heads was found upon the "left ſide of the child as ſoon as he was born. How "Portugal was ſo called, after Gathelus; the Scots "after Scota; and that the Scotobrigantes were the "race of Molin in Spain, is clearly ſet down in the "ample Hiſtory of the Houſe."——Of Pamproſodos, previous to Molin, we are told that he married Termuth, who was that daughter of Pharaoh Amenophis, which found Moſes amongſt the bulruſhes, and brought him up as if he had been her own child.—— Concerning Propetes, who is placed fourth in ſucceſſion from Molin, it is ſaid, that he married Hypermneſtra, the choiceſt of Danaus's fifty daughters.—— A few generations after, we meet with Cainotomos, who took to wife Thymelica the daughter of Bacchus, in recompence of his having accompanied him in the conqueſt of the Indies. "Cainotomos, adds our "author, in his return from thence into Greece, paſſed through the territories of Iſrael, where being "acquainted with Deborah the Judge and Propheteſs, "he received from her a very rich jewel, which afterwards, by one of his ſucceſſors, was preſented "to Pentaſilea, that Queen of the Amazons that aſſiſted the Trojans againſt Agamemnon."——We muſt not omit Melleſſen, and his wife Nicolia. "This "Nicolia, ſays Sir Thomas, before ſhe married to "him, travelled from the remote Eaſtern countries, "to have experience of the Wiſdom of Solomon; "and by many is ſuppoſed to have been the Queen "of Sheba. Melleſſen, nevertheleſs, ſent ſome of "his children to Ireland and Britain, to be brought "up with the beſt of his own father and mother's "kindred."——One ſpecimen more ſhall be tranſcribed of Sir Thomas Urquhart's power of invention. In the Year of the World 3560, and before Chriſt 389, "NOMOSTOR married DIOSA. This Dioſa "was the daughter of Alcibiades, and Hipparete. "Nomoſtor, after the lamentable deceaſe of his father-in-law, whom his native country had ſo ungratefully uſed, took his farewell of Greece; and "after many dangerous voyages, both by ſea and "land, arrived at laſt at the harbour of Ochondar, "now called Cromarty, or *Portus Salutis*, firſt found "out

Such a man, therefore, can juſtly be entitled to no degree of credit, eſpecially when he has a purpoſe to ſerve, as was the caſe with Sir Thomas Urquhart. His deſign was to exalt his own family and his own nation at any rate. With reſpect to his own nation, there was no occaſion for having recourſe to fiction, in order to diſplay the luſtre of Scotland, in the eminent men whom it has produced in Arms and Literature. The Pencil of Truth alone would have been amply ſufficient for that purpoſe.

So far, therefore, as Sir Thomas Urquhart's authority is concerned, the wonderful exhibitions of Crichton at Paris, his triumph at Rome, his combat with the Gladiator, his writing an Italian Comedy, his ſuſtaining fifteen characters in the repreſentation of that Comedy, the extraordinary ſtory of the Amour which is deſcribed as the cauſe of his death, the nine months mourning for him at Mantua, and the Poems hung round his hearſe to the quantity of Homer's works, muſt be regarded as in the higheſt degree doubtful, or rather as abſolutely falſe. I cannot forbear mentioning two circumſtances, which ſhew how much Sir Thomas Urquhart was deſtitute of prudence, as well as of ſcrupuloſity in his violations of truth. He ſays that the Duke of Mantua was pleaſed to confer upon the young Lady that was Crichton's miſtreſs, and future wife, a penſion of five hundred ducats a year; and that the Prince alſo beſtowed as much upon her, during all the days of his life, "which was, adds Sir Thomas, but ſhort; for he did not long enjoy himſelf after the "croſs fate of ſo miſerable an accident (*e*)." Now it is well known that Vincenzo di Gonzaga ſucceeded his father in the Dukedom of Mantua, in 1587, and that he did not die till the year 1612; which was almoſt, if not entirely, thirty years after Crichton's deceaſe (*f*). The other inſtance of the imprudence of Sir Thomas Urquhart in the contrivance of his fictions, occurs at the concluſion of his narrative, where he aſſerts that the verity of the ſtory which he hath related concerning the incomparable Crichton, "may "be certified by two thouſand men yet living, who have known him." *Two thouſand men yet living!* that is, in 1652, ſixty-nine, or ſeventy years after Crichton's death, for ſuch was the time of Sir Thomas's publication (*g*). Our author would have been ſadly puzzled to collect together theſe two thouſand living witneſſes, who could certify the verity of his ſtory.

(*e*) Urquhart, *ubi ſupra*. p. 95, 96.

(*f*) *Tractatus de Territoriis, &c. Principum, Rerum Publicarum, et eorum qui hodie in Italia Rerum Potiuntur*, p. 224.

(*g*) Urquhart, *ubi ſupra*.

With regard, however, to the account which is given of the prodigious exertions of Crichton, both corporal and mental, at Paris, Mackenzie imagines that he has found a full confirmation of them in a paſſage produced by him from the *Diſquiſitiones* of Stephen Paſquier, and which he conſiders as the teſtimony of an eye-witneſs. The paſſage is inſerted in note [*C*]. But the whole of what has been built upon it, by Mackenzie, and ſucceeding Biographers, is founded on a miſtake. In the quotation from the *Diſquiſitiones*, the name of Crichton is not mentioned, and the author doth not appear to have been perſonally preſent at the exhibitions of the extraordinary youth there deſcribed. The expreſſions which are ſuppoſed to carry that meaning may well be referred not to the writer himſelf, but to his countrymen the French, before whom the young man is ſaid to have diſplayed his ſurprizing talents. But the diſcuſſion of this point is totally needleſs, becauſe the paſſage in queſtion is not an original Authority. The book entitled, *Stephani Paſchieri Diſquiſitiones*, is only an Abridgment, in Latin, of Paſquier's "Des Recherches de la "France." Now in this laſt work there is, indeed, an account of a wonderful youth, ſuch as is related in Mackenzie's quotation, and from which that paſſage was formed. But this wonderful Youth, whoever he might be, was not the Admirable Crichton; for Paſquier, who does not tell his name, expreſsly ſays, that he appeared in the year 1445 (*h*) [*L*]. The evidence, therefore, produced by Mackenzie falls entirely to the ground.

(*h*) *Recherches de la France, liv.* 6. *chapitre* xxxix. p. 579.

Indeed,

(*m*) Collier's Hiſtorical Dictionary, vol. i. New Univerſal Biographical Dictionary, vol. vii. p. 399.

"out by his predeceſſors Alypos and Beltiſtos, ag-
"named Chonchar, inhabited by many of his kind-
"red at the time of his landing there; and there-
"after, all the days of his life, honoured with his
"preſence, as Prince of the race (15)."

(15) True Pedigree, p. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. 9, 10, 11, 12. 14. 10.

Theſe fictions ſpeak for themſelves. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that though Sir Thomas Urquhart had no regard to truth, he exerciſed an uncommon degree of ingenuity, as well as labour, in framing his pedigree (*).

(*) It is from a copy of Sir Thomas's Tracts obligingly lent me by Sir John Hawkins, that I have been enabled to make theſe extracts and remarks.

[*L*] *Says that he appeared in the year* 1445.] This matter has lately been ſet in a clear light, by a learned and judicious writer, in the Edinburgh Magazine, for May, 1787, whoſe letter we ſhall tranſcribe.

"SIR,

"WE are informed by Sir John Hawkins, that Dr. Johnſon dictated, from memory, that account of the perſon vulgarly named *the Admirable Crichton*, which is to be found in one of the papers of the *Adventurer*.

"That account is plainly an abridgement of the Life of Crichton, by Dr. George M'Kenzie (16).

(16) Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 196—207.

"Dr. M'Kenzie ſuppoſes that Paſquier, the French Lawyer and Antiquary, was an eye-witneſs of the feats performed, in arts as well as in arms, by Crichton.

"This is one of the groſſeſt errors in Biography which has occurred to me in the courſe of my reading; and it is an error which, I perceive, is gaining ground daily, and bids fair, in a ſhort time, to be received as an indiſputable truth.

"The error ſeems to have ariſen from the following circumſtance: Dr. M'Kenzie had never read the original work of Paſquier, entitled, *Recherches de la France*; what he quotes concerning *the wonderful young man*, is taken from a Latin abridgement of that work; he refers to *Steph. Paſch.* Diſquiſ. lib. v. cap. 23. and he gives his quotation in Latin; indeed it does not appear that Dr. M'Kenzie had ever heard of the original work.

"Now Paſquier, inſtead of ſaying that he was an eye-witneſs of the wonders exhibited by Crichton, ſays, in the moſt unequivocal terms, that what he relates was taken "from a manuſcript which was oc-
"caſionally uſed by him," (*d'un livre ecrit à la main dont je m'aide ſelon les occurrences.*) And he adds, "I will repreſent the ſtory in its own ſimple garb,

Indeed, if the ſtory of Crichton's exploits at Paris had been true, no man was more likely to be acquainted with them than Stephen Paſquier, who lived at the time, and who would be fond enough of recording tranſactions ſo extraordinary. It may farther be obſerved, that Thuanus, who was likewiſe a contemporary, and who, in his own life, is very particular in what relates to learned men, makes no mention of Crichton. The only authority for his having ever reſided in France at all (Sir Thomas Urquhart excepted) is that of Dr. John Johnſton, who ſays, "Gallia Pectus excolit." But this amounts to no proof of the truth of the tranſactions related by Urquhart. The whole which can be deduced from it is, that Crichton, in the courſe of his travels, might make ſome ſtay in France, for the purpoſe of improvement. Even this, however, doth not agree with the narration of Imperialis, who informs us, that when troubles aroſe in Scotland on account of Religion, and Queen Mary fell into ſo many calamities, Crichton was ſent by his father directly from that country to Venice, as a place of ſecurity (*i*).

(*i*) *Muſeum Hiſtoricum, ubi ſupra.*

It is acknowledged by Sir John Hawkins, that Sir Thomas Urquhart has produced no authorities in ſupport of his ſurprizing narrations. But this defect Sir John thinks is ſupplied in the Life of Crichton which is given in Mr. Pennant's Tour (*k*). I am under the neceſſity of ſaying, that this is by no means the caſe. The article in Pennant, was not drawn up by that ingenious and learned Gentleman, but is the tranſcript of a pamphlet that was printed ſome years ago at Aberdeen; and which pamphlet is nothing more than a re-publication, with a few verbal alterations, of the Life of Crichton written by Mackenzie. It doth not, therefore, furniſh a ſingle additional teſtimony in confirmation of Sir Thomas Urquhart's ſtories, excepting in the miſtaken inſtance from Paſquier. In other reſpects, it only borrows facts from Sir Thomas Urquhart, without eſtabliſhing them upon freſh proofs. It is obſervable, that the earlier Biographers of Crichton had no knowledge of moſt of the tranſactions enlarged upon by this extravagant writer; for, if they had known them, they would have been eagerly diſpoſed to relate them, and to do it with every circumſtance of exaggeration. How much this was the character of Thomas Dempſter, with regard to his own countrymen, is ſufficiently underſtood, and hath frequently been remarked; and yet his account of Crichton is uncommonly modeſt, compared with thoſe of ſucceeding Authors. The extravagance of Imperialis in reſpect to Crichton has already appeared. There ſeems, indeed, to have been an univerſal tendency in the writers of this young Scotſman's life to produce wonder and aſtoniſhment. Mackenzie remarks, that Imperialis could not but know the truth of all, or at leaſt of moſt of the things he has related concerning Crichton, ſince he lived upon the places in which they were tranſacted, and had them from an eye and ear witneſs, even his own father (*l*). It is, however, to be remembered, that Imperialis's Muſeum Hiſtoricum was not publiſhed till 1640, nearly ſixty years after the events recorded by him happened; to which may be added, that the information he derived from his father was probably very imperfect. Imperialis the elder was not born till 1568, and conſequently was only thirteen years old when Crichton diſplayed his talents at Padua (*m*). What real dependence, therefore, could there be on the accuracy of the account given by a youth of that age? He could only relate, and perhaps from inadequate intelligence, the things which were talked of when he was a boy. Beſides, his authority is appealed to for no more than a ſingle fact, and that a doubtful one, ſince it does not accord with Manutius's Narrative: and who ever heard of the famous Philoſopher Arcangelus Mercenarius?

(*k*) Life of Dr. Johnſon, p. 308.

(*l*) Mackenzie, *ubi ſupra*, p. 203.

(*m*) Collier's Hiſtorical Dictionary, vol. i. New Univerſal Biographical Dictionary, vol. vii. p. 399.

The truth of the matter is, that, ſome ſlight circumſtances excepted, neither Dempſter [*M*] nor Imperialis have produced any evidences of Crichton's extraordinary abilities

" without any artificial colouring, ſo that my readers " may be the more inclined to give credit to it," (*vous repreſentant cette Hiſtoire en ſa ſimplicite ſans y apporter aucun fard* pour ce que *vous y adjouſterez plus de foy.*) He then tranſcribes the narrative from the MS. which places the appearance of this phenomenon in the year *one thouſand four hundred and forty-five*, a full century before the birth of our Crichton. See *Recherches de la France*, lib. vi. c. 38, 39.

" Dr. M'Kenzie, although he had not read the original of Paſquier, appears to have read an author who quotes the ſame ſtory: " The learned M. du Launoy, " ſays he, in his Hiſtory of the College of Navarre, " finding the hiſtory of this diſpute recorded in a " MS. Hiſtory of the College of Navarre, and the " like account of a Spaniard in Trithemius, con- " founds the two together, and *robs* our author of the " glory of this action, and places it in the year 1445; " whereas it ſhould be in the year 1571." This charge of *robbery* is ſingular enough!

" Let me only add, that Paſquier tranſcribes ſome verſes written by George Chaſtelain, a French Poet, in the reign of Charles VII. King of France, which allude to the ſame ſtory; and that Paſquier himſelf was born at Paris in 1528, paſſed his life in that city, and was an eminent Lawyer and Pleader in 1571; ſo that it is impoſſible the feats of Crichton, had they been really performed at Paris, could have been unknown to him, and moſt improbable that, knowing them, he would have omitted to mention them; for, in the ſame, lib. vi. c. 39. he is at pains to produce examples of great proficiency, diſplayed by men in a much humbler rank of life than that of philoſophers and public diſputants.

" I am, &c."

[*M*] *Some ſlight circumſtances excepted, neither Dempſter.*] It is related by Dempſter, that Crichton was for ſome time at Genoa, and that he was offered a conſiderable ſalary, if he would remain in that city.

I ſhall take this opportunity of remarking, that there is no mention of an Italian Comedy in Dempſter's Catalogue of Crichton's works. That article, therefore, was added to the Catalogue by Mackenzie, on the ſole authority of Sir Thomas Urquhart.

abilities beſides thoſe which are recorded by the younger Aldus Manutius. He, therefore, is to be regarded as the only living authority upon the ſubject. Manutius was contemporary with Crichton; he was cloſely connected with him in friendſhip; and he relates ſeveral things on his own perſonal knowledge. He is a poſitive and undoubted witneſs with reſpect to our young Scotſman's intellectual and literary exertions at Venice and at Padua; and from him it is that our account of them is given above. Nevertheleſs, even Aldus Manutius is to be read with ſome degree of caution. Dedications are apt to aſſume the ſtile of exaggeration, and this is the caſe with Manutius's Dedication of the Paradoxa Ciceronis to Crichton. In addition to the general language of ſuch addreſſes, he might be carried too far by his affection for his friend, which appears to have been very great: nor was the younger Aldus eminent for ſteadineſs and conſiſtency of character. It is even ſaid that, by his imprudencies, he fell into contempt and miſery (*n*). But independently of any conſiderations of this kind, it may be obſerved, that Manutius's narrative, previouſly to Crichton's arrival at Venice, could not be derived from perſonal knowledge. For that part of it (which is ſufficiently erroneous) he was probably endebted to Crichton himſelf. Neither does he appear to have been an eye-witneſs of the whole of the diſputations which were held at Padua; for ſpeaking of his young friend's paiſe of ignorance, he relates that thoſe who were preſent told him afterwards how much they were ſtruck with that Oration. However, at the other Diſputation, which laſted three days, Manutius ſeems certainly to have attended; for he concludes his accounts of it with ſaying, that he was not only the adviſer but the ſpectator of Crichton's wonderful conteſts. It is evident, however, from the Dedication, that his extraordinary abilities were not univerſally acknowledged and admired. Some there were who detracted from them, and were diſpleaſed with Manutius for ſo warmly ſupporting his reputation. As this Dedication is not eaſy to be met with, and is in fact the chief foundation upon which all the Biographies of Crichton have been built, it ſhall be inſerted below [*N*].

(*n*) New Biographical Dictionary, vol. ix. p. 53, 54.

As

[*N*]. *It ſhall be inſerted below.*]

Nobiliſſimo juveni JACOBO CRITONIO Scoto.

CUM nihil in te ſit ſummiſſum, et populare, (mi Jacobe Critoni) quin omnia tam ampla, excelſa, atque admiranda, ut elapſi temporis viris illuſtribus, ac ſapientiſſimis gloriam, futuris vero etiam ſpem tua amplitudo auferat, noſtro autem ſæculo ſingulare afferat ornamentum: cumq. non minus opiniones tibi, quam vita ſint admirabiles: ſententias illas, quæ Paradoxa vocantur, quæ non ſane probantur in vulgus philoſophorum, in Stoicorum ſcholis natas, nudas admodum, et ſqualidas, nunc vero M. Tullii Ciceronis eloquentia exornatas, et auctoritate, meis Commentariis illuſtratas nomini tuo dicare volui: cui iſta maxime conveniunt. non tantum, ut amoris erga te mei indicium præbeam, qui niſi jam antea tibi extantis conſtitit argumentis, nunquam ex ullo patebit officio, quam ut animi grati pro Carminibus, quæ in tuo ad urbem Venetam appulſu mihi dediſti. Nunc vero etiam lætor, toti Italiæ, et orbi fortaſſe univerſo perſpectum eſſe judicium de te meum, et ea, quæ, cum huc veniſſes, ſcriptis commendavi. quæ tibi ipſi, ac nonnullis acerrimis cenſoribus, aſpera atque injucunda videbantur. Nam, licet tuum amorem malui oſtendere, quam prudentiam, nunc ambo cum amicis tuis, tum inimicis, ſi qui amplius tam feri, atque inhumani reperiuntur, manifeſta ſunt, poſtquam tua virtus tam clarum ſui ſplendorem diffudit. Ego enim junctam invidiæ, ac multorum inimicitiis eximiam quandam, atque immortalem gloriam ſum conſecutus. Nam, quid illuſtrius, quid honeſtius, quid vero etiam glorioſius ad nomen meum accedere potuit, quam ut a me prolata παραδοξότατα primum, tum εγκωμιαστικὰ viderentur, nunc vero ἱστορικώτατα ab omnibus habeantur. Cum multi homines ſui judicii lævitatem, infirmitatemque, cum eſſent ſtultitia obcæcati, mei vero conſtantiam, veritatemque perſpiciant. Poteram enim (*)(ἰσπεῖλαι νου μοι μῦσαι) Illuſtriſſ. Critonium, et ſereniſſimam Stuardam, quibus oriundus es, familias extollere. Sed, quid Reges tui majores (licet ea laus Scotorum Regibus merito tribui poſſit, quod inter omnes Europæ Reges vetuſtiſſimi Chriſtiani ſint) quos nunquam Romani imperio ſuo ſubegere; cum Cæſar, propter tumultus excitatos, et res Gallia fluctuantes, exercitum a regni expugnatione revocaret: quid, inquam, iſti, tuis virtutibus, animiquæ dotibus amplius ſolidæ laudis afferunt? Quid Critonii, qui cum Scotorum militiæ Imperatores ſummi plerumque eſſent, Anglos e Galliæ regno, et Scotiæ finibus toties, ac tanta virtute ejecerunt? Quid Robertus Critonius, pater tuus, Fifenſis in Scotia, et Stormondienſis, Elioki, et Clunæi, tot oppidorum, tot præſidiorum dominus, qui longo tempore inter omnes Regni proceres ærumnoſiſſimæ ſimul, et beatiſſimæ Reginæ, quæ apud Anglos (pro dolor) jam captiva eſt, et Chriſtianæ religionis acerrimus exſtitit propugnator, præſertim qui copias ad proelium, quod Langſydium vocant, duxiſſet; quid ille tibi ſplendoris veri affert? Non tantum illi fortaſſe debes, quod te genuerit, quod maximos hujus tempeſtatis viros, Buchananum, Heppurnium, Robertonium, et Rhetorfortem præceptores tibi dederit, quod tam amplas pecunias fortunaſque in te erudiendo inſumpſerit, et omnes vires animi, atque ingenii in educando profuderit, quantum quod ob inteſtinas ſeditiones, et proelia domeſtica, contra te ſuſcitata, quæ cum patre geſſiſti, Regno diſcedere, et Regem relinquere, coegit. Sed laudem, quæ a majoribus ad nos derivatur, ne laudem quidem eſſe, ſapientiſſimus ille vir Ulixes exiſtimavit. Neque te vero multum commendo, quod ſpecie, et corporis viribus polleas. Fateor tamen aliquid eſſe in his, quod non tam a fortuna, quantum ab animo pendet, immortalitatis memoria proſequendum. Quod ſcilicet Regno, patria, domoque ob Catholicæ fidei ardorem tam longe abes, nec ullum ex his aerumnis dolorem, ſed incredibilem animo ſentias voluptatem: neque Regis in conſobrinum tuum Jacobum Stuardum clementia, cui cum Moraviæ principatu ſuam conſobrinam uxorem dedit: neque communis cum Rege educatio permovent, immo ne movent quidem. Putas enim, majores quaſdam opes, et firmiora, quam quæ amiſiſti, præſidia eſſe quærenda. In corporis vero bonis id habes, quod effigies oris, atque ſermonis animi nobiliſſimi filia ſit. Sed belli ſtudia in ipſis ephebis inire, eadem animo, atque amore proſequi, et cum literis, et Philoſophia, tanquam alter Brutus, conjungere, nemini unquam ab initio humani generis obtigit. Magna ſunt iſta profecto, et inaudita: mediocria tamen, ſi cetera ſpectemus. Quod ſcilicet decem linguarum, multorum idiomatum, omnium diſciplinarum cognitionem ante vigeſimum primum ætatis annum ſis adeptus. et digladiandi, ſaltandi, omnium gymnaſticarum exercitationum, et equitandi ſtudia tanta cum alacritate ingenii. animique humanitate, manſuetudine, et facilitate conjunxeris, ut nihil te admirabilius, nihil etiam amabilius reperiri poſſit. Sed non innumerabiles vitæ tuæ tranſactæ laudes; non mirificam illam coram Sereniſſimo Principe, ac Illuſtriſſimis

(*) Sic. Orig.

(*) Sic in orig.

Venetæ

As to the real cauſe and manner of our young Scotſman's death, both of them ſtill remain in ſome degree of obſcurity. That he was killed in a renconter at the Carnival at Mantua, is teſtified by too many authors to be reaſonably doubted. But whether there was that particular malignity on the part of Vincenzo di Gonzaga, which is commonly aſcribed to him, may be conſidered as uncertain.

One important method yet remains, by which we may be enabled to form a judgment of Crichton's genius, and that is, from a peruſal of the four Poems of his which are ſtill preſerved. It is, however, to be feared, that theſe will not exhibit him in a very high point of view. Some Fancy, perhaps, may be thought to be diſplayed in the longeſt of his Poems, which was written on occaſion of his approach to the city of Venice. He there repreſents a Naiad as riſing up before him, and, by the order of the Muſes and of Minerva, directing him how to proceed. But this is a ſentiment which ſo eaſily preſents itſelf to a claſſical Reader, that it can ſcarcely be conſidered as deſerving the name of a Poetical Invention. The three other Poems of Crichton have ſtill leſs to recommend them. Indeed, his Verſes will not ſtand the teſt of a rigid examination even with regard to quantity. That our readers may be able to judge for themſelves upon the ſubject, the four Poems ſhall be given in a note [*P*]; and this will probably be the more acceptable, not

Venetæ Reip. proceribus actionem; non ſubtiliſſimas tuas de Theologia, Philoſophia, et rebus Mathematicis diſputationes in pleriſque maximorum hominum conſeſſibus recenſebo; non tantorum hominum ad te videndum concurſum, ut olim Platoni a Sicilia revertenti, relicto Olympico ſpectaculo, tota Athenienſium celebritas occurriſſe fertur; cum te omnes rubeæ Roſæ, quod tibi natura circa dextrum lumen impreſſit, tanquam unicam, et raram in terris avem homines cognoſcerent. Quæ enim gentes tam feræ ſunt, quæ, te cum adſpexerint, non maximum cepiſſe fructum putent? Sed, his prætermiſſis, nunc propria narrabo: quæ ſcilicet in Patavina Academia feciſti, tum quæ in hac urbe, totius orbis nobiliſſima, cujus amplitudinem, et auguſtiſſimam majeſtatem inter omnes alias civitates te accipere, fovere, atque amplecti decuit; te vero etiam humani generis miraculum, admirandam urbem incolere, amare, et omnibus aliis anteponere. Nam, poſtquam adverſa valetudine jam quatuor menſes laboraſſes, priuſquam in integrum priſcæ ſanitatis ſtatum redires, amicorum conſilio ad Patavinam Academiam, tanquam ad Sapientiæ officinam, profectus es, ubi Idibus Martii in diem ſequentem, ſuſcepto conſilio omnes omnium diſciplinarum profeſſores in ædibus Clariſſimi viri Jacobi Aloiſii Cornelii, ejus auctoritate, et precibus, ut convocarentur, petiiſti. Cum autem maximus doctiſſimorum hominum coetus, et omnes ex inſperato pœne ſtudioſi, et nobiles Gymnaſii juvenes una conveniſſent, ſtatim in primi ingreſſus veſtibulo elegantiſſimo carmine Patavinas laudes, (nam ea tibi propoſita erat ad dicendum materia) ex tempore decantaſti: deinde cum celeberimis illis doctoribus multa ex variis diſciplinis tam acute exagitaſti, tam docte pertractaſti, erroreſque Ariſtotelis, ac interpretum tam ſolide refutaſti, tanta denique cum maxime viris modeſtia egiſti, ut omnes in virtutis admirationem et morum ſuavitatis amorem ſimul allexeris. Neque id ſilentio prætereundum eſt, quod ex tempore etiam, poſt ſex horarum de re literaria colloquia, et diſputationes, cum oblata tibi eſſet ignorationem laudandi occaſio, tam ornate de ea re dixiſti, ut illi ipſi, qui intererant, potius ſomnia fovere, quam rem veram, et præſentem videre ſe putaſſe mihi poſtea affirmarint. Alium poſtea diem indixiſti in ædibus Illuſtriſſimi Patavini Epiſcopi, non ut altius ingenii tui ſpecimen præberes, quod profecto fruſtra feciſſes, ſed ut eorum, qui primis diſputationibus non interfuerant, obnixit (*) precibus ſatisfaceres. Variæ res huic propoſito obſtaculo fuere. Ad ſecundum certamen ventum non eſt. Sed plerique cum primis Europæ viris ſermones habiti ſunt. Nonnunquam hominum exſpectationes, licet propter facta tam illuſtria de te maximas, plrunque etiam et te ipſum ſupe[illegible]us es. Ex quibus actis cum illico ſurrexiſſet [illegible]ma, obtrectatores aliqui, quibus ex aliorum be[illegible]s et rebus ſecundis invidentia eſſe ſolet, homuli, [illegible]o quid dicam, tuæ virtuti aliquid derogare fruſtra tentaverunt. Oſtendentes in obſcuro odio apertas inimicitias, et, in quo nihil nocere poterant, ſummam voluntatem nocendi. Tum tu, ut iſtas obtrectationes malevolentiſſimas puſillorum malevolorumque proſ-

(*) *Sic in orig.*

terneres, atque obtereres, duo hæc Theoremata in hac urbe edidiſti: [theſe Theorems are given in note [*F*].] et per triduum indefeſſus ſuſtinuiſti; et, quamdiu tua auctoritas tibi defendenda fuit, ſic acriter et vehementer præliatus es, ut clamor concurſuſque inſolitus ad ſtudia tua lenienda tanta cum laude fieret, ut nihil unquam magnificentius ab hominibus auditum ſit. Tu vero me non ſolum auctorem conſiliorum, ſed ſpectatorem pugnarum mirificarum habuiſti. Nunc, quoniam laudis ſemper avidiſſimus fui, et præter ceteros φιλοχρίλόνιος ab omnibus habeor, multorumque odia, pro tua cauſa ſuſcepi, cura obſecro, et effice, ut facis, ut, quia veram virtutem cognovi, ab omnibus amer, amari, et laudari poſſim, et ut major in ea mihi indies ſpes reſideat. Mea igitur in Ciceronis Paradoxa lucubrationes, hoc ipſo quia in Paradoxa ſunt, ſub tuo nomine prodire volui, quod veteribus gratiam, novis favorem conciliare ſolet. Tu autem has noſtras vigilias, et Stoicorum opiniones ſimul (quoad veritas patitur) tuebere. Id enim tibi admodum erit facile. Jam enim pæne omnes homines aut gratiam, aut eloquentiam, aut tantarum rerum, ne dicam omnium, ſcientiam ſuſpiciunt. Vive noſtri memor et vale.

Venetiis. XIV. Kal. Jun. CC. D. XXCI. [1581.]

[*P*] *The four Poems ſhall be given in a note.*]

JACOBUS CRITTONIUS.

IN SUUM AD URBEM VENETAM APPULSUM.

DUM procul à patria, Hadriaci prope littora Ponti—
Conſedi, mediis celſam miratus in undis
Stare urbem, ſævi obtingunt cui jura tridentis,
Et pelagi imperium conſtans, æternaque ſceptra:
Sæpè meos animo caſus meditabar iniquos,
Sæpè humectabam guttis ſtillantibus ora:
Cum mihi ſeſe offert diva veneranda figura
Naias, Eridani quondam propè cognita ripas,
Naias, una quidem doctis gratiſſima Muſis.
Principio rebar ſimulacrum, aut vana videre
Somnia (nulla fides oculis) cum protinus illa
His me ultro aggreditur dictis: Non te tua fallunt
Lumina; nec noſtri vana eſt, quam cernis, imago.
Nam mandata fero Muſarum, et juſſa faceſſo
Palladis armiſonæ, quibus una eſt cura ſalutis
Certa tuæ: nec te per tanta pericula vectum
Urbem in præclaram tumido ſub pectore curas
Fas premere eſt: meliora jubent ſperare, monentque.
Non hæc iſta tibi tantum infortunia nota
Contingunt: nec cede malis, neu te ſine vinci.
Cernis enim, ut late terras Saturnus in omnes
Acer agit peſtem, quæ fibris cæca ſub ipſis
Conditur, atque alias magno jam turbine clades:
Haud ſecus, ac Phæbi juratos Aulide Graios:
Quando Agamemnonio tetigit pro crimine dextra.
Hic natos vitæ exſortes, aſt ille parentem
Grandævum deflet, vel matris triſte feretrum,
Proque viro conjux, aut vir pro conjuge luget.
Aſt alios volucris fortunæ incommoda tangunt.
Reges, indomitas gentes, populoſque rebelles,
Aut urbes domini terrarum, atque oppida cernunt

not only as they conſtitute the whole remains of Crichton's productions, but as copies of them, and eſpecially of the two latter Odes, are extremely difficult to be obtained.

What, then, is the opinion, which, on the whole, we are to form of the Admirable Crichton? It is evident that he was a youth of ſuch lively parts as excited great preſent admiration,

Erepta, hic auri fulvum ſibi pondus ademptum,
Morborumque cohors alios immiſſa fatigat.
Namque in hyperboreis tabes quæ cœperat oris,
Materiem inveniens primùm, dehinc viribus ille
Senſim fota ſuis, Europam irrepſit in omnem.
Non ſecus ac lentus flatu ſuccenditur ignis,
Paullatimque alimenta trahit, mox flamma per auras
Illa crepat, ſeſeque involvit lumine fulvo
Fumida, Vulcanum latè per inania jactans.
Primum exorta quidem flavos infauſta Britannos,
Germanos tum cæruleos, Galloſque feroces,
Hinc etiam atra lues calidos infecit Iberos.
Fertilis Italiæ dehinc altas fuſa per urbes
Invaluit. Senſere omnes (miſerabile dictu)
Aut pauci evaſere mali exitiale venenum.
Torquet adhuc primo pueros in limine vitæ,
Invalidoſque ſenes extremo in limite vitæ,
Et juvenes rapido firmiſſima pectora bello
Disjicit: infractæ languent at prœlia vires.
Una etiam matres petit, intonſaſque puellas,
Parcere nec formæ, nec parcere ſueta juventæ.
Nec non armenta in campis errantia cernas,
Quæ vix ægra caput feſſa cervice retentant,
Horribileſque feras, picturataſque volucres
Languere, ut laſſo demiſſa papavera collo.
Nam circumfuſus cunctis animantibus æther
Concepit nocuos gremio denſoſque vapores.
Utque aliquas leges, æternaque fœdera rebus
Impoſuit natura parens, ſine nomine multa
Sic in principiis latitant diſcrimina rerum, et
Mille movent. Nam ni Veneris placidiſſimus ignis
Sedaret varios infauſti luminis ignes,
Diſcuteretque potens radiis contraria Phœbus,
Mille malis rueret ſævis obnoxius orbis.
Namque intemperiem oſtendit modò marcidus aër,
Sæpèque mutatus, præſens occaſio morbi eſt.
O genus humanum, quantas te audacia fecit
Japeti proles; ſpecies perferre malorum,
Cum nova ſupplicia, et pœnas immiſit acerbas
Jupiter omnipotens, ſubductum infenſus ob ignem
Curribus ætheriis, perfectaque corpora limo?
Quiſque Deos, et fata vocat crudelia: culpæ
Nemo ſuæ juſtum capit imo in corde dolorem.
At placanda foret Divûm inclementia ture,
Et precibus, ſic mortales, ſic vivere dignum eſt.
Dixerat, et preſſis tacuit formoſa labellis.
Tum me luminibus tacitis intenta pererrat,
Ut reſponſa petens. Trepidanti ego pectore tandem
Verba coacta dedi: Fateor me, candida Nais,
Promeritum quæcunque fero: nec turpis egeſtas;
Infandumve ſcelus ſervi mea pectora vexat.
At me quis miſerum magna cognoſcit in urbe,
Aut quis at æquoreas flentem ſolatur arenas?
Cumque ſinum irroro lacrymis, verba irrita ventis
Trado, nec quiſquam eſt gemitus qui ſentiat imos.
Colludunt vitreo auricomæ ſub gurgite Nymphæ,
Aſſiduoque novos Glaucus meditatur amores,
Alma latet Doris, latet et Panopeia virgo,
Quas Siren blando mulcet ſub gurgite cantu.
Nec me Carpathiis vates in fluctibus audit
Cærulus, et variis aſſuetus ludere formis,
Ac ſeſe in rerum miracula vertere cuncta.
Sed nec equos bipedes tangunt tam parva furentes,
Quæ ficcis occulis turpes in gurgite Phocas
Depaſci humanos pavitantes dentibus artus,
Cernunt Scylla vorax, aut navifragum Scylacæum,
Cum rapiunt fractas ſinuoſa ſub æquora puppes,
Numina nil noſtros miſerantur torva labores.
Ergo preces ſcopulis, monſtriſque natantibus ultro
Fundimus. Heu nimium ſurdent immania ſaxa.
At vos aſſuetæ noſtras audire quærelas,
O Nymphæ, ad ſacros latices quæ dulcia rura
Incolitis, gelidumque nemus, placidoſque receſſus,
Cur me numinibus disjungunt æquora veſtris?
Cur non virgineas patiuntur cernere Muſas?

Pœnarum exhauſtum ſatis eſt, heu parcite fata,
Tuque graves, ô Diva, meos miſerere labores.
Illa autem roſeo rurſus ſic ore locuta eſt:
Ipſa tibi expediam caſus, ſi ſcire cupido eſt,
Auxiliumque feram certum modo rebus egenis.
Num te divini, diviſque parentibus orti,
Aldi fama latet, totum diffuſa per orbem?
Hunc Aſiæ gentes norunt, et Cantaber atrox,
Decolor atque Indus, vel qui colit incola terras
Extremas penitus, ſive auro inſignis Orion,
Sive Hyades pluviæ, ſeu ſeptem adverſa Trioni
Sidera clara caput ſemper ſublime coronant.
Huic (pharetra tantum inſignis) crinitus Apollo
Se Tritoniaca confeſſus arundine victum,
Atque lyra cedit: nec ſe negat eſſe ſecundum,
Formoſæ natus Maiæ: neque docta Minerva
Dedignata parem eſt: tantum nitet aurea virtus.
Hunc pete, namque regens filo veſtigia cæca
Diriget ille tuos optato in tramite greſſus.
Inde via pandet, ſequere hunc quæcunque jubentem:
Sic te Diva monet ſævum quæ Gorgona geſtat.
Quæ plerumque tuis præſens erit optima votis,
Namque hic contemptis tandem dominatur Athenis.
Nec te tam longè disjungunt æquora Muſis,
Imo hæc indigenæ veniunt at litora Muſæ,
Necnon et Drymo, Lygeaque, Cymodoceque,
Nymphaque Junonis pulcherrima Deiopeja,
Quæque illas ſuperant, atque Oceanitdes ambas,
Hæc eadem Hadriacæ fulgent ad litora Nymphæ,
Doctæ Palladias Veneri conjungere curas.
Ipſa etiam, ſpretis Cnidoque, Paphoque, Cytheraque,
Aurea collucens Venetas Venus incolit arces.
Præterea ſummo coram te Principe ducet,
Quem tibi Diva dedit comitem, ſacrumque Senatum
Adſpicies, divoſque omnes longo ordine Patres.
Non ita Tantalides, Regum cingente corona
Argolica, ſolio enituit ſublimis ab alto,
Atque orbis dominos inter, patreſque Latinos,
Auguſtus Cæſar, qualem fulgere videbis
Grandævum, atque annis, et majeſtate verendum,
Eximios inter proceres, gentemque togatam,
Patrem Urbis Venetæ: divumque ut Jupiter ipſe
Conſilio, in magno tectum omnipatentis Olympi
Concutit, ac terras humiles, Erebumque ſonantem
Apparens cœlo ac terris, Ereboque tremendus:
Dique etiam fulgent reliqui ſplendore perenni:
Sic patri ætherio modo Principis æmula virtus
Semideumque, deis prædatur ſidera et altum
Religione polum, hinc terras ditione, opibuſque
Et bello quatit, ac ſævum pietate Acheronta.

Donec nocturnis Dictynna invecta quadrigis
Cum Phœbo alterno luſtrabit lumine terras,
Pulchraque per tacitum labentur ſidera mundum,
Stabunt res Venetæ, et præclaræ gloria gentis
Æternum poſitis tutiſſima fundamentis.

Dixerat, et levibus vix æquora tingere plantis
Viſa petit binis proprius de cornibus unum,
Quo pater Eridanus violentibus influit undis
In mare purpureum, et vitreo caput abdidit amne.

* * * * * * *

Ad Aldum Manutium.

Intermissa diu Chelys:
Nec Lydiis cecini carmina tibiis,
Nec molles cytharæ modos,
Carmen perpetuo flebile perſonans.
Sed nunc mente feror nova,
Per ſacrumque trahit Melpomene nemus.
Cinctum Pierius me rapit, et chorus
Phœbo, quâ tumidus ſequor,

Te

(r) *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, p. 268— From a copy of the *Deliciæ*, obligingly lent me by Mr. Pinkerton.

(s) F. *Apollinis.*

admiration, and high expectations with regard to his future attainments. He appears to have had a fine perſon, to have been adroit in his bodily exerciſes, to have poſſeſſed a peculiar facility in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and reten-

Te clarum recinens, Alde, in Apollinis
Arte, et conſpicuum, tuæ
Laudes lætitiam, dulceque gaudium,
Solamenque dabunt mihi,
Et mentem eripient, triſtibus è malis.
Syren carminibus truces
Ceu mulcet pelagi præcipitis minas
Cantu vel fide Leſbia,
Dum lenit virides Nereidum Choros,
Et Thetis cupidè ſonos
Dulces ſub vitreo gurgite concipit:
Sic laudes quoties tuas
Pulſis experior corde moleſtiis,
Non ſuſpiria ab intimo
Ducam corde, dolens, ut ſoleo nimis:
Sed Phœbus facilis, meæ
Erranti injiciens fræna licentiæ,
Permittet pede candido
Errare, et gelidos viſere liberum
Nympharum latices ſinet.
Tunc ipſe ex adytis ritè Heliconiis
Metrum grandius eloquar,
Candoremque canam ſemper amabilem (17).

(17) *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, p. 268—From a Ms. of the *Deliciæ*, obligingly lent me by Mr. Pinkerton.

Prefixed to the CATO MAJOR of CICERO in the Edition of ALDUS MANUCIUS, 1583.

JACOBI CRITONII, SCOTI,

AD CLARISSIMUM VIRUM, PATRITIUM VENETUM JOHANNEM DONATUM.

ODE.

DUM cupidus, tumiduſque Deo tua dicere facta,
Donate, quæro, maxime;
Mens deſideriis ardet; ſed lenta fatiſcit
Sub corde virtus anxio:
Non tenui tentanda videns freta turbida velo,
Tardoque Pontum remige,
Compreſſo fervore ſemel ſub pectore anhelo
Labore deſiſto gravi.
Sed nihil intonſus fruſtra mihi Cinthius unquam
Suaſit, vel alta numina.
Ergo Deum, et doctas ſæpe in mea vota camænas
Rurſus invoco furens.
Tum mente evehitur multa ſeu candidus aura
Olor levatus evolat,
Præpetibuſque petit volitans ſublimia pennis,
Magnumque inane dividit.
Victorem armatæ flammis ſi Muſa Chimeræ
Canora vatis extulit,
Sive trucidantes immania monſtra, vel ipſum
Vatum marinæ Tethyos,
Aut Anchiſiaden Priameiumque Hectora grande
Carmen poetarum beat,
Si vivunt Theronque Hieronque, atque Ithæus ille,
Ob vana Clari ludicra,
Quos nunquam obſcura ſub nube ſilentia condent
Oblivioſa Tartari,
Hoc opus o veſtrum, Muſæ eſt; mihi cingite frontem
Tempuſque lauro Apollinari (*).
Nec deerit divos inter regeſque, Deorum
Genus, Donato gloria.

(*) F. *Apollinis*.

Prefixed to the LÆLIUS of CICERO,

A. MANUCIUS in his Dedication LAURENTIO MASSÆ, REIP. VENETÆ SECRETARIO.

"Me ſtudiorum paritas, virtutis amor, communiſque
"animorum ardor, quo Critonium noſtrum, divinum
"plane juvenem, proſequimur, ſubigit, ut te æque
"ac ipſum amem, et, quæ ipſe de te cecinit, in pri-
"miſque ea, quæ hic ſubſcripſi, dulcis utriuſque
"veſtrum memoria ergo ſæpe, ac libenter uſur-
"pem.

"Vale, Venetius, Id. ib. Jun. CIↃ.IↃXXCI."

JACOBI CRITONI, SCOTI,

AD LAURENTIUM MASSAM.

ODE.

ERRANTEM ab oris me Caledoniis
Poſtquam triremis per Freta Nerei
Vexit, volentem, mox remotos
Conſpicere, et populos, et urbes,
Muſæ per undas præcipites piæ
Vagum ſecutæ, numine candido
Sævis obarmatum procellis
Incolumem ſine labe ſervant.
Nati labores ſeu (†) dea Cypria
Secuta, longas per pelagi vias
Hoſtile per ferrum, per ignes
Perque minas comes ibat omnes.
Si forte Gades impiger ultimos,
Syrteſve aut Indos viſere barbaros
Vellem, nec Indos, interve Syrtes
Deſtituent ope contumaces.
En obſtrepentis qui Oceani freta
Mutavi amicæ fluctibus Hadriæ,
Latinus hoſpes, jam relictis
Diis patriis gelidoque cælo
At non egenum cœtus Aonius
Abjecit, adſunt mi faciles deæ,
Præſtantque dulces una amicos
Quos eadem pia cura jungit.
Te, Maſſa, clari gloria ſanguinis,
Pars una ſummi et maxima conſili,
Ardenſque virtus te nitentem,
Te decorant et opes beatum.
Muſis amicus cum vigeas tamen,
Muſis amico Critonio fove;
O digne Divarum favore,
Quique Deum faveas amicis.

(†) Probably for *ſic*.

The following remarks on the two laſt Odes have been communicated to us by a learned friend.

There are few ſuch glaring errors in proſody as thoſe to be found in the two Odes of Crichton; a man who allowed himſelf ſuch licences might well engage to diſpute in verſe.

In the Ode to Maſſa *Aut.* is made ſhort; in the very next line there is a ſyllable too much at the word *inter've*; preſently after, we have two falſe quantities in one word, "*Catus Aonius* inſtead of *Aonius*."

"Sævis obarmatum periclis" means, in Latin, "armed *with* dangers."—in the laſt ſtanza but one *te* is repeated to fill up the verſe.—In the laſt ſtanza *fove* is placed by a Typographical error for *fave*; if not, it is falſe Latin: and, ſuppoſing *fave* to be the word, *fave, favore, faveas*, all in a breath, is very inelegant. Of the laſt line I can make nothing.—

In the Ode to Donatus, there is a line out of all ſhape.

"rurſus invoco furens."

And afterwards one more irregular, if poſſible,

"Tempuſque lauro Apollinari,"

poſſible *Apollinis*, ſo, a typographical error.

He alſo uſes

"Ithæus" for "Ithacus."

He ſays,

"Labore deſiſto gravi;"

in proſe there ſhould be "*a* labore." Quere, may *a* be omitted in verſe?

In this Ode the epithets are merely expletives, and are juſt ſuch as an idle boy would take from the *Gradus ad Parnaſſum*.

tive

tive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a fluency of ſpeech, and a readineſs of reply. His knowledge, likewiſe, was probably very uncommon for his years; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities, enabled him to ſhine in public diſputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound may juſtly be queſtioned; and it may equally be doubted whether he would have ariſen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the teſt of experiment.

It is natural, on the preſent occaſion, to recollect the caſe of John Picus of Mirandula. He is celebrated for having been ſuch a prodigy of parts and literature as ſcarcely ever exiſted; and yet his works are not underſtood by any means to correſpond with his once ſplendid reputation.

A circumſtance has been pointed out to us concerning Crichton, which muſt not be omitted. He was very much diſſatisfied (as appears from an incidental paſſage of Manutius) [Q], with Socrates's manner of diſputing againſt the Sophiſts. Manutius expreſſes great ſurprize at this ſentiment of his friend, but ſurely without reaſon; for Crichton was himſelf too like the ancient Sophiſts not to be fond of their character.

I am under no apprehenſion that any ſingle Gentleman of Scotland will be diſpleaſed with the preſent article. That country, as hath already been noticed, ſtands not in need of falſhood to ſupport its reputation. It produced many eminent ſcholars at the time in which Crichton lived; and hath continued to produce writers of the firſt Order. The names that adorn the preſent age it is needleſs to mention. Lord Buchan, in his Memoir, lays no ſtreſs upon any account of Crichton's literary exhibitions, excepting that which is given by Manutius; and even Manutius is blamed by his Lordſhip, for having had a great ſhare, by his own extravagance of language, in occaſioning the bombaſtic and intemperate praiſes which afterwards appeared of his young friend. It is to a reſpectable and learned Gentleman of North Britain, who doth not permit me the honour of mentioning his name, that I am indebted for ſeveral hints and communications, by which I have been greatly aſſiſted in my endeavours to furniſh a more complete and authentic Narrative of the Life of the Admirable Crichton than has hitherto been written by any of his Biographers.] K.

[Q] *From an incidental paſſage of Manutius.*] Sed quid eſt, per Deum, mi Jacobe Critoni, quod Socratis diſputandi Modum in Sophiſtas laceſſis, aut ſi non laceſſis, ſanè non ſatis approbare videris? Sanè me fateor non hoc abs te planè intellexiſſe (18).

(18) *Comment. in Paradox.* p. 234. Pointed out to me by a friend.

CRISPE (Sir NICHOLAS), an eminent and loyal citizen in the reigns of King Charles the Firſt and King Charles the Second, was the ſon of a very eminent merchant, and grandſon of an Alderman of London (*a*). He was born in the year 1598, and bred according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, in a thorough knowledge of buſineſs, though heir to a great eſtate (*b*). He made a conſiderable addition to this by marriage; and being a man of an enterprizing genius, ever active and ſollicitous about new inventions and diſcoveries, and, which very rarely happens, wonderfully induſtrious and diligent about things he had brought to bear, he was ſoon taken notice of at Court, was knighted, and became one of the Farmers of the King's Cuſtoms (*c*). When the trade to Guinea was under great difficulties and diſcouragements, he framed a project for retrieving it, which required a very large ſum of money to bring it about; but his reputation was ſo great, that many rich Merchants willingly engaged with him in the proſecution of the deſign (*d*): and to give a good example, as well as to ſhew that he meant to adhere to the work that he had once taken in hand, he cauſed the Caſtle of Cormantyn upon the Gold Coaſt, to be erected at his own expence (*e*). By this judicious precaution, and by his wiſe and wary management afterwards, himſelf and his aſſociates carried their trade to ſuch a height, as to divide amongſt them fifty thouſand pounds a year (*f*). When the times grew dark and cloudy, and the King's affairs were in ſuch diſtreſs he knew not how to turn himſelf for want of money, Sir Nicholas Criſpe, and his partners in the Farming of the Cuſtoms, upon very ſhort warning, and when their refuſing it would have been eſteemed a merit with the Parliament, raiſed him ſo large a ſum as one hundred thouſand pounds at once (*g*); and that with ſuch circumſtances of chearfulneſs as might be truly ſaid to double the value of this ſervice [A]. After the war broke out, and in the midſt of all the diſtractions with which

(a) Stow's Survey of London, publiſhed by Strype, vol. i. c. iii. p. 203.
(b) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97. Monumental inſcription in the Chapel at Hammerſmith.
(c) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.
(d) Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Trade to Guinea, p. 31.
(e) See the monumental inſcription in Hammerſmith Chapel.
(f) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferer, p. 627. Hiſt. of the Engliſh Trade to Guinea, p. 103.
(g) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

[A] *As might be truly ſaid to double the value of this ſervice.*] It was but a ſhort time before the King was obliged to leave London, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of applying to thoſe four eminent citizens, who were then farmers of the cuſtoms, for no leſs a ſum than one hundred thouſand pounds, and that to be advanced immediately (1). Theſe farmers of the cuſtoms, were Sir Nicholas Criſpe, Sir Abraham Dawes, Sir John Jacob, and Sir John Wolſtenholme. When the matter was propoſed to Sir Nicholas, he ſaid, 'it was a large ſum and ſhort warning, but that providence had made him able, and his duty made him willing to lay down his proportion, whenever his Majeſty called for it.' Sir Abraham Dawes had ſome relations, whoſe affections leaned the other way, and who beſides had great expectations from him: they magnified the ſum that was deſired, the uncertainty of its been repaid, and the danger that it would be taken ill by Parliament, who might inſiſt upon the like ſum. "Well, *ſaid Sir Abraham*, this then is the worſt

(1) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

which it was attended, he continued to carry on a trade to Holland, France, Spain, Italy, Norway, Moſcovy, and Turkey, which produced to the King nearly one hundred thouſand pounds a year, beſides keeping moſt of the Ports open and ſhips in them conſtantly ready for his ſervice. All the correſpondence and ſupplies of arms which were procured by the Queen in Holland, and by the King's agents in Denmark, were conſigned to his care, and by his prudence and vigilance ſafely landed in the North, and put into the hands of thoſe for whom they were intended (*b*). In the management of ſo many nice and difficult affairs, he was obliged to keep up a very extenſive correſpondence, in doing of which he diſcovered a moſt ſurprizing dexterity, for he hardly ever made uſe of cypher, but penned his letters in ſuch a peculiar ſtile, as removed entirely his intentions from the apprehenſion of his enemies, and yet left them very intelligible unto thoſe with whom he tranſacted (*i*). He had alſo an incomparable addreſs in bringing any thing to bear that he had once contrived, to which it contributed not a little, that in matters of ſecrecy and danger he ſeldom truſted to any hands but his own, and to facilitate this, he made uſe of all kinds of diſguiſes. Sometimes when he was believed to be in one place he was actually at another; letters of conſequence he carried in the diſguiſe of a porter; when he wanted intelligence he would be at the water ſide with a baſket of flounders upon his head, and often paſſed between London and Oxford in the dreſs of a butter-woman on horſeback between a pair of panniers (*k*). He was the principal author of that well-laid deſign for publiſhing the King's Commiſſion of Array at London, which was defeated by another deſign that Mr. Waller through fear betrayed, for which Tomkins and Chaloner ſuffered (*l*), and of which we have but a very obſcure account in a very celebrated hiſtory (*m*) [*B*]. It is however very

(*b*) Characters of eminent Citizens in London, p. 97.

(*i*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(*k*) Characters of eminent Citizens in London, p. 97. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(*l*) Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 317, 318, 319.

'worſt that can happen, and I bleſs God, who has 'made me able to pay my allegiance, and to pay for 'it (2).' Something of the ſame kind was inſinuated to Sir John Jacob, who was not only very ſincerely loyal, but a man of a warm temper and a tender heart. 'What, *ſaid he in reply*, ſhall I keep my 'eſtate, and ſee the King want wherewithal, to pro-'tect me in it? If it pleaſe God to bleſs the King, 'though I give him all I have, I ſhall be no loſer; if 'not though I keep all I have, I ſhall be no ſaver '(3).' Sir John Wolſtenholme, a ſtout and plain man, advanced his proportion, as he afterwards did larger ſums, without any ſpeeches (4). He and Sir Nicholas Criſpe lived to ſee the Reſtoration, and to be Farmers of the Cuſtoms again under King Charles the ſecond, after they and the reſt had paid deeply for this proof of their loyalty.

(2) From a MS. formerly belonging to Peter Le Neve, Eſq;

(3) Engliſh Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 450.

(4) From the information of the family.

[*B*] *And of which we have but a very obſcure account, in a very celebrated Hiſtory.*] We have in the Earl of Clarendon's Work, a very large account of Mr. Waller's deſign, and the methods employed by him to bring it to bear, and of the manner in which it was diſcovered. His Lordſhip then takes occaſion to tell us, that the Parliament, to magnify their danger, blended this with another deſign that was formed in the King's quarters; and as this relates expreſsly to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, it is neceſſary the reader ſhould ſee it (5). From the King's coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were proſecuted or jealouſly looked upon, in London, had reſorted to the King, and hoping if the winter produced not a peace, that the ſummer would carry the King before that city with an army, they had entertained ſome diſcourſe of raiſing upon their own ſtocks of money and credit, ſome Regiments of Foot and Horſe, and joining with ſome Gentlemen of Kent, who were likewiſe inclined to ſuch an undertaking. Among theſe was Sir Nicholas Criſpe, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active ſpirited man; who had been lately proſecuted with great ſeverity by the Houſe of Commons, and had thereupon fled from London for appearing too great a ſtickler in a petition for peace in the city. This Gentleman induſtriouſly preſerved a correſpondence ſtill therein, by which he gave the King often very uſeful intelligence, and aſſured him of a very conſiderable party which would appear there for him, whenever his own power ſhould be ſo near as to give them any countenance. In the end, whether invited by his correſpondents there, or truſting his own ſprightly inclinations and reſolutions too much, and concluding that all who were equally honeſt, would be equally bold, he deſired his Majeſty 'to grant a com-'miſſion to ſuch perſons whom he would nominate 'of the city of London, under the Great Seal of 'England, in the nature of a Commiſſion of Array, 'by virtue whereof, when the ſeaſon ſhould come, 'his party there would appear in diſcipline and order, 'and that this was deſired by thoſe who beſt knew 'what countenance and authority was requiſite, and 'being truſted to them, would not be executed at all, 'or elſe at ſuch a time, as his Majeſty ſhould receive 'ample fruits by it, provided it were done with ſe-'crecy equal to the hazard they ſhould run, who were 'employed in it.' The King had this exception to it: 'The improbability that it could do good, and that the failing might do hurt to the undertakers.' But the promoter was a very popular man in the city, where he had been a Commander of the Trained-bands, till the Ordinance of the Militia removed him, which rather improved than leſſened his credit, and he was very confident it would produce a notable advantage to the King. However they deſired it, who were there, and would not appear without it, and therefore the King conſented to it, referring the nomination of all perſons in the commiſſion to him, who he verily believed had proceeded by the inſtruction and advice of thoſe that were neareſt the concernment; and for the ſecrecy of it, the King referred the preparing and diſpatch of the commiſſion to Sir Nicholas Criſpe himſelf, who ſhould acquaint no more with it than he found requiſite. So without the privity or advice, of any Counſellor, or Miniſter of State, then moſt truſted by his Majeſty, he procured ſuch a Commiſſion as he deſired, (being no other than the Commiſſion of Array in Engliſh,) to be ſigned by the King, and ſealed with the Great Seal. This being done and remaining ſtill in his cuſtody, the Lady Aubigney, by a paſs, and with the conſent of the Houſes, came to Oxford to tranſact the affairs of her own fortune with the King, upon the death of her huſband, who was killed at Edghill; and ſhe having in a few days diſpatched her buſineſs there, and being ready to return, Sir Nicholas Criſpe came to the King, and beſought him 'to deſire that Lady, who 'had a paſs, and ſo could promiſe herſelf ſafety in 'her journey, to carry a ſmall box (in which that 'Commiſſion ſhould be) with her, and to keep it in 'her own cuſtody, until a Gentleman ſhould call to 'her Ladyſhip for it, by ſuch a token.' That token he ſaid, 'he could ſend to one of the perſons truſted 'who ſhould keep it by him, till the opportunity came 'in which it might be executed.' The King accordingly wiſhed the Lady Aubigney to carry it with great care and ſecrecy, telling her 'it much con-'cerned his own ſervice,' and to deliver it in ſuch manner, and upon ſuch aſſurance, as is before-mentioned, which ſhe did; and within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a perſon who was appointed to call for it. How this Commiſſion was

(5) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 318.

very certain that there was nothing dishonourable in the design itself, so far as Sir Nicholas Crispe was concerned, or any just grounds of throwing reproach, or so much as suspicion upon him, for the discovery of it. But it seems the noble author was not entirely possessed of the facts relating to it, and either willingly or inadvertently confounds Sir Nicholas Crispe's design of executing the King's Commission of Array in London (*n*), which might have been done as legally as any where else, with another design, superinduced by Mr. Waller, of surprizing the Parliament, in bringing which to bear he proceeded very vigorously at first, till finding that he had engaged in a matter too big for his management, he suddenly lost his spirits, and some of the chief men in the House of Commons gaining intelligence that something was in agitation to their prejudice, May 31st, 1643 (*o*), they presently seized Mr. Waller and drew from him a compleat discovery, which, from the account they published, plainly distinguished these two projects [*C*]. By the discovery of this

(*n*) May's Hist. of the Parliament of England, l. iii. p. 45.

(*o*) Rushworth's Collections, p. iii. vol. ii. p. 324.

discovered, I could never learn, for though Mr. Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believed by her to be a Gentleman of most entire affections to the King's service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her Ladyship herself not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any body else. It is very evident from this account, that the noble Historian was not much in the secret himself; and this perhaps might incline him not to entertain a better opinion of it: for it is very apparent, that he looked upon Sir Nicholas Crispe's zeal as pushing him a little too far in this business; that he very much doubted whether that Commission, however managed, could turn to the King's advantage, because of the want of spirit in those concerned; and that after all, he could never find out how the original Commission came into the Parliament's hands; because the Lady Aubigney delivered it, as she was directed, so that it was out of her hands before it was discovered; and while it was in her hands, she could say nothing about it to Mr. Waller, because she herself did not know what it was.

[*C*] *Which from the account they published, plainly distinguished these two projects.*] We have, at the close of the last note, pointed out the difficulties under which, from his own account, it is very plain that the noble Historian laboured. It is true, that he remarks it as a point of insincerity in the Parliament, that they kneaded these two projects together, which remark of his is very well founded; but then it is very evident, that he does not himself distinguish them sufficiently, but imputes the failing of Sir Nicholas Crispe's design, to the want of spirit in those who were to manage it. To say the truth, there is no one point of so great importance, in the History of those times, that is so darkly, so imperfectly, and so confusedly related by all our general historians. Mr. Archdeacon Echard (6) takes all that he says about it, from the Earl of Clarendon, and blames the Parliament for blending these two designs, at the same time that he justifies them, by not shewing how they ought to be distinguished. This afforded occasion to another writer (7) to attack the sincerity, or at least the consistency, both of the noble Peer and of the reverend writer; and he thinks that he has fully proved his point, and justified the Parliament, by producing some passages from the dying speeches of Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Challoner. A little attention to facts and dates will clear up this whole affair, and enable us to set it in its proper light, which is certainly one of the most useful purposes to which this kind of writing can be applied. Sir Nicholas Crispe remained at London, as long as he could remain there with safety, or had any hopes of doing his Majesty service; but being removed from his command in the Trained-Bands, censured for promoting a petition for peace, and seeing Sir Richard Gurney then Lord Mayor of London, imprisoned, deposed, and punished for doing what he took to be his duty, in publishing the King's Proclamation, which tended to the execution of the Commission of Array, he retired to Oxford (8). As he had the King's ear, it is no wonder that he informed his Majesty, that there was a strong party for him in the city of London; who were desirous of acting for his service, and of levying regiments of horse and foot, at their own expences, which they were the rather induced to do, because while they remained under the power of the Parliament, they were obliged to contribute both arms and money, against the dictates of their consciences, and to act in some measure against the side to which they wished well. But to enable them to carry their intentions into execution, and to have what they took to be a legal authority to warrant their proceedings, it was necessary they should have the King's Commission, impowering them to do what they inclined to do, as well as to appoint a General, and to grant Commissions, which was the purport of the Commission under the King's Broad Seal, dated at Oxford, March 16th, in the eighteenth year of his Majesty's reign (9). The person, they had in view, to command the men they were to raise, was Sir Hugh Pollard, a Member of Parliament, but at that time a prisoner in the Compter; and a body of the King's Forces were to advance within fifteen miles of London, to countenance their proceedings, to support them, if that was found practicable, or to join them in case they were forced to retreat (10). This Commission was directed to Sir Nicholas Crispe, Sir George Stroud, Knights; to Sir Thomas Gardiner, Knight, Recorder of London; Sir George Binion, Knight, Richard Edes, and Marmaduke Royden, Esquires; Thomas Brown, Peter Passon, Charles Gennings, Edward Charleton, Roger Abbot, Andrew King, William White, Stephen Bolton, Robert Alden, Edmund Foster, Thomas Blinkhorne, of London, Gentlemen, and to all such other persons, as according to the true intent and purport of that Commission should be nominated and appointed to be Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeant-Majors, or other officers of that Council of War. It is hence very evident, that this Commission was not at all intended to countenance a secret conspiracy, or to cover a dark and private plot against the Parliament, but to enable those who, in this dispute between the King and Parliament, were for the former, to declare themselves. This business was carried with so much secrecy, that it was entirely ripe for execution, and the day fixed for the rising was the last of May (11). But amongst the persons trusted in this affair was one Mr. Tomkins, an old and faithful servant of the King's, who was brother-in-law to Mr. Waller, and to him that Gentleman communicated his designs, which were of another nature, and by his assistance Mr. Waller had likewise a considerable party in the city, whom he encouraged by assuring them that most of the Lords, and many Members of the House of Commons, wished well to, and would at a proper season join with, them. Tomkins depending upon this, got his other friends to postpone their insurrection, and that very day on which it was to have been made, Mr. Waller's schemes were discovered (12). How that happened, is not material to be discussed here, but it was this that gave occasion to the seizing Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Challoner, Mr. Blinkhorne, and several others. As to the finding the Commission, though the noble Historian was ignorant of it, it was nevertheless a thing very publicly known; for Mr. Tomkins was the person who was sent for it to the Lady Aubigney, and for his own security he buried it in his cellar, as he confessed upon his examination; upon which it was immediately dug up, and thus it came into the Parliament's hands (13). Yet it does not appear that any great discoveries were made of the persons originally embarked in that design, though it was, as has been already observed, ripe for execution,

(6) Hist. of England, p. 570.

(7) Oldm'xon's History of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 222.

(8) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 570.

(9) Rushworth's Historical Collections, P. iii. vol. ii. p. 324—327.

(10) Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359.

(11) See the Original Commission in Rushworth.

(12) May's Hist. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 43—45.

(13) Rushworth's Collections, P. iii. vol. ii. p. 324—327.

this buſineſs, Sir Nicholas Criſpe found himſelf obliged to declare openly and plainly the courſe he meant to take; and having at his own expence raiſed a regiment of Horſe for the King's ſervice, he put himſelf at the head of it, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as remarkably in his military as he had ever done in his civil capacity. When the ſiege of Glouceſter was reſolved on, Sir Nicholas Criſpe was charged with his Regiment of Horſe to eſcort the King's Train of Artillery from Oxford, which important ſervice he very gallantly performed (*p*). In the month of September following a very unlucky accident befel him, in which he was no way to blame; and though the circumſtances attending it clearly juſtified his conduct to the world, yet the concern it gave him was ſuch as he could not ſhake off ſo long as he lived. He happened to be quartered at Rouſlidge in Glouceſterſhire, where one Sir James Ennyon, Baronet, of Northamptonſhire, and ſome friends of his took up a great part of the houſe, though none of them had any commands in the army, which however Sir Nicholas bore with the utmoſt patience, notwithſtanding he was much incommoded by it. It fell out ſome time after, that certain horſes belonging to thoſe gentlemen were miſſing, upon which Sir James Ennyon, though he had loſt none himſelf, came to Sir Nicholas Criſpe on their behalf, inſinuating that ſome of his troopers muſt have taken them, and after a long expoſtulation conceived in pretty rough terms, inſiſted that he ſhould immediately draw out his regiment, that ſearch might be made for them. Sir Nicholas anſwered him with all the mildneſs imaginable, offered him as full ſatisfaction as it was in his power to give, but excuſed himſelf from drawing out his regiment, as a thing improper and inconvenient at that juncture, for reaſons which he aſſigned him (*q*). This however was ſo far from contenting Sir James, that he left him abruptly, and preſently after ſent him a challenge, accompanied with a meſſage to this effect, that if he did not comply with it he would piſtol him againſt the wall. Upon this Sir Nicholas Criſpe taking a friend of his with him, went to the place appointed, where he found Sir James Ennyon and the perſon who brought him the challenge. Upon their meeting, Sir Nicholas began to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to pacify him, but to no purpoſe: he was determined to receive no ſatisfaction but by the ſword (*r*), and they accordingly engaged, and in this duel Sir James having received a wound in the rim of the belly, languiſhed for near two days and then expired; but firſt of all ſent for Sir Nicholas Criſpe, and in a manner becoming a Gentleman and a Chriſtian, was ſincerely reconciled to him (*s*). Upon the 2d of October following Sir Nicholas was brought to a Court Martial for this unfortunate affair, and upon a full examination of every thing relating to it, was moſt honourably acquitted [*D*]. He continued to ſerve with the ſame zeal and fidelity during the year 1644, and in the ſpring following. When a Treaty was ſet on foot at Uxbridge, the Parliament thought fit to mark him, as they afterwards did in the Iſle of Wight Treaty, by inſiſting that he ſhould be removed from his Majeſty's preſence (*t*). A few months after, they proceeded to an act of greater ſeverity; for April 16th, 1645, they ordered his large houſe in Bread-ſtreet to be ſold (*u*), which had been for many years belonging to his family. Neither was this ſtroke of their

(*p*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Heath's Chron. p. 52.

(*q*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 75. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Heath's Chron. p. 52.

(*r*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 96.

(*s*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 52. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 96.

(*t*) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 81.

(*u*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 142.

tion, when Mr. Waller's plot was but in embryo. On the 30th of June, a Council of War ſat at Guildhall, of which the Earl of Mancheſter was Preſident, before whom Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Challoner, Mr. Blinkhorne, Mr. Abbot, and Mr. White, were tried; of whom the four firſt received ſentence of death. Mr. Tomkins was executed over againſt his own houſe, and at his death he called the matter for which he ſuffered a *fooliſh buſineſs*, and ſaid he was drawn into it by affection for his brother-in-law; which plainly ſhews, that by *fooliſh buſineſs*, he meant Mr. Waller's ſcheme. As to Mr. Challoner, he was aſſiſted by Mr. Peters, and appears to have been a zealot in the Puritan way. He does indeed ſay, that he died juſtly, but then he was acquainted only with Mr. Waller's deſign. He was executed the ſame day, before the Royal Exchange. In his dying ſpeech he obſerves, that he had been wrongfully charged. With reſpect to the Commiſſion; he ſaid, he knew nothing of the procuring it, nor of the Commiſſion itſelf, till the Friday before the diſcovery (14). The day before theſe men ſuffered, Mr. Waller received ſentence of death, at the Court-martial, though a Member of the Houſe of Commons; was reprieved by the Earl of Eſſex, as General; and afterwards pardoned for his diſcoveries (15). Upon the whole it appears, that Sir Nicholas's deſign was open and honourable, and was conducted with great ſecrecy and ſucceſs, and that it was diſappointed by the breaking out of a thing quite different from it in its nature, of which Sir Nicholas Criſpe had no knowledge, and in the credit or event of which therefore he could have no concern.

(14) See theſe Dying Speeches at large in Ruthworth.

(15) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 46.

[*D*] *Was moſt honourably acquitted.*] The beſt juſtification of what has been ſaid in the text, is to give the reader the ſentence of the Court-martial, by which he was tried, and which was conceived in the following terms (16). 'In the cauſe depending againſt Sir 'Nicholas Criſpe, Knight, concerning the death of 'Sir James Enyon, Knight, ſlain by him in a Duel, 'in September laſt; the Court being informed that 'an affixer was duly ſet up upon the Court-houſe 'door, according to their Order, of the 28th of Sep'tember laſt, and the affixer afterwards taken down, 'and brought into the Court, and Proclamation be'ing made, and no man appearing againſt him, yet 'upon examination of all the matter, and difference 'between them, and that the friends of the ſlain 'taking notice thereof, the Court proceeds to ſen'tence. That although the Court doth condemn all 'manner of Duels, and utterly diſallow them; yet in 'this particular caſe of Sir Nicholas Criſpe, in con'ſideration of the great injury he received, in his own 'quarters, and how much he was provoked, and 'challenged, the Court have thought fit to acquit him 'of any puniſhment in this Court, and doth leave, 'and recommend him to his Majeſty's mercy, for his 'gracious pardon; the 2d of October, 1643.'

(16) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 97.

Signed Forth Lord Lieutenant-General and Preſident. Dorſet, Briſtol, Northampton, Andover, Dunſmore, Jacob Aſtley, Arthur Aſhton, William Brumchard, and John Byron.

By whom the whole matter was reported to the King, and Sir Nicholas brought to kiſs his hand, from whom he received a gracious pardon, under the Great Seal of England, and was afterwards intruſted in high commands for his Majeſty, both by land and ſea.

vengeance judged a ſufficient puniſhment for his offences, ſince having reſolved to grant the Elector Palatine a penſion of eight thouſand pounds a year, they directed that two thouſand ſhould be applied out of the King's revenue, and the remainder made up out of the eſtates of Lord Culpeper and Sir Nicholas Criſpe (*w*), which ſhews how conſiderable a fortune he had left at their mercy. The King's affairs were now grown deſperate, when Sir Nicholas finding himſelf no longer in a capacity to render him any ſervice, thought it expedient to preſerve himſelf, with which view, in the beginning of the month of April, 1646, he embarked with Lord Culpeper and Colonel Monk, and a few days after was ſafely landed in France (*x*). As he had many rich relations who had a great intereſt with thoſe in power, they interpoſed in his favour; and as Sir Nicholas knew very well that he could be of no ſervice to the Royal Cauſe abroad, he did not look upon it as any deviation from his duty to return and live quietly at home (*y*). Accordingly, having ſubmitted to a compoſition, he came back to London and took all the pains he could to retrieve his ſhattered fortunes. He was indeed a perſon of ſo clear a head, had ſuch thorough and extenſive notions of trade, and was withal of ſo quick an invention, that he very ſoon engaged again in buſineſs, with the ſame ſpirit and ſucceſs as before (*z*). In this ſeaſon of proſperity he was not unmindful of the wants of his Royal Maſter then in exile, but contributed chearfully to his relief, when his affairs ſeemed to be in the moſt deſperate condition (*a*). Upon the great change that happened after the death of Oliver Cromwell, he was inſtrumental in reconciling many to their duty, and ſo well were his principles known, and ſo much his influence apprehended, that when it was propoſed that the Royaliſts in and about London ſhould ſign an inſtrument ſignifying their inclination to preſerve the public tranquillity, he was called upon and very readily ſubſcribed it (*b*). He was alſo principally concerned in bringing the city of London, in her corporate capacity, to give the encouragement that was requiſite to leave General Monk without any difficulties or ſuſpicion (*c*), as to the ſincerity and unanimity of their inclinations. It was therefore very natural, after reading the King's Letter and Declaration in Common-Council, May 3d, 1660, to think of ſending ſome Members of their own Body to preſent their duty to his Majeſty. Accordingly, having appointed nine loyal Aldermen and their Recorder, the next perſon they thought of was Sir Nicholas Criſpe (*d*), whom, with ſeveral other worthy perſons, they added to that Committee, from an aſſurance that the King would receive a double ſatisfaction from the nature of their meſſage, and from its being brought by ſeveral of thoſe who had ſuffered deeply in his own and in his father's cauſe. His Majeſty received theſe Gentlemen very graciouſly in their public capacities, and afterwards teſtified to them ſeparately the ſenſe he had of their paſt ſervices. Upon the King's return, Sir Nicholas Criſpe and Sir John Wolſtenholme, though the latter was then near fourſcore, were reinſtated as Farmers of the Cuſtoms, which they put into very good order (*e*). As Sir Nicholas was now in years and ſomewhat infirm, he ſpent a great part of his time at his noble country ſeat near Hammerſmith, where he was in ſome meaſure the Founder of the Chapel (*f*). He had now an opportunity of returning the obligation he had received from ſome of his relations, nor did he neglect it, but procured for them that indemnity from the King gratis, for which he had ſo dearly paid during the late confuſion (*g*). The laſt teſtimony he received of his royal Maſter's favour, was his being created a Baronet, April 16th, 1665 (*h*), nor did he long ſurvive it; dying February 26th the ſame year (*i*), in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age (*k*), leaving a very large eſtate to his grandſon Sir Nicholas Criſpe. His corps was interred with his anceſtors in the pariſh Church of St. Mildred in Bread-ſtreet, and his funeral ſermon was preached by his reverend and learned kinſman Mr. Criſpe of Chriſt-church, Oxford (*l*). But his heart was ſent to the Chapel at Hammerſmith, where there is a ſhort and plain inſcription upon a cenotaph erected to his memory (*m*); or rather upon that monument which himſelf erected in grateful commemoration of King Charles I. as the inſcription placed there in Sir Nicholas's life-time tells us, under which, after his deceaſe, was placed a ſmall white marble urn, upon a black pedeſtal, containing his heart. As to the character of this active, generous, and loyal perſon, who lived univerſally admired, and died generally lamented, it has been already repreſented from his actions, and if any thing be ſtill wanting, it will be found in the Eulogy of this loyal ſubject which is inſerted in the notes [*E*].

(*w*) See Votes and Ordinances of Parliament. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 145.

(*x*) Hiſt. of the Civil War, p. 395. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 200.

(*y*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. II. col. 26.

(*z*) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97.

(*a*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(*b*) Kennet's Chr. p. 221.

(*c*) Skinner's Hiſtory of the Reſtauration, p. 44, 45.

(*d*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 133.

(*e*) Camd. Brit. Lond. 1594, 4to. p. 477. Pedigree of the Croft family.

(*e*) Engliſh Baronetage, vol. II. p. 446.

(*f*) Antiquities of Middleſex, P. ii. p. 2.

(*g*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(*h*) Engliſh Baronetage, vol. v. p. 279.

(*i*) As appears from the inſcription mentioned in the text.

(*k*) Characters of eminent Citizens, p. 99.

(*l*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(*m*) Antiquities of Middleſex, P. ii. p. 42.

(*l*) Fuller's Worthies, in Herefordſhire.

(*l*) See that L... as publiſhed ... Fuller.

(*k*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. ... 567.

[*E*] *Inſerted in the notes.*] We have taken all poſſible care, to prevent his character from appearing a repetition of what is ſaid, either in the text or notes, by avoiding, as much as we could, the mention of moſt of the particulars that are contained therein (17).

(17) Characters of eminent Citizens, p. 98, 99.

'Amongſt the worthy citizens of thoſe times, who, 'in the midſt of moſt epidemic corruption, eſcaped 'the ſmalleſt ſtain of infection, was Sir Nicholas 'Criſpe; a Gentleman deſcended both by father and 'mother, from the richeſt families in the city, in 'which they had borne the higheſt offices, to which, 'however, Sir Nicholas did not aſpire. He came 'very young into buſineſs, and with a fortune larger 'than moſt men carry out of it. He had excellent 'notions of Commerce, and he knew how to reduce 'them to practice, and to bring whatever he engaged 'in up to them. He was the moſt general trader of 'his time, but was principally concerned in the commerce to Guinea, which was immenſely profitable 'to him and his aſſociates. He was very remarkable 'for intereſting himſelf in all domeſtic Arts and Manufactures, for any improvements, in which he gave 'extraordinary gratuities. All new inventions he 'alſo encouraged, and the art of brick-making, as 'ſince practiſed, was his own, conducted with incredible patience, through innumerable trials, and 'perfected at a very large expence. His principles 'were equally ſound, in religion and politics, and as 'he

'he derived theſe from a good education, ſo their 'effects not only appeared early, but were conſpi-'cuous through the courſe of his whole life. In '1630, he gave in money and materials, towards 'building the new Chapel at Hammerſmith, ſeven 'hundred pounds; beſides being at the expence of 'adorning the roof, with the arms of the crown, and 'ſprinkling it with roſes, thiſtles, and flower de luces, 'all effaced in the troubleſome times that enſued. 'Himſelf with his partners in the cuſtoms, having 'advanced one hundred thouſand pounds to the King, 'were fined one hundred and fifty thouſand to the 'Parliament, which was levied to the laſt farthing 'upon their eſtates. He loved exerciſe, and was re-'markable for the pains he took to render his com-'pany in the London trained-bands, as well diſci-'plined as any troops could be; and this natural in-'clination to military affairs, proved very ſerviceable 'to him, when he became a Commander of Horſe in 'the Royal Army. He was baſely betrayed at Ci-'renceſter, to the Earl of Eſſex, who ſurprized him 'with the ſmall force he commanded, and gained 'thereby an advantage fatal to the King's deſign upon 'Glouceſter, and which, to ſay the truth, had a very 'unhappy influence on the general ſtate of his affairs. 'When Sir Nicholas was obliged to quit the king-'dom, and fly into parts beyond the ſeas, he made 'his private misfortunes turn public benefits; by 'making ſuch nice inquiries into agriculture, manu-'factures, and mechanic arts, as enabled him, upon 'his return, to make vaſt improvements in England 'of every kind. By his inſtructions, and through his 'encouragement, the farmers and gardeners in Mid-'dleſex changed their old ſyſtem for a better. At 'his expence, the banks of the river were ſecured, 'and the channel cleanſed; by his communication, 'new inventions, as to water-mills, paper-mills, and 'powder-mills, came into uſe. After the Reſtaura-'tian, he cauſed to be erected at his own expence, in 'the ſouth-eaſt corner of the Chapel at Hammer-'ſmith, near the pulpit, a very neat and beautiful 'monument of black and white marble, eight feet in 'length, and near two in breadth, upon which he 'placed a braſs buſto of his beloved maſter, with this 'ſhort and plain inſcription underneath. *This Effigie 'was erected by the eſpecial appointment of Sir* Nicholas 'Criſpe, *Knight and Baronet, as a grateful Commemo-'ration of that glorious Martyr King* Charles I. *of bleſ-'ſed Memory*. He alſo directed that after his deceaſe, 'his own heart, in token of undying affection to his 'Royal Maſter, ſhould be here in a white urn en-'tombed. He ſpent twenty-five thouſand pounds, in 'building his noble ſeat, which attracts all eyes from 'the river. This houſe was purchaſed by Prince 'Rupert, for Mrs. Margaret Hughs, and was not 'long ſince ſold to Mr. Lannoy, a ſcarlet dyer. It 'was there he ſpent the calm evening of his day, in 'honour and repoſe, loved by the great, prayed for 'by the poor, univerſally eſteemed by all ranks of 'people; and being full of years and glory, with much 'patience and piety, reſigned his ſoul to the mercy of 'his Creator, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his life.'

C.

CROFT (HERBERT), an eminent and worthy Divine, as well as venerable prelate of the Church of England, in the ſeventeenth century, was deſcended, though not from a noble, yet of an ancient and honourable family, which had flouriſhed in great wealth and credit in the county of Hereford (*a*) from before the Norman Conqueſt; and amongſt his anceſtors there were many highly diſtinguiſhed by their perſonal reputation and merit, as well in reſpect to arms as arts, whoſe names we find recorded with honour, by authors of unqueſtionable veracity [*A*]. He was the third ſon of Sir Herbert Croft, of Croft-Caſtle, by Mary, daughter and coheireſs of Anthony Browne, of Holt-Caſtle in Worceſterſhire (*b*), and was born October 18th, 1603, at Great Milton near Thame in Oxfordſhire, in the houſe of Sir William Green, his mother being then on a journey to London (*c*). He was very carefully educated in his junior years in Herefordſhire, and having pregnant parts, joined to great ſteadineſs of mind and unwearied application, he very early qualified himſelf for academical ſtudies; and in order to his improvement in theſe, he was in the year 1616 ſent to Oxford, and entered as is ſuppoſed of Chriſt-church College (*d*). But he had not been long there before his father unhappily joined himſelf with the Church of Rome, and became a Lay Brother in the Benedictine Monaſtery at Douay, and a moſt zealous advocate for the Romiſh religion (*e*) [*B*]. Upon his father's command he went over to him,

(*a*) Camd. Brit. Lond. 1594, 4to. p. 477. Pedigree of the Croft family.

(*b*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 864.

(*c*) Engliſh Baronettage, vol. iv. p. 537.

(*d*) Engliſh Spaniſh Pilgrim, by James Wadſworth, Lond. 1630, 4to. c. 111.

(*e*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 469.

[*A*] *By authors of unqueſtionable veracity.*] We have no diſtinct account of the original of this family; only the tradition of the country refers the building of Croft-Caſtle, which has always been the ſeat of it, to the Saxon times, which is the more probable, ſince, from the earlieſt accounts we have, at leaſt with any tolerable degree of certainty, this appears to have been a family of eminence in Herefordſhire, and to have been even then, reputed of great antiquity (1). Thus it occurs in the famous inquiſition taken in the reign of King Henry VI (2). In the reign of his ſucceſſor Edward IV. Sir Richard Croft, of Croft-Caſtle, was High Sheriff of the county; and at the battle of Tewkſbury, took Prince Edward, eldeſt ſon to Henry VI. priſoner; whom, upon proclamation, and promiſe of ſafety for his perſon, he produced, but had no hand whatever in the barbarous murder of that young Prince, which was committed by the King's two brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter (3). From this Sir Richard Croft, in a direct line, deſcended Sir James Croft, Knight, who ſuffered ſeverly in the reign of Queen Mary, upon a ſuſpicion of his having ſome intercourſe with Sir Thomas Wiatt, for which however he had ample amends made him by by Queen Elizabeth, to whom he was Comptroller of the Houſhold, and a Member of the Privy-Council (4). This Sir James Croft married Alice, daughter of Richard Warwick, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue Edward Croft, Eſq; who eſpouſed Mrs. Anne Brown, and dying in the life-time of his father, left behind him a ſon Herbert (5), afterwards Sir Herbert Croft, Knight, who was the father of our prelate.

(1) Fuller's Worthies, in Herefordſhire.

(2) See that Liſt as publiſhed in Fuller.

(3) Engliſh Baronettage, vol. iv. p. 535.

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 567.

(5) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 469.

[*B*] *And a moſt zealous advocate for the Romiſh religion.*] This gentleman, Sir Herbert Croft, received the honour of Knighthood from King James I. at Theobalds, in the year 1603 (6). And about fourteen years afterwards, turned Papiſt, and went over to Douay, where he died (7). He had four ſons, and two daughters. His eldeſt ſon William, was knighted by King Charles I. in the beginning of his reign, and adhering firmly to the intereſts of that Prince, became a Colonel in his ſervice, and was killed gallantly fighting againſt the Parliamentary forces at Stone-Caſtle, near Ludlow in Shropſhire, June the 9th 1645 (8). His loyalty was the more extraordinary, ſince he had been very ill treated by the Court, on account of his oppoſition to the great favourite Buckingham; and therefore the King took particular notice of his fidelity, when he ſaw him putting himſelf at the head of his regiment at the battle of Edge-hill (9). James, the ſecond ſon, was alſo a Knight, and a Colonel in the King's ſervice, and died, as Wood aſſures us, in the year 1659, after ſuffering deeply for his loyalty (10). Robert, the fourth ſon, was a Colonel likewiſe (11), but of him we have no farther account. Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Sir

(6) Liſt of Kts. made by King James.

(7) *Antiq. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 269.

(8) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 868.

(9) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 673.

(10) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 868.

(11) *Id. ibid.*

him, and after ſome ſhort ſtay at Douay was ſent to the Engliſh College of Jeſuits at St. Omer's, where by the perſwaſion of Father Lloyd he was reconciled to the Church of Rome, and by the inſinuations of the ſame perſon and ſome others, contrary to his father's advice in that particular, was wrought upon to enter into the order (*f*). Some time before his father's death, which happened about five years after his going abroad, he was by him ſent back again to England, in order to manage ſome family affairs, and becoming happily acquainted with Dr. Thomas Morton, Biſhop of Durham, he was by his arguments brought back to the Church of England, and ſoon after, at the deſire of Dr. William Laud, he went a ſecond time to Oxford, and was admitted a Student of Chriſt-church (*g*). Having ſupplicated the Univerſity November 21ſt, 1635, that the time he had ſpent in his ſtudies in foreign nations might be reckoned as if he had continued there, and that on performing the exerciſe requiſite by ſtatutes for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, he might have his Grace propoſed in Congregation, this was granted; and having performed his exerciſe with applauſe, he was admitted to the ſaid degree, and entering into Holy Orders became Miniſter of a Church in Glouceſterſhire, and Rector of Harding in Oxfordſhire (*h*). In the ſpring of the year 1639, he attended the Earl of Northumberland, as his Chaplain, in his expedition into Scotland (*i*); and on the 1ſt of Auguſt following was collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Saliſbury, vacant by the reſignation of Mr. William Townſon (*k*). In the year 1640, being then the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, he was admitted to his degree of Doctor of Divinity (*l*). He was employed by his Majeſty upon various occaſions, in thoſe dangerous and difficult times, and always diſcharged his duty with fidelity and credit, though ſometimes at the hazard of his life. The ſame year he became a Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Worceſter, on the death of Dr. Charlet (*m*). July 10th, 1641, he was inſtalled Canon of Windſor in the place of Dr. John Pocklington, who was deprived of all his eccleſiaſtical preferments by Parliament (*n*). In the year 1644, upon the death of Dr. Jonathan Brown, he was nominated Dean of Hereford, where he married Mrs. Ann Brown, the daughter of his predeceſſor. He reſided chiefly in this city, and diſcharged his duty with great punctuality and freedom, even in the worſt of times, at the conſtant peril of his then ſmall fortune, and ſometimes to the imminent endangering of his life (*o*) [*C*]. His circumſtances were but very narrow for ſome years, notwithſtanding he had ſo good preferments, for the diſſolution of Cathedrals following ſo cloſe upon his coming to have any relation to them, he had very little if any benefit from his ſeveral promotions; but at length, in the year 1659, by the ſucceſſive deaths of his elder brothers, Sir William and Sir James Croft, he became poſſeſſed of the eſtate of the family. The provocation he had given to the perſons who were then veſted with power was ſo great, that he did not conceive it ſafe, even after he was poſſeſſed of the eſtate, to live in his own county; and therefore choſe for the place of his retreat the houſe of his good friend Sir Rowland Berkeley, at Cotheridge in Worceſterſhire, where he patiently expected the reſtoration of Church and State, by the reſtitution of his Royal Maſter, which happening in May, 1660, Dr. Croft, as well as other loyal ſubjects, came again into poſſeſſion of his livings and ſpiritual preferments (*p*). Upon the death of Dr. Nicholas Monk, Lord Biſhop of Hereford, he was promoted to that See December 27th, 1661, and conſecrated on the 9th of February following at the Archbiſhop's Chapel in his Palace at Lambeth, Dr. Jaſper Maine preaching the Conſecration Sermon (*q*). He officiated likewiſe in his ſpiritual function frequently in the King's Chapel, and being very remarkable for his plain and practical preaching, and for the correſponding ſanctity of his manners and purity of his life, King Charles II. offered him more than once a better See, that which he then poſſeſſed being ſcarcely of the value of eight hundred pounds a year, but he very conſcientiouſly refuſed it. He became afterwards, about the year 1667, Dean of the Chapel Royal, which he held to 1669 (*r*), and then reſigned it, being weary of a Court life, and finding but little good effects from his pious endeavours. He then retired to his Biſhopric, where he was exceedingly beloved for his conſtant preaching, edifying converſation, hoſpitable manner of living, and moſt extenſive charity. He gave weekly alms to ſixty poor people at his Palace-gate in Hereford, whether reſident there or not; and beſides this he augmented ſeveral ſmall livings, ſupported many decayed families, and did various other Chriſtian acts

(*f*) Engliſh Baronettage, vol. iv. p. 538.

(*g*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 864.

(*h*) Engliſh Baronettage, vol. iv. p. 539.

(*i*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 865.

(*k*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 529.

(*l*) *Faſti Oxon.* vol. i. col. 284.

(*m*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 6-6.

(*n*) Antiquities of Berkſhire, vol. iii. p. 275.

(*o*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34.

(*p*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 865.

(*q*) *Godwin. de Præſul.* Lond. fol. 1743, p. 457. *Regiſt. Juxon.* f. 283.

(*r*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 865.

Herbert Croft, married Sir Thomas Cave, of Stamford in the county of Northampton (12). But whether Mary, the other daughter, was married or not, does no where appear: only this we know of her, that ſhe was a zealous Proteſtant, and wrote an anſwer to her father's letter, perſwading her to change her religion, to which Sir Herbert Croft made a warm reply (13).

(12) Engliſh Baronettage, vol. iv. p. 537.

(13) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 469.

[*C*] *And ſometimes to the imminent endangering his life.*] He ſhewed upon all occaſions, as far as fell within the compaſs of his power, or the ſphere of his employment, not only the ſame loyalty, but the ſame courageous ſpirit that animated the reſt of his brethren. After Hereford fell into the hands of the Parliamentary forces, he not only continued to preach, but to preach that kind of doctrine, which how much ſoever they needed to learn, was nevertheleſs what they could hardly bear to hear. Once particularly in the Cathedral, he undertook to ſhew them the wickedneſs and impiety of ſacrilege, which he painted in ſuch lively colours, as provoked them to return the argument in their own way; for they primed and preſented their pieces, and aſked their Governor, Colonel Birch, whether they ſhould fire upon him in the pulpit; but being reſtrained by him they forbore (14); and Dr. Croft ſoon after very wiſely quitted a place, where he was every moment in danger of ſuffering evil, and was thoroughly ſatisfied it was no longer in his power to do any good.

(14) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34.

of the ſame nature, with ſuch privacy that they were never known till after his deceaſe. His country houſe being conveniently ſituated in the very centre of his Dioceſe, he ſpent a conſiderable part of his time there, where he was no leſs charitable in relieving the poor and viſiting the ſick in all the neighbouring pariſhes. He was very ſtrict in his manner of admitting perſons to Holy Orders, and more eſpecially to that of the prieſthood, which gained him ſome ill will, yet but little in compariſon of what aroſe from another method in which however he was inflexible, and that was his refuſing to admit any Prebendaries into his Cathedral Church, excepting ſuch as lived within his Dioceſe, that the duty of the Church might not be neglected, and that the addition of a Prebend might be a comfortable augmentation to a ſmall living (*s*). He expreſſed a great deſire to be able to accompliſh this deſign of his, ſo as to ſee all the dignities of his Church beſtowed in this manner, and God was pleaſed to grant him his deſire, which he hoped might prove a precedent to his ſucceſſors. He was very modeſt and charitable in his opinions, and though a true ſon and a worthy father of the Church of England, yet he had a great abhorrence of whatever carried the aſpect of perſecution, deſiring that his zeal ſhould appear in the ſoundneſs of his doctrines and the holineſs of his life, as the ſureſt and moſt effectual means of ſupporting his authority, and drawing reverence to the Epiſcopal character, in which no man was more ſucceſsful (*t*). His Sermons preached at Court, had given the world a ſpecimen of the fervency of his ſpirit, and at the ſame time of his charity and forbearance; but when the controverſy with the Nonconformiſts came to its greateſt height, and the quarrel was ſo artificially widened that the Papiſts entertained hopes of entering through the breach, our wiſe and tender conſcienced Prelate thought it his duty to interpoſe, and to offer his aſſiſtance for healing theſe wounds in the Proteſtant Church. Accordingly, in the year 1675, he publiſhed his truly famous work, which though no more than a ſmall pamphlet of four or five ſheets, made a prodigious noiſe in the world, and was read and ſtudied by all people of ſenſe and learning in the kingdom (*u*). It is indeed a moſt extraordinary performance as it was then thought, and has kept its character to this day; for though it has often been re-printed it has never been common; and not withſtanding the numberleſs volumes written on the ſame ſubject ſince, it is yet looked upon as inimitable in its kind, and worthy of all the praiſes that have been beſtowed upon it. As to the title and the circumſtances attending this piece, the reader will find them at the bottom of the page, where we mention his Lordſhip's works [*D*]. We there likewiſe mention the anſwers that were given to it, and the

(*s*) Willis's Survey, vol. ii. p. 529. *Athen Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 865, 866.

(*t*) Engliſh Baronettage, vol. iv. p. 541.

(*u*) *Atl. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 866.

[*D*] *Where we mention his Lordſhip's works.*] While his Lordſhip continued about the Court, and was generally applauded for his pathetic manner in the pulpit, he was prevailed upon to print two of his ſermons.

I. *Sermon on* Iſaiah *Chap.* XXVII. *the laſt verſe*, preached *before the* Lords *aſſembled in Parliament upon the* Faſt-day, *February 4th*, 1673. London 1674, 4*to*.

II. *Sermon preached before the* King *at* Whitehall, *April* 12, 1674. *on* Philippians I. *and the* 21ſt verſe. London 1675. 4*to*.

III. *The* naked truth; *or, the* true ſtate *of the* Primitive Church. London 1675. 4*to*; again in 1680. *fol.* and many times ſince. This is that extraordinary work mentioned in the text, and the preſs being at that time under a licence, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of cauſing it to be printed privately, though he intended it for the moſt public uſe; and for that reaſon, addreſſed it to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament. After having obſerved, that notwithſtanding all the laws made for eſtabliſhing Uniformity in religion, Proteſtants remain ſtill more divided than ever, to the great ſcandal as well as danger of the Church, he proceeds thus. 'Many, who were 'formerly very zealous for our Church, ſeeing theſe 'our ſad diviſions, and not ſeeing thoſe of the Roman 'Church, nor their groſs ſuperſtitions, which their 'prieſts conceal till they have got men faſt, are eaſily 'ſeduced by their pretended Unity, and daily fall 'from us. This makes my heart to bleed, and my 'ſoul with anguiſh ready to expire, rather than live 'to ſee that diſmal day of relapſe into their manifold 'idolatries. Wherefore I humbled my ſoul before 'God, in faſting and prayer, begging daily the aſſiſtance of his Holy Spirit, to direct me to ſome healing ſalve for theſe our bleeding wounds; and therefore I have ſome reaſon to believe that what is contained in theſe following papers, comes from the 'great goodneſs, who never fails thoſe who ſeek him 'in humility and ſincerity, both which I am confident 'I have done; and this I am ſure of, that no worldly 'deſigns have have moved me to this, but have often 'tempted me to give it over. I am alſo ſure that 'there is nothing contained therein, which is con'trary to the laws of the land: in this only I confeſs 'I have tranſgreſſed, in putting it forth without a 'licence; and for this I beg of God, and you, as 'Naaman did of Eliſha, *In this thing the* Lord *and* 'you *pardon your Servant*; and I hope you will ſay 'unto me, as Eliſha did unto Naaman, *Go in peace*. 'And I farther hope, this ſhall not caſt ſuch a preju'dice upon it, as to make you caſt it by, or read it 'with diſguſt.' In this work he begins with articles of faith, and having ſhewn the danger of impoſing more than are neceſſary, more eſpecially as terms of communion, he proceeds next through all the great points, in diſpute between the Church of England, and thoſe that diſſent from her; labouring throughout to prove, that Proteſtants differ about nothing, that can be truly ſtiled eſſential to religion, and that for the ſake of Union compliances would be more becoming, as well as more effectual, than enforcing Uniformity by penalties and perſecution. The whole is written with great plainneſs and piety, as well as with much force of argument and learning. If we conſider however the temper of thoſe times, and the warm diſpoſition of moſt of the Divines in the eſtabliſhed Church, we need not at all wonder at the fate this piece met with, which was immediately written againſt with much heat and zeal, not to uſe the harſher terms of fury and reſentment. It was firſt attacked by Dr. Francis Turner, Maſter of St. John's College in Cambridge, in a piece intituled,

Animadverſions on a Pamphlet, called the Naked Truth, &c. Lond. 1676. 4*to*. printed twice the ſame year. This was penned, like all the reſt of the writings of the ſame author, in a very elegant and flowing ſtile, which however could hardly atone for the ſeverity and bitterneſs expreſſed in it. But even this fell very far ſhort of the vivacity with which it was replied to, by the famous Andrew Marvel, who entituled his piece, Mr. Smirke, *or the Divine in mode*, and in which he ridicules the Animadverter with all that life and ſpirit, of which he was ſo much maſter. In this

the long and warm controverſy which it occaſioned; though it was certain that our Prelate meant nothing leſs than not to enter into a debate, and therefore very prudently declined making any reply to his opponents. What he wrote was with a view to promote charity and peace, and when he ſaw this was not to be done by any kind of writing whatever, he took care to add no new fewel to the fire by labouring to ſupport principles which he had ſtated in ſuch a manner as he thought muſt have rendered them ſelf-evident (*w*). We have another pregnant inſtance of his ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs, in the reſolution he took of reſigning his Biſhopric, the motives to which he expreſſed in a long letter to the learned Dr. Stillingfleet (*x*), and they are ſuch as ſhew him to have been a truly primitive and pious Prelate. He thought the receiving the income of his See, as it roſe in a great meaſure out of impropriate tythes which were withheld from parochial Miniſters, was hardly juſtifiable. He was troubled at the power of Lay Chancellors, who under pretence of the Biſhop's authority did wrong things, and likewiſe often hindered Biſhops from redreſſing many diſorders. It grieved him to ordain men poorly qualified, though it was but to poor livings, which men of better capacities would hardly accept. The law-ſuits to which

(*w*) See the Account of this matter at large in the notes.

(*x*) Miſcellaneous Diſcourſes by Stillingfleet, Biſhop of Worceſtr. Lond. 1735, 8*vo*. p. 1—36.

this reply he gives the following character of the original work. 'It is a treatiſe, which if not for its 'oppoſer, needs no commendation, being writ with 'that evidence and demonſtration of truth; that all 'ſober men cannot but give their aſſent and conſent 'to it unaſked. It is a book of that kind, that no 'Chriſtian ſcarce can peruſe it, without wiſhing him-'ſelf to have been the author, and almoſt imagining 'that he is ſo: the conceptions therein being of ſo 'eternal idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy 'of the original of his own mind.' Another anſwer came out with this title:

Lex Talionis; *or, the author of the* Naked Truth *ſtripped* naked, Lond. 1676. 4*to*. This was at firſt aſcribed to Dr. Peter Gunning, Biſhop of Chicheſter, afterwards of Ely; who, upon the firſt coming out of the Naked Truth, had preached a warm Sermon at Court againſt it. It was afterwards attributed to Dr. William Lloyd, Dean of Bangor, a very learned and pious Divine. But upon better grounds it was aſcribed to the Reverend Mr. Philip Fell, one of the Fellows of Eton College. There was yet a third anſwer publiſhed to this work of our author's, which was entitled,

A modeſt ſurvey of the moſt conſiderable things in a diſcourſe lately publiſhed, entitled the Naked Truth, Lond. 1676. 4*to*. This Anthony Wood affirms (15) was written by Dr. Gilbert Burnet afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, upon the credit, as he ſays, of a Bookſeller's Catalogue, at the end of another book, in which this treatiſe is aſcribed to that Prelate.

(15) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 866.

It was indeed afterwards owned by his Lordſhip, and that upon the following occaſion. The famous Dr. Hickes, in a bitter invective he wrote againſt Biſhop Burnet (16), charged him with ſtealing the materials of this anſwer from Biſhop Gunning, who intended to anſwer it, as has been before obſerved, and who upon his communicating the method he intended to purſue in his anſwer, was ſupplanted by the appearance of this of which we are ſpeaking. In his Defence Biſhop Burnet declares that the fact was abſolutely falſe (17). That Biſhop Gunning had indeed great learning, and true piety, but his ideas were ſo confuſed, and ſo over ſubtle, that he could never learn any thing from him, in all the time that he converſed with him. Thus much may ſerve for the anſwers written to this work. We will next ſay ſomewhat of the imitations and copies that it produced, and theſe were what follow, *viz.*

(16) Some Diſcourſes upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotſon, occaſioned by the Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter, p. 23.

(17) Reflections upon a pamphlet intituled, Some Diſcourſes, &c. p. 93.

There was *a ſecond part* of *Naked Truth* publiſhed in 1681, in *fol.* which was written by Edmund Hickeringhill, Rector of All-Saints in Colcheſter, who likewiſe wrote *a Vindication* of it. There alſo appeared the ſame year a treatiſe called the *third part* of *Naked Truth*, which was ſaid to be a poſthumous work, written by one Dr. Benjamin Worſley. The year following appeared the *fourth part* of *Naked Truth*; *or the complaint of the Church to ſome of her ſons for breach of their Articles*, &c. The reader may hence ſee the credit of this work of Biſhop Croft, when ſo many different authors placed the hopes of procuring a reading for their performances, by giving them a likeneſs in their titles to his. This was ſtill farther purſued by perſons of quite different principles, as appears from the following book.

The Catholick Naked Truth; *or, the Puritans Convert to Chriſtianity*. 1676. 4*to*. The author ſets the initial letters of his name to his work, *viz.* W. H. which ſtand for William Hubert, alias Berry, who being a Miniſter of the Church of England, went over to the Papiſts, and wrote this and ſeveral other treatiſes for the ſupport of that cauſe. To this we may add,

Naked Truth, *or* Truth *manifeſting itſelf in ſeveral particulars*, &c. *by way of queſtion and anſwer*, 1677. 8*vo*. This piece was written in ſupport of the Quakers, for which reaſon Mr. Wood gave it the title of *the* Quakers *Naked Truth*.

As for our author, Biſhop Croft, we have obſerved, in the text, that he wrote no reply to any of his adverſaries, or vindication of his own performance, the deſign of which was to try, whether the legiſlature could be prevailed upon to take any meaſures for reconciling the differences ſubſiſting among Proteſtants for the common benefit of all, and for ſecuring and ſtrengthning the Church againſt the endeavours of the Papiſts, whether by force or fraud, to ſubvert or undermine it. His view was unqueſtionably truly pious, though perhaps his ſcheme might not be very practicable, of which he left the determination to the proper judges, fully ſatisfied in his own mind, with having diſcharged what he took to be his duty, and not in the leaſt affected with the warm things that were ſaid by his adverſaries, who treated his performance as if it had been intended to overturn what he ſeemed to maintain, by giving up the cauſe of the Church to thoſe who differed from her, without reaſon. There were however no grounds at all for theſe ſuſpicions, ſince our Right Reverend Author had, upon all occaſions ſhewn an exact and punctual conformity to her Canons, and even in this work, profeſſes himſelf fully ſatisfied with her doctrine and diſcipline, though he could not prevail upon himſelf, to be abſolutely unconcerned for thoſe who did not ſee the reaſons for being ſatisfied ſo clearly as he did. Therefore it is exceedingly unjuſt, to caſt any aſperſions upon this Prelate, for publiſhing in the ſincerity of his heart, what his real ſentiments were, about things indifferent, more eſpecially as it never was pretended, that he had any other view, than that of promoting a real Union, and unfeigned harmony amongſt Proteſtants, and this at a time, when he apprehended no other method could be effectually taken for their preſervation; ſince the meaſure of tolerating, which has been ſince found very practicable, was held to be not ſo at that time. Thus much ſeemed to be neceſſary in reſpect to a work, which however ſmall in its bulk was then, and will be ever, eſteemed of very great importance, in regard to its matter, and which, conſidering the ſtation and and circumſtances of its author, was by judicious perſons in thoſe times allowed to be the higheſt mark of candour and unaffected piety that could be given, as well as of the moſt diſintereſted temper and unfeigned humility, virtues highly capable of adorning the epiſcopal character, and of recommending it to the veneration of all, who have a real attachment to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as they are profeſſed and taught by the Church of England, as it is by law eſtabliſhed.

(*y*) Legacy to his Diocefs, London 1679, 4*to*.

Biſhops became liable, for the ſake of defending the right of their Sees, was very troubleſome to him, and he was very much diſſatisfied with being obliged to attend the ſervice of Parliament, when ſcarcely any thing fit for a Biſhop to meddle with was treated there. His ſcruples taking air, as well as his ſettled reſolution of reſigning, the Papiſts and Nonconformiſts made advantage of it to ſerve their reſpective purpoſes, and this gave him infinite diſquiet; more eſpecially when he found that ſome churchmen alſo reflected deeply upon him for inclining to retire from his Biſhopric in ſo dangerous a ſeaſon, and when his zeal and labours might be as uſeful, as ſuch a deſerting of his charge might give ſcandal to its Members, and advantage to its enemies. The anſwer given by Dr. Stillingfleet ſatisfied his conſcience, and diſpoſed him to continue his labours with the ſame earneſtneſs and vigour. He ſaw that various attempts were making to the prejudice of the Church from different quarters, which ſerved only to inſpire him with ſtronger ſentiments of the neceſſity there was, that ſuch as had her cauſe at heart, and were more immediately called upon to eſpouſe it, ſhould do it with chearfulneſs and diligence, and ſhew at once their courage and conſtancy by defending it in their words and writings, and adorning it by their lives. Full of theſe laudable and generous notions he reſumed his former ſpirit, and let no opportunity ſlip of ſignalizing his attention to and affection for the Proteſtant cauſe. He contented himſelf, therefore, with doing all the good that was in his power, within that ſphere of action which providence had allotted to him, and was more eſpecially attentive to the preſervation of his Dioceſe from the attempts of Popiſh Miſſionaries, in order to which he was very aſſiduous in the pulpit, where with great clearneſs he diſcovered, and with much ſolidity refuted, the errors of that religion; but as he grew in years, and yet had no proſpect of leſs danger from that quarter in ſucceeding times, he thought fit to leave theſe diſcourſes which had been delivered to a numerous audience, and received with very uncommon marks of ſatisfaction and attention, under a very endearing title to thoſe for whoſe uſe they had been compoſed (*y*) [*E*]. He continued the ſame pious care upon particular occaſions, and never failed to ſupply proper antidotes to every kind of ſpiritual poiſons that were ſpread by the different enemies of the Proteſtant Religion. In the reign of King James, when the famous Declaration that was ordered to be read in Churches was tranſmitted to him, he thought fit to digeſt in writing his thoughts upon that ſubject, in which as he clearly expreſſed his willingneſs to give a ſanction to whatever might tend to the indulgence of tender conſciences; ſo he ſhewed with equal plainneſs the danger the Church of England would be in, in caſe of the repeal which was then endeavoured of the penal laws and of the teſt. This, which was the laſt employment of his pen, was ſhewn by a certain courtier to King James, who directed that ſo much of the diſcourſe as concerned the reading of the Declaration ſhould be publiſhed to the world, but ordered the reſt to be ſuppreſſed, as being directly contrary to the views with which that Declaration had been ſet forth (*z*). At length, full of years and in the higheſt reputation, this venerable Prelate ended his days in his Palace at Hereford, on the 18th of May, 1691 (*a*), and as he lived ſo he died, a true member and a zealous defender of the Proteſtant Church, as appears from a very remarkable clauſe in the preamble to his will (*b*) [*F*]. He had for ſome years before his death paid

(y) Legacy to his Dioceſe, London, 1679, 4*to*.

(z) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 868.

(a) Godwin, de Præſul. p. 497.

(b) See that clauſe in the note.

[*E*] *For whoſe uſe they had been compoſed.* We ſhall here give the reader the title of the ſecond edition of this work, that we may ſpeak of it, and of the Supplement his Lordſhip thought fit to make at once. It runs thus:

IV. *The* Legacy *of the Right Reverend Father in God,* Herbert, *Lord Biſhop of* Hereford, *to his Dioceſe; or a ſhort determination of all controverſies we have with the* Papiſts *by* GOD's holy word. *The ſecond impreſſion corrected, with additions, by the Author.* Lond. 1679. 4*to*. This piece contains an epiſtle to all the people within his Dioceſe, eſpecially thoſe of the city of Hereford; then comes the Preface, afterwards, three Sermons upon this text, JOHN V. 39, *Seek ye the* Scriptures, *for in them ye think ye have eternal life.* Laſtly, a ſupplement to the preceding ſermons, together with a tract concerning the holy Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper promiſed in the Preface. If we take the whole together, we may certainly pronounce it as plain, as clear, and as convincing a defence of the Proteſtant religion, as is to be met with in our own, or any other language. There is one paſſage in the Preface, that is very remarkable; which for that reaſon we will inſert, as it tends to ſhew how difficult a thing it is to decide, who was the author of a certain excellent treatiſe, or of the other treatiſes that were ſaid to be written by the ſame author. The paſſage referred to is as follows: 'I have this one thing more only to 'trouble the reader with. The firſt of my three ſermons on that text, Search the ſcriptures, was 'preached in September 1677, and in June 1678 'comes out a little Book to the ſame intent with that 'ſermon, and expreſſing ſeveral things in it, and in 'the very ſame manner, by what means I know not; 'but this I and many others know, that my ſermon 'was preached almoſt a year before that book came 'forth, and therefore I could not have them from that 'author, called the ſame author that wrote *The whole 'Duty of Man*, who it ſeems muſt countenance books 'to the world's end. However I thought it fit to 'print that ſermon with the other two, firſt becauſe 'it contains ſeveral things not in that book; and 'ſecondly, the other two would be very defective 'without it.'

V. *A* ſecond call *to a farther* humiliation, *being a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church in* Hereford, *the* 24th *of* November. Lond. 1678. 4*to*.

VI. *A Letter written to a friend concerning* Popiſh Idolatry, Lond. 1679. 4*to*.

VII. *Some* Animadverſions *on a book entitled,* the Theory of the Earth, Lond. 1685. 8*vo*.

VIII. *A ſhort diſcourſe concerning the reading his Majeſty's late* Declaration *in* Churches. Lond. 1688. 4*to*.

[*F*] *As appears from a very remarkable clauſe, in the preamble to his Will.*] The paſſage referred to in the text, is conceived in the following terms (18). 'I do 'in all humble manner moſt heartily thank God, that 'he hath been moſt graciouſly pleaſed, by the light of 'his moſt holy Goſpel, to recall me from the darkneſs 'of Popiſh Errors and groſs ſuperſtitions, into which 'I was ſeduced in my younger days, and to ſettle me 'again in the true antient Catholic and Apoſtolic 'Faith profeſſed by our Church of England, in which 'I was

(18) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 868.

paid the ſum of fourteen pounds a year by way of augmentation to the ſmall living of Yarpoll, and the ſum of twelve pounds by way of addition to the living of his own pariſh Church at Croft, both which charities were ſettled and ſecured by his will, and lands aſſigned for the payment of them (*c*). He likewiſe gave the remainder of the produce of twelve hundred pounds, after theſe augmentations were deducted, to the relief of indigent perſons, and other ſuch purpoſes (*d*). He was buried in his Cathedral Church, where there remains a ſhort and modeſt memorial of him (*e*) [*G*]. He ſat almoſt thirty years in the Biſhopric of Hereford, and in that ſpace of time eſtabliſhed thoroughly the regulations that he had very wiſely contrived, as well for the particular benefit of the Chapter, as the general advantage of his Dioceſe; the people of which regarded him with the utmoſt veneration, and the Clergy, as they had a particular relation to him, ſo in the latter part of his time more eſpecially, they loved and reſpected him for that diligence and care with which he promoted their welfare, by preſerving all the dignities of his Church to the Clergy beneficed in his Dioceſe, the conſequences of which at firſt ſome of them did not ſo fully comprehend (*f*). He married the daughter of his predeceſſor in the Deanery, Dr. Jonathan Brown, as we before obſerved, and by her had his only ſon Herbert, who was educated as a Commoner in Magdalen-college in Oxford, and becoming a perſon of great worth and honour, a true patriot, and a warm friend of the Proteſtant Religion, he was by his Majeſty King Charles the IId. created a Baronet November 18th, 1671, and was twice Knight of the Shire in the reign of King William (*g*). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Archer of Umberſlade in the county of Warwick, Eſq; (*h*) by whom he had Sir Archer Croft, the ſecond Baronet, and ſeveral other children.

(*c*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 868.

(*d*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals. vol. ii. p. 529.

(*e*) See this inſcription in the note.

(*f*) Willis's Survey of Cathedr. vol. ii. p. 529. Engliſh Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 541.

(*g*) Dugdale's Liſt of Baronets, p. 113. Parliamentary Regiſt. p. 1. 11.

(*h*) Engliſh Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 542.

'I was born and baptized, and in which I joyfully die, 'with full aſſurance, by the merits of my moſt bleſſed 'Saviour Jeſus, to enjoy eternal happineſs.'

[*G*] *Where there remains a ſhort and modeſt memorial of him.*] The inſcription upon his grave-ſtone, which is within the Communion rails, runs thus (19). *Depoſitum* Herberti Croft *de* Croft *Epiſcopi* Herefordenſis *obiit* 18 *die Maii* A. D. 1691 *ætatis ſuæ* 88, *in vita conjuncti*; that is, *Here are depoſited the remains of* Herbert Croft, *of* Croft, *Biſhop of* Hereford, *who died May* 18th, 1691, *in the* 88th *year of his age, in life united.* The laſt words allude to his lying next Dean Benſon, at the bottom of whoſe grave-ſtone is this, *In morte non diviſi*, i. e. *in death not divided:* The two grave-ſtones having hands engraven on them, conjoined, reaching from one to the other, to ſignify the laſting and uninterrupted friendſhip, which had ſubſiſted between thoſe truly pious and venerable perſons in their life-times. Dr. Croft was ſucceeded in his Biſhopric by Dr. Gilbert Ironſide. C.

(19) Willis's Survey of Cathedr. vol. ii. p. 529.

*** [There ſeems to have been ſome ſlight tincture of Enthuſiaſm in what Biſhop Croft ſays, in note [*D*], concerning the influence of his prayers in obtaining extraordinary aid from the Divine goodneſs, with regard to what he wrote in his "Naked Truth." It was, however, an enthuſiaſm of the moſt generous and gentle kind, ſince it only led him to plead the cauſe of Chriſtian Union, Forbearance, and Humanity. Our author hath added to the inſtances of thoſe who have obtained great celebrity by a ſingle compoſition; for his other writings, whatever may be their value, have been very little noticed by the world. Few productions were more read, or excited more attention for a time than the "Naked Truth." Our ingenious Predeceſſor, Dr. Campbell, repreſents it as ſtill being eſteemed a work of very great importance; but this is no longer the caſe. It is now, I believe, known only to the few perſons who love to ſearch after curious Tracts. Notwithſtanding the merit of the performance, ſuch is the change in the circumſtances, manners, and controverſies of the times, that the peruſal of it is not at preſent deemed a matter of peculiar moment. It ought to be remembered, with reſpect to our worthy Prelate, that it was not from any predilection for the principles or perſons of the Nonconformiſts, that he ſo zealouſly pleaded their cauſe. It is related in Woddrow's Hiſtory, that Dr. Croft, in a Sermon before the King, which was preached in 1660, inveighed warmly againſt the Preſbyterians, and repreſented God as having defeated his Majeſty at Worceſter, and purſued him with a nine years exile, on account of his having taken them into his Counſels (20). If this be a fact, it is evident that age and reflection added greatly to the improvement of the Biſhop's Chriſtian temper.

(20) From the information of a Correſpondent.

It is rather ſurprizing that Dr. Gilbert Burnet ſhould be one of the writers againſt the "Naked Truth." Perhaps that eminent Divine was not then ſo enlarged in his ſentiments as he afterwards became.

The Rev. Herbert Croft, Author of the Life of Dr. Young, in Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, and who is engaged in the arduous deſign of forming the moſt extenſive and important Dictionary of the Engliſh language which hath ever yet been attempted, is a deſcendant of our Prelate.] K.

CROMWELL, or CRUMWELL (THOMAS), an eminent Stateſman in the ſixteenth century, and created by King Henry VIII. Earl of Eſſex, was the ſon of —— Cromwell, a black-ſmith, at Putney near London, and in his latter days a brewer; after whoſe deceaſe, his mother was married to a Sheerman in London (*a*). His honeſt parents gave him a good and ſtrong conſtitution; which, accompanied with excellent endowments of mind, and an uncommon induſtry, raiſed him to that high pitch of honour to which he afterwards arrived. What education he had, was in a private School (*b*): and all the learning he attained to, was, (according to the ſtandard of thoſe times,) only reading, and writing, and a little Latin. When he grew up, having a very great inclination for travelling, he went into foreign countries; though at whoſe expence is not known; and, by that means, he had an opportunity of ſeeing the world, of gaining experience, and of learning ſeveral languages, which proved of great ſervice to him afterwards. Coming to Antwerp, where was then a very conſiderable Engliſh Factory, he was by them retained to be their Clerk, or Secretary. But that office being too great a confinement to his roving and aſpiring mind, he embraced an opportunity, that offered, in 1510 (*c*), of taking a journey

(*a*) J. Fox's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, p. 1177; and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 580.

(*b*) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1668, p. 58.

(*c*) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1178.

to Rome [*A*]. Whilſt he remained in Italy, he ſerved for ſome time as a Soldier under the Duke of Bourbon, and was at the ſacking of Rome: and at Bologna, he aſſiſted John Ruſſel, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Bedford, in making his eſcape, when he had like to be betrayed into the hands of the French; being ſecretly in thoſe parts about our King's affairs (*d*). An inſtance we have, moreover, at this time, of Cromwell's great induſtry, and of his improving every moment; namely, that, in his journey to and from Rome, he learned by heart the New Teſtament, of Eraſmus's tranſlation (*e*). After his return from his travels, he was taken into the family and ſervice of the famous Cardinal Wolſey; who obſerving his great parts and diligence, made him his Solicitor, and often employed him in buſineſs of great importance (*f*). Among other things, he had the chief hand, in the foundation of the two Colleges begun at Oxford and Ipſwich by that magnificent Prelate, and in ſuppreſſing, in 1525, ſmall Monaſteries for the endowment of them (*g*). Upon his maſter, the Cardinal's diſgrace, in 1529, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours and intereſt to have him reſtored to the King's favour (*h*): And when Articles of High-treaſon againſt him were ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, of which Cromwell was then a Member, he defended his maſter with ſo much wit and eloquence, that no treaſon could be laid to his charge: which honeſt beginning procured Cromwell great reputation, and made his parts and abilities to be much taken notice of (*i*). After the Cardinal's houſhold came to be diſſolved, Cromwell was taken into the King's ſervice, upon the recommendation of Sir Chriſtopher Hales, afterwards Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir John Ruſſel, Knt. abovementioned; as the fitteſt perſon to manage the diſputes the King then had with the Pope: though ſome endeavoured to hinder his promotion, and to prejudice his Majeſty againſt him, on account of his rude behaviour in defacing the ſmall Monaſteries that were diſſolved for endowing Wolſey's Colleges. But he diſcovering to the King ſome particulars that were very acceptable to him [*B*], he took him into the higheſt degree of favour (*k*). Soon after, he was ſent to the Convocation, then ſitting, to acquaint the Clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire (*l*) [*C*]. In 1531 he was knighted; made Maſter of the King's Jewel-houſe, with a ſalary of fifty pounds *per annum*; and conſtituted a Privy-Counſellor (*m*). The next year, he was made Clerk of the Hanaper, an office of good profit and repute in Chancery; and, before the end of the ſame year, Chancellor of the Exchequer (*n*). As alſo, in 1534, Principal Secretary of State; and Maſter of the Rolls (*o*). About the ſame time, he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge; ſoon after which followed a general viſitation of that Univerſity; whereupon the ſeveral Colleges delivered up their Charters, and other inſtruments, to Sir Thomas Cromwell (*p*). The year before, he aſſeſſed the fines laid upon thoſe, who having forty pounds *per ann.* eſtate, refuſed to take the Order of Knighthood (*q*). In 1535 he was appointed Viſitor-general of the Monaſteries throughout England, in order for their ſuppreſſion (*r*): and in that office, is accuſed of having

(*d*) Fox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1179.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 1178, 1179.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 1179; and Stow's Annales, *ubi ſupra*.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 370; and Fox, as above, p. 1179; and alſo Stow, p. 553. After the Cardinal's fall, he had the care of the New College, now Chriſt-Ch. Oxon. Stow, *ibid.* Strype's Eccleſ. Memor. vol. i. p. 117.

(*h*) Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. by Edw. Lord Herbert, in Compl. Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, vol. ii. p. 125.

(*i*) Herbert, as above, p. 129; and Fuller's Hiſt. edit. 1655, B. v. p. (177).

(*k*) Fox, as above, p. 1179.

(*l*) *Ibid.* See alſo Dr. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, 2d edit. P. i. p. 106—112.

(*m*) Pat. 23 Hen. VIII. p. 2. See Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 370.

(*n*) Pat. 24 Hen. VIII. p. 1, 2.

(*o*) Pat. 26 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*p*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambr. edit. 1655, p. 108, &c.

(*q*) Holinſhed's Chron. edit. 1587, vol. ii. p. 929.

(*r*) Herbert, as above, p. 180.

[*A*] *He embraced an opportunity that offered —— of taking a journey to Rome.*] That opportunity was as follows. There being at that time a famous Gild of our Lady in the Church of St. Botulph's at Boſton in Lincolnſhire, to which ſeveral Popes had granted very large Indulgences, or Pardons, which were then highly valued, and held in the utmoſt veneration, and very much reſorted to; the brethren and ſiſters of that Gild were very deſirous of having thoſe Indulgences renewed, and confirmed, by the then Pope Julius II. They diſpatched therefore two perſons to Rome with a conſiderable ſum of money, to obtain the deſired confirmation: which perſons taking Antwerp in their way, became acquainted there with Thomas Cromwell: and obſerving that he was as perfectly qualified for procuring eaſily what they wanted from the Court of Rome, as they were themſelves unqualified for it, they perſuaded him to go along with them. Accordingly he was of very great ſervice to them. For, being informed, that Pope Julius was a great lover of delicacies, and dainty diſhes, he preſented him with fine diſhes of Jelly, made after the Engliſh faſhion, then unknown at Rome; wherewith the Pope was ſo delighted, that he very readily granted Cromwell and his companions what they came about. See this whole matter related at full length, in J. Fox's Acts and Monuments (1).

(1) Edit. 1583, p. 1178.

[*B*] *But he diſcovering to the King ſome particulars that were very acceptable to him.*] He acquainted the King, that his princely authority was abuſed within his own realm, by the Pope and his Clergy, who being ſworn to him, were afterwards diſpenſed from the ſame, and ſworn a-new unto the Pope, ſo that he was but a half-King, and they but half his ſubjects in his own land; which, ſaid he, was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common Laws of his Realm: Declaring thereupon, how his Majeſty might accumulate to himſelf great riches, nay as much as all the Clergy in his Realm were worth, if he pleaſed to take the occaſion now offered. The King giving ear to this, and liking right-well his advice, aſked, if he could avouch that which he ſpake. All this he could (he ſaid) avouch to be certain: And thereupon ſhewed the King the Oath which the Biſhops took to the Pope at their conſecration; wherein they ſwore 'To help, retain, and defend *againſt all* '*men*, the Popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy 'Fathers, and the regalities of St. Peter, &c (2).'

(2) J. Fox, Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1179, 1053.

[*C*] *He was ſent to the Convocation then ſitting, to acquaint the Clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire.*] When he diſcovered to the King what is mentioned in the laſt note, his Majeſty taking his ring, or ſignet, off his finger, ſent Cromwell with it to the Convocation: who placing himſelf among the Biſhops, began to declare to them the authority of a King, and the office of ſubjects, and eſpecially the obedience of Biſhops and Churchmen under public Laws; which Laws notwithſtanding they had all tranſgreſſed and highly offended in derogation of the King's royal eſtate, falling in the Law of *Præmunire*: in that, they had not only conſented to the power Legatine of Cardinal Wolſey, but alſo becauſe they had all ſworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their ſovereign Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their goods, chattles, lands, poſſeſſions, and whatever livings they had. The Biſhops hearing this, were not a little amazed, and firſt began to excuſe and deny the fact. But after Cromwell had ſhewed them the very copy of the Oath they took to the Pope at their conſecration, the matter was ſo plain, they could not deny it. And to be quit of that Præmunire by Act of Parliament, the two Provinces of Canterbury and York were forced to make the King a preſent of 118,840 pounds (3).

(3) *Ib.* p. 1179.

ing

ing committed ſome illegal acts of violence [*D*]. However, having behaved in that affair, generally to the ſatisfaction of the King and his Courtiers, he was, on the 2d of July 1536, conſtituted Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, when he reſigned his Maſterſhip of the Rolls (*s*). On the 9th of the ſame month he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandſhire; and, ſix days after, took his place in the Houſe of Lords (*t*). The Pope's Supremacy being now aboliſhed in England, the Lord Cromwell was made, on the 18th of July, Vicar-general, and Vicegerent, over all the Spirituality, under the King [*E*], who was declared ſupreme Head of the Church (*u*). In that quality, his Lordſhip ſat in the Convocation holden this year, above the Archbiſhops, as the King's repreſentative (*w*). Being inveſted with ſuch extenſive Power, he made uſe of it for deſtroying Popery as far as he poſſibly could, and for promoting a Reformation in this Kingdom. For that purpoſe, he cauſed certain Articles to be ſet forth and enjoyned by the King's Authority (*x*), differing in many eſſential points from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of the Roman-Catholic Religion [*F*]. Next, in September this ſame year, he put out ſome Injunctions to all Deans, Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, wherein they were ordered, to preach up the King's Supremacy; not to lay out their rhetoric in extolling Images, Relicks, Miracles, or Pilgrimages, but rather to exhort their people to ſerve God, and make proviſion for their families: to put parents and other directors of youth in mind, to teach their children the Lord's-prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in their mother-tongue: to provide a Bible in Latin and Engliſh, to be laid in the Churches, for every one to read at their pleaſure; and the like (*y*). He likewiſe encouraged the tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh [*G*]; and, when it was finiſhed, injoined, that

(*s*) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 1. Stow's Annales, p. 573.

(*t*) *Ibid.* and Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 371.

(*u*) Stow, *ubi ſupra.* The Lord Cromwell had a particular ſeal for this his new office. N. Sanders *de Schiſmate Anglicano*, edit. Colon. Agrippin. 1610, 8*vo*. p. 151.

(*w*) See Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformat. P. i. 2d edit. p. 213; and Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtory, vol. ii. edit. 1714, p. 104.

(*x*) *Idem*, p. 122, *&c.* and Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book v. p. 213, *&c.*

(*y*) Fox, p. 1094. Collier, as above, p. 129, 130; and Lord Herbert, as above, p. 204.

[*D*] *Is accuſed of having committed ſome illegal acts of violence.*] For, he and his under-agents are charged with having forced ſeveral Abbies by *threats* and other inſtances of violence into a ſurrender: ſome indeed they allured thereunto, by promiſes, and large penſions: but moſt they frightened into a compliance, by encouraging the Monks, not only to accuſe their Governors of the moſt horrid and unnatural crimes, but alſo to inform againſt each other. In particular, we are told, that the Commiſſioners threatened the Canons of Leiceſter, 'That they would charge them with adultery 'and buggery, unleſs they would ſubmit.' And Dr. London, one of the viſitors, told the Nuns of Godſtow, 'That becauſe he found them obſtinate, he would 'diſſolve the Houſe by virtue of the King's Com-'miſſion, in ſpite of their teeth.' The Monks of the Charter-houſe near London, being refractory, were committed to Newgate, where, with hard and barbarous uſage, five of them died, and five more lay at the point of death, as the Commiſſioners ſignified (4). ——— We are farther informed, that there were ſome agents employed to practiſe on the chaſtity of the Nuns, and afterwards to accuſe them for being guilty of incontinence (5). Several Monaſteries granted Thomas Cromwell large Penſions to ſave them from ruin; but all in vain (6).

(4) Sir W. Dugdale's Antiquit. of Warwickſhire, vol. ii. edit. 1730, p. 1112, *&c.*

(5) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. vi. p. 318, edit. 1655.

(6) See Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 155, 157, *&c.*

[*E*] *The Lord Cromwell was made——Vicar-general, and Vicegerent over all the Spirituality under the King.*] What the deſign and extent of this Commiſſion was, we beſt learn from the following Clauſe of the Act for regulating Precedency—— namely, That 'for the good exerciſe of the ſaid moſt Royal Dignity 'and Office (the Supremacy) his Highneſs hath made 'Thomas Lord Cromwell and Lord Privy-Seal, his 'Vicegerent for a good and due miniſtration of Juſtice, 'to be had in all Cauſes and Caſes touching the 'Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and for the godly re-'formation and redreſs of all Hereſies and abuſes in the 'ſaid Church (7).'———Or, as it it elſewhere expreſſed to the ſame purpoſe ——— *ad exercendum, expediendum, & exerendum omnem & omnimodam Juriſdictionem, Auctoritatem, ſive Poteſtatem Eccleſiaſticam, quæ nobis tanquam Supremo Capiti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ competit* (8).

(7) Statut. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

(8) King Henry VIIIth's Commiſſion in allowance of the Deputation made by Cromwell. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. Collect. of Records, No. XXX. p. 20.

[*F*] *Differing in many eſſential points from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of the Roman-Catholic Religion.*] For, inſtead of the ſeven Sacraments commonly received in the Church of Rome, theſe Articles mention only three; namely, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar. Then, they enjoin all Biſhops and Preachers, to teach the people committed to their charge, to believe and defend all thoſe things to be true which are comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible; and in the three Creeds, that of the Apoſtles, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian; without the leaſt mention of Tradition. And, to prevent ſuperſtition and idolatry, that they ſhould reſtrain the people, from 'cenſing, kneeling to, and worſhipping Images; and teach them to do it only to God, and in his honour, though it be done before Images. Finally, Purgatory is therein declared uncertain by Scripture (9).

(9) See Fuller, Burnet, and Collier, as quoted above.

[*G*] *He likewiſe encouraged the tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh.*] As it will be no ſmall ſatisfaction to the Reader, to know, what tranſlation of the Bible is hereby meant, we ſhall endeavour to give an exact account of it; and likewiſe of ſuch tranſlations as were made about this time. The *firſt* tranſlation of any part of the Holy Scriptures into Engliſh, that was committed to the preſs, was, *The New Teſtament*, tranſlated from the Greek, by William Tyndale, with the aſſiſtance of John Fry and William Roye, and printed firſt in 1526, in *octavo*. Tyndale publiſhed afterwards, in 1530, a tranſlation of the *Five Books of Moſes*; and of *Jonas*, in 1531, in *octavo*—(10). An Engliſh tranſlation of the *Pſalter*, done from the Latin of Martin Bucer, was alſo publiſhed at Argentine in 1530, by Francis Foye, 8*vo*. And the ſame book, together with *Jeremiah*, and the *Song of Moſes*, were likewiſe publiſhed in 1534, 12*mo*, by George Joye, ſometime Fellow of Peterhouſe in Cambridge. But the firſt time *the whole Bible* appeared in Engliſh, was in the year 1535, fol. The tranſlator and publiſher was Miles Coverdale, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, who reviſed Tyndale's verſion, compared it with the originals, and ſupplied what had been left untranſlated by Tyndale. It was printed at Zurich, and dedicated by Coverdale to King Henry VIII. And this was *the Bible*, which, by Cromwell's injunctions of September 1536, *was ordered to be laid in Churches.* ——— The next year, 1537, whether it was that Archbiſhop Cranmer had a mind to have Tyndale's Prologues and Notes reprinted, which had been left out in Coverdale's edition, or that the Printers thought ſuch an edition would ſell well, the Bible was printed at Paris in folio, with this title, 'The Byble, which is all the Holy 'Scripture, in which are contayned the Olde and 'Newe Teſtament, truelye and purelye tranſlated into 'Engliſh. By Thomas Matthewe.' This name of *Matthewe* is fictitious, the real author being John Rogers. In this Edition, from Geneſis to the end of the Chronicles is Tyndale's tranſlation: thence to the end of the Apocrypha is Coverdale's; except the book of Jonas, which is Tyndale's: as is alſo the whole New Teſtament. In 1538, a reſolution was taken to reviſe this edition of Matthewe's, and to print it again without the Prologues or Annotations, at which great offence was pretended to be taken, as containing matters heretical, and very ſcandalous and defamatory. For this purpoſe Grafton and Whitchurch

(10) Hall ſays he tranſlated alſo, *Joſhua*, *Judicum*, *Ruth*, the books of *Kings*, the books of *Paralipomenon*, and *Nehemiah*, or the firſt of *Eſdras*; but, if he tranſlated theſe, it does not appear they were ever printed. Hall's Chronicle, in Henry VIII. fol. 227.

that one, of the largeſt volume, ſhould be provided for every pariſh-church, at the joint charge of the Parſon and Pariſhioners (z). Theſe ſeveral alterations, made by Cromwell's contrivance in the eſtabliſhed Religion of thoſe times; together with the diſſolution of the Monaſteries; and, (notwithſtanding the immenſe riches gotten from thence,) his demanding at the ſame time for the King Subſidies, both from the Clergy and Laity, occaſioned very great murmurs againſt him (a). No wonder, therefore, that the Rebels of Yorkſhire demanded, among other things, that the Lord Crumwell ſhould be brought to 'condigne ponyſment, as one of the ſubverters of the gud lawes of the Realm (b).' However, ſo far was the popular clamour from prejudicing, that it rather ſerved to eſtabliſh him in the King's eſteem. For, in the year 1537, his Majeſty conſtituted him Chief Juſtice itinerant of all the Foreſts beyond Trent (c): and on the 26th of Auguſt, the ſame year, he was elected Knight of the Garter (d); as alſo Dean of the Cathedral Church of Wells (e). The year following, he obtained a grant of the Caſtle and Lordſhip of Okeham in the county of Rutland; and was alſo made Conſtable of Careſbrook-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight (f). In September, he put forth new Injunctions, directed to all Biſhops and Curates (g), wherein he ordered, that a Bible of the largeſt volume in Engliſh, ſhould be ſet up in ſome convenient place in every Church, where the pariſhioners might moſt commodiouſly reſort to read the ſame: That the Clergy ſhould, every Sunday and holiday, openly and plainly recite to their pariſhioners, twice or thrice together, one article of the Lord's Prayer, or Creed, in Engliſh, that they might learn the ſame by heart: That they ſhould make, or cauſe to be made, in their Churches, one Sermon every quarter of a year at leaſt, wherein they ſhould purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpel of Chriſt, and exhort their hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith; not to pilgrimages, kiſſing or licking of Images, *&c:* That they ſhould forthwith take down all Images, to which pilgrimages or offerings were wont to be made: That in all ſuch Benefices whereupon they were not themſelves reſident, they ſhould appoint able Curates: That they, and every Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, ſhould for every Church keep one book of Regiſter, wherein they ſhould write the day and year of every Wedding, Chriſtening, and Burying, within their Pariſh; and therein ſet every perſon's name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtened, or buried, *&c* [*H*]. Having been thus highly inſtrumental in promoting a Reformation, and in pulling down, for the three years paſt, the Monaſteries in this Kingdom; he was amply rewarded by the King, in 1539, with many noble Manors and large Eſtates [*I*] that had belonged to thoſe diſſolved Houſes (h). On the 17th of April, the ſame year, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex (i); and ſoon after conſtituted Lord

(z) Collier, *Hiſt.* p. 150.

(a) Lord Herbert, P. 205.

(b) Speed's Chr. edit. 1614, p. 775.

(c) Pat. 29 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(d) Stow's Annales, p. 575.

(e) Whart. Angl. Sacra, edit. 1691, vol. i. p. 590; and Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 177.

(f) Pat. 30 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(g) Fox, as above, p. 1096. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 150.

(h) Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 371.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 372.

church were employed, who, becauſe there were at that time in France better Printers and Paper than could be had here in England, procured the King's Letters to the French King for liberty to print it at Paris. Accordingly they had the Royal Licence for ſo doing, and had almoſt finiſhed their deſign, when by an order of the Inquiſition dated December 17, 1538, the Printers were forbidden under canonical pains to print the ſaid Engliſh Bible, and being carried before the Inquiſition, were charged with hereſy. The Engliſh who were there to correct the preſs, and take care of the impreſſion, were all forced to fly, and the impreſſion, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred books, was ſeized and confiſcated. But by the encouragement of the Lord Cromwell, ſome of the Engliſh returned to Paris, and got the preſſes, letters, and printing ſervants, and brought them over to London, where they reſumed the work; which was finiſhed and publiſhed in 1539, with this title, 'The 'Byble in Englyſhe, that is to ſay the content of all 'the holy Scripture, bothe of the olde and newe Teſtament, truly tranſlated after the veryte of the 'Hebrue and Greke textes by the dylygent ſtudye of 'dyverſe excellent learned men, expert in the forſayde 'tonges.' Printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. fol.— This was *the Bible of the largeſt Volume*, which was ordered to be ſet up in every Church. The Pſalms in our Liturgy, are of this tranſlation, with ſome few alterations (11).

(11) This account is taken from Mr. J. Lewis's Hiſt. of the Engliſh tranſlations of the Bible, prefixed to his edit. of J. Wickliff's tranſlation of the New Teſtament, fol. Lond. 1731, p. 15—31.

[*H*] *Every perſon's name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtened, or buried.*] There are among them two other Injunctions, that deſerve to be taken notice of. One is, 'Item, yee ſhall diſcourage no man, prively 'nor apertly, from the reading or hearing of the 'Bible, but ſhal expreſly provoke, ſtirre, and exhort 'every perſon to reade the ſame, as that which is the 'very lively word of God, that every Chriſten perſon 'is bounden to embrace, beleeve, and follow, if he 'looke to be ſaved.'—The other is as follows, 'Item, 'foraſmuch as by a lawe eſtabliſhed, every man is 'bound to pay his tithes, no man ſhall, by colour of 'duty omitted by their Curates, deteine their Tithes, 'and ſo redub one wrong with another, or be his owne 'judge, but ſhall truly pay the ſame as hath ben accuſtomed to their parſons and curates, without any 'reſtraint or diminution (12).'

(12) J. Fox, ps 1096, 1097.

[*I*] *He was rewarded by the King, in* 1539, *with many noble Manors, and large Eſtates.*] For, on the 10th of April, he obtained a grant from the King, in fee, of the diſſolved Monaſtery of St. Oſythes in Eſſex, with all the houſes, buildings, Church, and other appurtenances thereunto belonging: as alſo of the manors and Lordſhip of Chich St. Oſythes, Barnton, Coketwyke, Wigburgh, Erles-hall, Weſtwyke, Howyke, Lewyke, Wyerſhall alias Withſton-hall; Cannon, alias Can, hall; Abbots-hall, Coſt, or Coſted, hall; Mileend-hall, Broke-hall, and Birch-hall; with Horſey, and all and ſingular their members, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the ſame monaſtery of St. Oſythes. Likewiſe of the Manor or Lordſhip of Chalwedon in Eſſex, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the hoſpital of our Lady, without Biſhopſgate in London: as alſo of the Manors and Lordſhips of Tolleſbury, High-hall, Abbeſſe-hall, and Hockley, in the ſaid County of Eſſex, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the Monaſterey of Berkyng. And of the Manor of Gorewells in Toleſbury, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the Monaſtery of Bileigh near Maldon in Eſſex. Likewiſe of the Manors of Wileghe, Brykelſey, Picheſaye, Mondone, and Grynſtede in the ſame County, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the Monaſtery of St. John in Colcheſter. Alſo of the Manors of Dedham, and Langham in the ſame county, with the Manor and Lordſhip of Stratford in Suffolk. And alſo of the whole ſcite of the Grey Friers in Yarmouth in Norfolk, with all the houſes and buildings thereunto belonging; together with a multitude of other Lands, and advowſons of Churches, which did belong to ſome one or other of the then ſuppreſſed Religious Houſes (13).

(13) Pat. 31 Hen. VIII. p. 5. See Dugdale's Baron, vol. ii. p. 372.

High Chamberlain of England [K]. The ſame day he was created Earl of Eſſex, he procured Gregory his ſon to be made Baron Cromwell of Okeham (k). On the 12th of March 1540, he was put in commiſſion with others, to ſell the Abbey-Lands, at twenty years purchaſe (l): which was a thing he had adviſed the King to do, in order to ſtop the clamours of the people; to attach them to his intereſt; and to bring them to a liking of the diſſolution of the Monaſteries (m). Hitherto the Lord Cromwell had ſailed with a proſperous gale, and was arrived to a very high degree of Honour. But an unhappy precaution he took, to ſecure (as he imagined) his greatneſs, proved his ruin; and the higher he was raiſed, the more ſudden and dangerous was his fall. Obſerving that ſome of his moſt inveterate enemies, particularly Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, began to be more in favour at Court than himſelf, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to procure a marriage between King Henry and Anne of Cleves: for he expected a great ſupport from a Queen of his own making; and as her friends were all Lutherans, it tended very much, as he imagined, to bring down the Popiſh party at Court, and again to recover the ground, he and Cranmer had now loſt (n). But, ſee the ſhortneſs of human policy: this very thing wherein he placed his ſafety, was his certain deſtruction. For the King, who was very nice in love-affairs, not liking the Queen, he took an invincible averſion to Cromwell the great promoter of the marriage; and ſoon found an opportunity to ſacrifice him to his own reſentment, and to the malice and revenge of his enemies. Many circumſtances concurred to his ruin. He was odious to all the Nobility by reaſon of his low birth: hated particularly by Stephen Gardiner, and the Roman Catholicks, for having been ſo buſy in the diſſolution of the Abbies: the Reformers themſelves found he could not protect them from burning: and the nation in general was highly incenſed againſt him, for his having lately demanded and obtained (o) a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound from the Clergy, and one Tenth and one Fifteenth from the Laity; notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums that had lately flowed into the Treaſury out of the Monaſteries. King Henry conſidering this, and having beſides divers Articles brought againſt him, reſolved to give him up, judging him no longer neceſſary. Therefore he gave way to all his enemies accuſations, which could not but be material; it being impoſſible, that any man who meddled ſo much in great and public affairs, ſhould not in ſeveral inſtances ſo miſtake, forget, and err, as to lay himſelf open to the law, when ſevere inquiſition was made againſt him. The King having gotten ſufficient proof againſt Cromwell, cauſed him to be arreſted at the Council table, by the Duke of Norfolk, on the 10th of June, when he leaſt ſuſpected it. However, he obeyed, and was committed to the Tower, though judging his ruin the more certain, becauſe the Duke was uncle to the Lady Catharine Howard, whom the King began now to be in love with (p). During his impriſonment he wrote a Letter to the King [L], to vindicate himſelf of the

(k) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. edit. 1655, B. v. p. 235. But Sir W. Dugdale ſays, he was not created a Baron till Dec. 18, 1540. Baronage, vol. ii. p. 374.

(l) *Fœdera, Conventiones, &c.* publiſhed by T. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 653.

(m) See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. 2d edit. p. 222.

(n) Burnet, as above, p. 271.

(o) He extorted it from them, *extorſit ab ordinibus*, ſays Sanders, *de Schiſmate Anglicano*, as above, p. 183. He ſays in the ſame place, that it was one Tenth and four Fifteenths; but the Rolls of Parliament are more to be credited than ſuch a prejudiced writer.

(p) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 222, 223. Stow's Annales, p. 580. This laſt author ſays, he was arreſted the 9th of July. And Fox places it under the year 1541, p. 1189. But they are both miſtaken.

[K] *He was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex, and ſoon after conſtituted Lord High-Chamberlain of England.*] Henry Bourchier, the laſt Earl of Eſſex of that ſurname, broke his neck, March the 12th, 1539, by a fall from a young unruly horſe; leaving only one daughter: And the 19th of the ſame month, died John de Vere Earl of Oxford Lord Chamberlain (14). But Cromwell's aſpiring after, or even accepting of, theſe two great Honours, procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will. For there were ſeveral branches of the noble family of Bourchier then in being, who might think they had a right to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex. And, the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England had been for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable Family of the De Veres Earls of Oxford; ſo that the heirs of it could not but be highly incenſed againſt the Lord Cromwell for robbing them of what their Anceſtors had ſo long enjoyed.

(14) Stow's Annal, p. 579.

[L] *During his impriſonment he wrote a Letter to the King.*] Wherein he ſtrenuouſly vindicates himſelf of the Crimes laid to his charge, in the following words.———— 'Wher I have bene accuſyd to your 'Majeſtye of Treaſon. To that I ſay, I never in alle 'my lyfe thought wyllingly to do that thyng that 'myght or ſholde diſpleaſe your Majeſty; and much 'leſſ to do or ſay that thyng, which of itſelf is ſo 'high and abhominable offence; as God knowyth, 'who I doubt not ſhall reveale the trewthe to your 'Highnes. Myne accuſers your Grace knowyth, 'God forgive them: For, as I ever have had love to 'your honor, perſon, lyfe, proſperitye, helthe, 'welthe, joy, and comfort; and alſo your moſt dere 'and moſt entyerly belovyd ſone, the Prynce his 'Grace, and your proceedyngs; God ſo helpe me in 'this myne adverſitie, and conffound me yf ever I 'thought the contrary. What labours, paynes, and 'travailes I have taken, according to my moſt boun-'den deutye, God alſo knowyth. For, yf it were 'in my power, (as it is Godds) to make your Ma-'geſtye to live ever young, and proſperous, God 'knowyth I woolde. If it hadde bene, or were in 'my power to make yow ſo ryche, as ye myght en-'rych alle men, God helpe me, as I would do hit. 'If it had bene, or were in my power to make your 'Mageſty ſo puyſſant, as alle the world ſholde be com-'pellyd to obey yow, Chriſt he knowyth I wolde; 'for ſo am I of alle othyr moſt bounde: for your Ma-'geſtye hath bene the moſt bountiful Prynce to me, 'that ever was Kyng to his Subject: ye, and more 'like a dere Father (your Majeſtye not offendyed) 'than a Maſter. Such hath bene your moſt grave and 'godly counſayle towards me, at ſundry tymes. In 'that I have offendid I ax yow mercy. Should I 'now, for ſuch exceeding goodneſſ, benygnyte, libe-'ralitie and bounty be your Traytor, nay then the 'greateſt paynes were too little for me. Should any 'faccyon, or any affeccyon to any point make me a 'Traytor to your Mageſtie, then all the Devylls in 'Hell confound me, and the Vengeance of God light 'upon me, yf I ſholde once have thought yt, moſt 'gracious Soverayn Lord.————

———— 'Sir, as to your Common welthe, I 'have after my wytte, power, and knowledge, tra-'vayled therein, having had no reſpect to perſons, '(your Mageſtye only except) and my dewtye to the 'ſame: but that I have don any Injuſtice, or Wrong, 'wylfully, I truſt God ſhall bere my wytnes, and the 'world not able juſtly to accuſe me.————

———— 'Nevertheles, Sir, I have medelyd in ſo 'many matyers, under your Highnes, that I am not 'able to anſwer them all. But one thing I am well 'aſſured of; that willingly and wyttingly I have not 'had wille to offend your Highneſs: but hard it is 'for me, or any other, medelyng, as I have done, to 'live under your Grace, and your Laws, but we muſt

'daylie

the guilt of treaſon, whereof he was accuſed (*q*); and another to the ſame (*r*), concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves [*M*]. But all his entreaties, and endeavours for pardon, were ineffectual. And, as he had himſelf ſervilely complied with the King's pleaſure, in procuring ſome to be attainted without being admitted to anſwer for themſelves, ſo he now fell under the ſame unjuſtifiable ſeverity. For, whether it was that his enemies knew, if he were brought to the Bar, he would ſo juſtify himſelf, by producing the King's orders and warrants for what he had done (*s*), that it would be very difficult to condemn him: or that they blindly reſolved to follow that moſt vile precedent (*t*), of condemning a perſon unheard; the Bill of Attainder was brought into the Houſe of Lords the 17th of June, and read the firſt time, and on the 19th was read the ſecond and third times, and ſent down to the Commons. Here it did not paſs with the ſame rapidity as it had done in the Upper Houſe, but ſtuck ten days. At laſt, a new Bill of Attainder was ſent up to the Lords, framed in the Houſe of Commons: and they ſent back at the ſame time the Bill, the Lords had ſent to them (*u*). What were the grounds of his condemnation, as expreſſed in the Bill of Attainder, may be ſeen in the Note [*N*]. Like other falling favourites, he was deſerted by moſt of his friends, except the worthy Archbiſhop Cranmer, who wrote to the King very warmly in his behalf (*w*) [*O*]. But the Duke of Norfolk, and the reſt of the Popiſh party, prevailed; and, accordingly, in purſuance of his attainder, the Lord Crom-

(*q*) The original is in Cotton Lib. Titus B. 1; and thence printed in Dugdale's Baron vol. ii. p. 372, 373.

(*r*) From the original in Cotton. Lib. Otho C. 10, 'tis printed in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. Collect. of Rec. to B. iii. p. 193, 2d edit.

(*s*) *Sanderus de Schiſmate Anglic.* as above, p. 187.

(*t*) A precedent ſet them by Cromwell himſelf, in the attainders of the Marchioneſs of Exeter, the Counteſs of Saliſbury, Eliz. Barton, &c. Burnet, as above, P. i. p. 359, 360.

(*u*) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 277, of the 2d edit.

(*w*) June 14, Lord Herbert, as above, p. 223.

'daylie offend.'——After which, he proceeds to clear himſelf of ſome particular matters laid to his charge.—And concludes the whole in theſe words.—

'Wryten with the quaking hand, and moſt ſorrowful heart of your moſt ſorrowful ſubject, and moſt humble ſervant and pryſoner, this Saturday at your Tower of London.' (15). The King cauſed this Letter to be thrice read, and ſeemed touched with it. But the charms of Catherine Howard, and the endeavours of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, prevailed (16).

(15) Cot. Libr. Titus B. 1. See Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 372, 373.

(16) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. P. i. p. 284.

[*M*] *He wrote another Letter to the King, concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves.*] This he wrote by the King's expreſs order, on purpoſe to declare what he knew of that marriage. Among other things, he ſays, That after the King had ſeen her at Rocheſter, he told him [Cromwell] 'That if he had 'known ſo much before as he then knew, ſhe ſhould 'not have come within this realm.' Saying by way 'of lamentation, 'what remedy?' And, the day after the marriage, his Majeſty told him, 'I liked her before 'not well, but now I like her much worſe; for, I 'have felt her belley, and her breaſts, and thereby, 'as I can judge, ſhe ſhould be no maid; which ſtruck 'me ſo to the heart when I felt them, that I had 'neither will nor courage to proceed any farther in 'other matters; ſaying, I have left her as good a 'maid as I found her.' This Letter concludes with theſe words, '——— beſeeching moſt humbly 'your Grace to pardon this my rude writing, and 'to conſider that I a moſt woful priſoner, ready to 'take the death, when it ſhall pleaſe God and your 'Majeſty; and yet the frail fleſh inciteth me conti-'nually to call to your Grace for mercy and grace for 'mine offences; and thus Chriſt ſave, preſerve, and 'keep you.

'Written at the Tower this Wedneſday, the laſt of 'June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand, 'of your Highneſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable 'priſoner, and poor ſlave. T. C. Moſt gracious 'Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy (17).'

(17) Cot. Libr. Otho C. 10, and Burnet's Collect. of Rec. to Hiſt. of the Ref. P. i. B. iii. No. 17. p. 193. Beſides theſe two letters there are others printed in the ſame Collect. of Records: and in Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i.

[*N*] *The grounds of his condemnation are expreſſed in the Bill of Attainder.*] And are as follows. 1. That his Majeſty having received Thomas Cromwell, a man of very baſe and low degree, into his ſervice, advanced him to the eſtate of an Earl, and very much enriched him; yet the ſaid T. Cromwell had proved the moſt falſe and corrupt Traitor and Deceiver that had been known in that reign. 2. That he had ſet at liberty, without the King's command or aſſent, ſeveral perſons convicted and attainted of miſpriſion of Treaſon, and others that were impriſoned for ſuſpicion of treaſon. 3. That he had, for money, granted great numbers of Licences or paſſports, for carrying money, corn, horſes, tallow, metals, &c. out of the kingdom, without any ſearch. 4. That he had appointed, and deputed, Commiſſioners, in many great, urgent, and weighty affairs, without the King's knowledge or conſent. 5. That he pretended to have ſo great a ſtroke about the King, as that he did not ſcruple boaſting, 'That he was ſure of him.' 6. That being a deteſtable Heretic, he had ſecretly ſet forth and diſperſed throughout the kingdom, great numbers of falſe erroneous Books, written againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. 7. That being the King's Vicegerent, he had, without his Majeſty's aſſent and knowledge, licenſed under the Seal of his office, ſeveral perſons detected and ſuſpected of hereſies, to preach openly within this realm. 8. That he had cauſed Sheriffs and other perſons, to ſet at large many Hereticks, ſome of whom were indicted, and others apprehended, and in cuſtody: and being a maintainer and ſupporter of Heretics, had divers times terribly rebuked their accuſers, and perſecuted and impriſoned ſome of thoſe accuſers. 9. That he had great numbers of Retainers, which he had infected with Hereſies. 10. That when Robert Barnes, and others of the new Preachers, were proſecuted and impriſoned, he the ſaid Thomas Cromwell, hearing of it, ſaid, on the laſt day of March, 1539, 'If the King would 'turn from it*, yet I would not turn; And if the King 'did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the 'field in mine own perſon, with my ſword in my hand 'againſt him and all others.' And then pulling out his dagger, and holding it up, he added, 'Or elſe 'this Dagger thruſt me to the heart, if I would not 'die in that quarrel againſt them all: and I truſt, if 'I live one year or two, it ſhould not lie in the King's 'power, to reſiſt or let it, if he would.' And then ſwearing a great oath, he ſaid, 'I will do ſo indeed.' 11. That on the laſt day of January, 1539, being put in mind how others guilty of the ſame treaſon as himſelf (†), had been ſerved by the Parliament, he declared, 'That if the Lords would handle him ſo, 'he would give them ſuch a Breakfaſt as never was 'made in England, and *That* the proudeſt of them 'ſhould know.' 12. Finally, That he had acquired innumerable ſums of Money and Treaſure, by oppreſſion, bribery, and extortion, which made him deſpiſe the reſt of the Nobility (18).

(*) *i. e.* The new preaching, or the Doctrine of Proteſtants.

(†) Cardinal Wolſey, &c.

(18) Parliament Rolls, 32 Hen. VIII. Act 60. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Collect. of Rec. at the end of P. i. p. 187, 2d edit.

[*O*] *Archbiſhop Cranmer wrote very warmly to the King in his behalf.*] In his Letter he hath theſe expreſſions——— 'Who cannot but be ſorrowful and 'amazed that he ſhould be a Traitor againſt your 'Majeſty? He that was ſo advanced by your Majeſty; 'he whoſe ſurety was only by your Majeſty; he *who 'loved your Majeſty* (as I ever thought) *no leſs than 'God*; he who ſtudied always to ſet forward whatſoever was your Majeſties will and pleaſure; he that 'cared for no man's diſpleaſure to ſerve your Majeſty; 'he that was ſuch a ſervant, in my judgment, in Wiſdom, Diligence, Faithfulneſs, and Experience, as 'no Prince in this realm ever had; he that was ſo vigilant to preſerve your Majeſty from all Treaſons, 'that few could be ſo ſecretly conceived, but he detected the ſame in the beginning? If the noble 'Princes of happy memory, K. John, Henry II. and 'Richard II. had had ſuch a Counſeller about them, 'I ſuppoſe they ſhould never have been ſo traiterouſly 'abandoned, and overthrown, as thoſe good Princes 'were (19).'

(19) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 223.

well

well was brought to a Scaffold erected on Tower-hill, where, after having made a Speech, [*P*], and prayed, he was beheaded, July the 28th 1540 (*x*). Thus fell Thomas Lord Cromwell, under the weight of his fickle and cruel Maſter's diſpleaſure, King Henry VIII. after he had ſerved him, with great faithfulneſs, courage, and reſolution, in the moſt hazardous, difficult, and important Undertakings. But, it was that Prince's method, to take Favourites from the meaneſt of the people, who being leſs ſcrupulous than others, and wholly intent upon their own advancement, obeyed his will without reſerve; and then, to content his ſubjects, he would readily ſacrifice them to their reſentment. As for the Lord Cromwell's character, tis no wonder, that, between Papiſts and Proteſtants, it ſhould be ſo various. The firſt repreſent him as a crafty, cruel, ambitious, and covetous man; and a heretic (*y*). The latter aſſure us, that he was a perſon of great wit, and excellent parts, joined to extraordinary diligence and induſtry (*z*): that his apprehenſion was quick and clear; his judgment methodical and ſolid; his memory ſtrong and rational; his tongue fluent and pertinent; his preſence ſtately and obliging; his heart large and noble; his temper patient and cautious; his correſpondence well laid and conſtant; his converſation inſinuating and cloſe: none more dexterous in finding out the deſigns of men and Courts; and none more reſerved in keeping a ſecret (*a*). Though he was raiſed from the meaneſt condition to a high pitch of honour, he carried his greatneſs with wonderful temper (*b*); being noted in the exerciſe of his places of judicature, to have uſed much moderation, and in his greateſt pomp to have taken notice of, and been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance (*c*) [*Q*]. In his whole behaviour, he was courteous and affable to

(*x*) J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.

(*y*) *Fuit Thomas Cromuelus homo vafer, crudelis, ambitioſus & avarus, hæreſi etiam deditus.* Sanders, as above, p. 91.

(*z*) Stow's Annales, p. 580, 581.

(*a*) D. Lloyd, &c. as above, p. 59. from the notes of T. Cromwell, Eſq; one of his poſterity.

(*b*) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reform. P. i. p. 284.

(*c*) Lord Herbert, p. 225.

[*P*] *After having made a Speech.*] Which was as follows. 'I am come hether to dye, & not to purge 'myſelf, as maie happen ſome thynke that I will, for 'if I ſhould ſo do, I wer a very wretche & miſer: I 'am by the Law condempned to die, & thanke my 'Lord God that hath appoynted me this deathe, for 'myne offence: For ſithence the tyme that I had 'yeres of diſcretion, I have lived a ſinner, and of-'fended my Lord God, for the whiche I aſke hym 'hartely forgevenes. And it is not unknowne to 'many of you, that I have been a greate traveler in 'this worlde, and beyng but of a baſe degree, was 'called to high eſtate, and ſithens the tyme I came 'thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which 'I aſke hym hartely forgevenes, & beſeche you all to 'praie to God with me, that he will forgeve me. O 'father forgeve me. O ſonne forgeve me. O holy 'ghoſt forgeve me. O thre perſons in one God 'forgeve me. And now I praie you that be here, to 'beare me record, I die in the Catholike faithe, not 'doubtyng in any article of my faith, no nor doubt-'yng in any Sacrament of the Churche. Many hath 'ſlaundered me, & reported, that I have been a 'bearer of ſuch as have mainteigned evill opinions, 'whiche is untrue; but I confeſſe, that like as God 'by his holy ſpirite doth inſtruct us in the truthe, ſo 'the devill is redy to ſeduce us, and I have been 'ſeduced: but beare me witnes that I dye in the Ca-'tholicke faithe of the holy Churche. And I hartely 'deſire you to prai for the Kynges grace, that he maie 'long live with you, in healthe and proſperitie. 'And after him that his ſonne Prince Edward, that 'goodly ympe maie long reigne over you. And once 'again I deſire you to pray for me, that ſo long as 'life remaigneth in this fleſh, I waver nothyng in my 'faithe (20).'

(20) Hall's Chr. edit. 1550, in Hen. VIII. fol. ccxlii. and J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.

[*Q*] *And been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance.*] This is repreſented in a very agreeable and advantageous light by Shakeſpeare, under the character of Goodman Seely, and his wife Joan (21): but more truly by J. Fox, in the account he gives of a poor woman that kept a victualling houſe at Hounſlow; to whom Cromwell owing forty ſhillings before he arrived to his greatneſs, he not only repayed her that ſum, but alſo gave a yearly penſion of four pounds, and a livery every year while ſhe lived. He likewiſe takes notice, of his generoſity to the ſon of a poor man, who had given him many a meal's meat in his youth (22). His *Gratitude* was alſo very remarkable, in the caſe of Francis Freſcobald (or Friſkibal, as Shakeſpeare calls him.) This Freſcobald was an eminent Florentine Merchant, who handſomely relieved Cromwell in Italy, when he was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs and poverty, after the defeat of the French Army at Caſtiglione: he not only furniſhed him with clothes, and a horſe, but alſo with ſixteen ducats of gold, to carry him back to England. Freſcobald being afterwards reduced to poverty; Or, as Shakeſpeare expreſſes it (23),——

(21) Life and Death of Tho. Lord Cromwell, by W. Shakſpeare.

(22) Acts and Monuments, *ut ſupra*, p. 1186, 1187.

(23) *Ubi ſupra.*

Fortune that turns her too unconſtant wheel,
Having turn'd his wealth and riches in the ſea,

he came over to England, where he had had conſiderable dealings, to endeavour to recover fifteen thouſand ducats, that were due to him from ſeveral perſons. The Lord Cromwell finding him out, aſſiſted him in recovering his dues, and not only repaid him the ſixteen ducats above-mentioned, but alſo made him a preſent of ſixteen hundred more (24). However, I cannot conclude the Lord Cromwell's character, without obſerving, That J. Stow the famous hiſtorian complains (25), He took a piece of ground from his father, to enlarge his own garden in Throgmorton-ſtreet, without making him any ſatisfaction. Whereupon he makes this pertinent remark, That the ſudden riſing of ſome men, cauſeth them to forget themſelves. M.

(24) Fox, p. 1186, 1187.

(25) In his Survey of London.

*** [Biſhop Burnet hath made the following judicious remarks on the charges which are produced againſt Thomas Cromwell, in the Act of Attainder: "From theſe particulars the Reader will clearly ſee, "why he was not brought to make his anſwer, moſt "of them relating to orders and directions he had "given, for which it is very probable he had the "King's Warrant. And for the matter of Hereſy, "it has appeared how far the King had proceeded "towards a Reformation, ſo that what he did that "way, was moſt likely done by the King's order. "But the King now falling from theſe things, it "was thought they intended to ſtifle him by ſuch an "attainder; that he might not diſcover the ſecret "orders or directions given him for his own juſtifi-"cation. For the particulars of bribery and "extortion, they, being mentioned in general ex-"preſſions, ſeem only caſt into the heap to defame "him. But for thoſe treaſonable words, it was "generally thought that they were a contrivance of "his enemies: ſince it ſeemed a thing very extra-"vagant, for a favourite in the height of his great-"neſs to talk ſo rudely. And if he had been guilty "of it, *Bedlam* was thought a fitter place for his re-"ſtraint than the *Tower*. Nor was it judged likely "that he having ſuch great and watchful enemies at "Court, any ſuch diſcourſes could have lain ſo long "ſecret: or if they had come to the King's know-"ledge, he was not a Prince of ſuch a temper as to "have forgiven, much leſs employed and advanced "a man after ſuch diſcourſes. And to think that "during theſe fifteen months, after the words were "ſaid to have been ſpoken, none would have the "zeal for the King, or the malice to Cromwell, as "to repeat them, were things that could not be be-"lieved.

to all; a favourer in particular of the poor in their ſuits; and ready to relieve ſuch as were in danger of being oppreſſed by their mighty adverſaries (*d*); and ſo very hoſpitable and bountiful, that about two hundred perſons were ſerved, at the gate of his houſe in Throgmorton-ſtreet, London, twice every day, with bread, meat, and drink ſufficient (*e*). He was one of the chief inſtruments in the Reformation of Religion; and though he could not prevent the promulgation, he ſtopped the execution as far as he could, of the bloody Act of the Six articles (*f*). But when the King's command preſſed him cloſe, he was not firm enough to hazard his own intereſt, or perſon; as was manifeſt, from his concurring in the condemnation and cruel burning of John Lambert (*g*), As he was good abroad, ſo was he alſo at home; calling upon his ſervants yearly, to give him an account of what they had got under him, and what they deſired of him; warning them to improve their opportunities; becauſe he ſaid, he was too great to ſtand long; providing for them as carefully, as for his own ſon, by his purſe and credit, that they might live as handſomely when he was dead, as they did when he was alive (*h*). In a word, we are aſſured, that for piety towards God, fidelity to his King, prudence in the management of affairs, gratitude to his benefactors, dutifulneſs, charity, and benevolence, there was not any one then ſuperior to him in England (*i*).

(*d*) Holinſhed. Chron. p. 952.
(*e*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's addit. Lond. 1720, vol i. B.i. p.245, and B. ii. p.117.
(*f*) Burnet, as above, P.i.p.265, 266.
(*g*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 180; and Fox, as above, p.1123. Strype's Eccl. Memor. vol. i. p. 353.
(*h*) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 64, 65.
(*i*) *Quo non fuit aut religione erga Deum, aut fidelitate in regem, aut prudentia in Remp. aut in benemeritos gratitudine, aut in omnes pietate, charitate, ac benevolentia major tunc in Anglia quiſquam.* De Antiq. Britan. Eccl. Hanoviæ, 1605, p. 334, 335.

" lieved. The formality of drawing his dagger " made it the more ſuſpected; for this was to affix " an Overt Act to theſe words, which, in the opi- " nion of many Lawyers, was neceſſary to make " words treaſonable (26)."

(26) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. of the Church of England, vol. i. p. 179.

Mr. Hume obſerves, that, though Cromwell was accuſed of Hereſy and Treaſon, the inſtances of his treaſonable practices are utterly improbable, or even abſolutely ridiculous. " The only circumſtance of " his conduct," adds our elegant Hiſtorian, " by " which he merited this fate, was his being the in- " ſtrument of the King's tyranny, in conducting like " iniquitous Bills, in the former Seſſion, againſt the " Counteſs of Saliſbury and others." Cromwell is characterized, by Mr. Hume, as a man of prudence, induſtry, and ability; worthy of a better maſter, and of a better fate (27). Mr. Hume's cenſure of the conduct of the Earl of Eſſex, with regard to the Counteſs of Saliſbury is extremely juſt. According to Rapin, the Act againſt the Counteſs of Saliſbury and the Marchioneſs of Exeter, met with great oppoſition in Parliament; many objecting, that to condemn perſons unheard was a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable rules of juſtice. " But Cromwell," continues this Hiſtorian, " having ſent for the Judges to " his houſe, aſked them, whether the Parliament had " power to condemn perſons accuſed without a hear- " ing? The Judges replied, it was a nice and dan- " gerous queſtion; that equity, juſtice, and all ſorts " of laws required that the accuſed ſhould be heard; " that however, the Parliament being the ſupreme " Court of the Realm, from which there could be no " appeal, the validity of their ſentences, of what na- " ture ſoever they were, could not be queſtioned. " This was ſaying in other words, that the Parlia- " ment would therein commit an injuſtice, for which " they could not be called to an account. Crom- " well having reported to Parliament the opinion of " the Judges, the two Ladies of the Blood Royal " were condemned to die, by a ſentence which eſta- " bliſhed a precedent the moſt pernicious that had " ever been ſeen in England, and which proved fatal " to its author (28)."

(27) Hume's Hiſt. of England, vol. iv. p. 226, 227. edit. of 1763.

(28) Rapin's Hiſt. of England. vol. vi. p. 465. fourth edit.

Mr. Gilpin, ſpeaking of the Earl of Eſſex's condemnation, elegantly remarks: " Among all the arts " of expediency laid up in the cabinets of Princes, " the readieſt is to ſacrifice a Miniſter. The death " of Cromwell was repreſented to the King as the " beſt mean of compoſing the people. But though " prudential reaſons may neceſſitate a Prince to diſ- " card a Miniſter, yet guilt only, and that nicely " examined, can authorize an Act of Blood. The " hand of a tyrant, however, generally throws aſide " the balance. It is a nice machine; and requires " pains and temper to adjuſt it. The ſword is an " inſtrument more deciſive; and of eaſier diſpatch. " Henry's was always ſtained with blood—often with " innocent blood—but never with blood more inno- " cent than that of Eſſex (29)."

(29) Gilpin's Life of Cranmer, p. 77.

Mr. Granger has mentioned ſix engraved heads of Thomas Cromwell. The ſame Biographer mentions the inſtance recorded by Stow, of Cromwell's rapine, in ſeizing on another's property. If the ſtory be true, which, however, is contrary to his general character, it ſhews that he indeed forgot himſelf after his elevation (30).

(30) Granger's Biog. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 85, 86.

Gregory Cromwell, the ſon and heir of the Earl of Eſſex, about five months after his father's death, was created a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Lord Cromwell; which title continued in the family, in regular deſcent, for ſeveral generations (31).]

(31) Dugdale's Baronage of England, tom. ii. p. 374, 375.

K.

CROMWELL (OLIVER), who raiſed himſelf to the poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power, under the title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, was equally remarkable for his great military ſkill, by which he obtained ſo many victories in the field, and by his amazing abilities in the cabinet, which enabled him to overcome all oppoſition at home, and to ſtrike even the moſt powerful nations abroad with terror. He was very honourably deſcended, both by his father and his mother, from families of great antiquity; and which had produced perſons of diſtinguiſhed reputation, both for arms and arts, as may be ſufficiently proved by indiſputable evidence (*a*) [*A*]. It is the more neceſſary to deliver

(*a*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of England, B. iii. p. 79. Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 83.

[*A*] *By indiſputable evidence.*] It has been ſo generally ſaid, and authors have ſo frequently tranſcribed it one from another, that, if no check be given to it in time, it will paſs for an unqueſtionable truth with poſterity, not only that the name of this family was originally Williams, but that Sir Richard Cromwell, who may be eſteemed the founder of it, was ſiſter's ſon to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, Prime-Miniſter and favourite to Henry VIII. and that this Knight owed all his fortunes to the intereſt of that potent Nobleman (1). The ſtory commonly told is this, that Morgan Williams, of an ancient family in Wales, married the ſiſter of Thomas Lord Cromwell, by whom he had a ſon, Richard, who took his uncle's name of Cromwell, who was afterwards knighted by King Henry, from whom he received large grants of Abbey-lands in Huntingdonſhire; that this Sir Richard Williams, or Cromwell, married Frances the daughter of Sir Thomas Murfyn, by whom he had a ſon Henry, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, in the ſixth year of her reign; which Sir Henry, marrying Joan, daughter and heireſs of Sir Ralph Warren, became the father of ſix ſons, the ſecond of which was the father of Oliver, of whom we are ſpeaking (2). There is no doubt that this notion prevailed in the life-time of the Protector; for we find it mentioned in that hiſtory of

(1) Carrington's Hiſtory of the Life and Death of Oliver, Lord Protector, Lond. 1659, 12*mo*. p. 3.
(2) See the Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 2, 3.

deliver the leſs known points of his hiſtory copiouſly and clearly, becauſe, through envy on one ſide, flattery on the other, and ſtrong prejudices upon both, it may be truly ſaid, that more of falſehood and fable is to be met with in the accounts given of him in our own (*b*), as well as foreign languages (*c*), than of almoſt any other perſon living ſo near our own times [*B*]. He was the ſon of Mr. Robert Cromwell, who was the ſecond ſon

(*b*) Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, in the heroick tranſactions of his moſt Serene Highneſs Oliver late Lord Protector, by Mr. Dawbeny.

(*c*) La vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par l'Abbe Raguenet. Vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par Gregorie Leti.

of him, which was publiſhed but a year after his death. Some points in this genealogy have been filed and brightened up by that eminent Antiquary Sir William Dugdale (3); yet he ſeems to be not at all clear as to the very beginning of the tale: for he takes notice that ſome ſaid, the Lord Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Eſſex, married a Williams, but he rejecting this, without citing authority, ſuppoſes, that one Mr. Williams married Lord Cromwell's ſiſter, and ſo goes on with the ſtory, which has been already told. Dr. Goodman, Biſhop of Glouceſter, who turned Papiſt, and was very deſirous of making his court to the Protector, dedicated a book to him (4); and beſides, preſented him with a printed paper, by which he pretended to ſcrape kindred with him, as being himſelf ſome way allied to Thomas, Earl of Eſſex: but the Protector, with ſome paſſion, told him, that Lord was not related to his family in any degree (5). If therefore he knew any thing of his own family, this ſtory, though ſo very well told, cannot be true. It is much more probable, that the father of Sir Richard Cromwell, ſuppoſed to be the nephew of the Earl of Eſſex, was Thomas Cromwell, Eſq; who was Sheriff of Cambridgeſhire and Huntingdonſhire in the 28th of Hen. VIII (6); and, indeed, four years afterwards we find this Sir Richard, Sheriff of the ſame counties (7), and from him there is no doubt at all that the genealogy runs right. It muſt be confeſſed, that this gentleman had very large grants of Abbey-lands in Huntingdonſhire, to the amount, as they were then rated, of at leaſt three thouſand pounds (8) a year; but it does not thence follow, that he muſt be related to the Lord Cromwell. Some of theſe grants are as early, in point of time, as the high favour of that great Miniſter, but none of them ſo early as the year in which Thomas Cromwell, Eſq; was Sheriff, which makes it probable he was his father, and that, upon his demiſe, Richard came to have an eſtate in the county (9). Another reaſon, which inclines me to think that Sir Richard Cromwell was no near relation or dependant upon the Earl of Eſſex, in King Henry the VIIIth's time, is this, that he received the honour of Knighthood, and ſeveral large grants, preciſely at the time of that famous Miniſter's fall, and others in ſo conſtant and regular a ſucceſſion, that there is no appearance he was ever out of King Henry's favour (10). If it be aſked, how any account can be given of the tradition, that Cromwell was ſome way related to the Earls of Eſſex, by the females, and how his family came by the name of Williams, which is unqueſtionably matter of record; my anſwer is, that a probable account may be given of both; at leaſt, a more probable account than hitherto has been given of either. It is not at all unlikely, that in Cromwell's family, more eſpecially after he became Protector, there might be frequent mention made, of a deſcent from the Earls of Eſſex by the females: but this muſt be underſtood not of himſelf, but of his wife, who was really deſcended from the Bouchiers, Earls of Eſſex (11). In reference to the ſirnames of Williams, it might poſſibly ariſe from the marriage of a Gentleman of that name with the heireſs of Thomas Cromwell of Huntingdonſhire; and Sir William Dugdale renders this more probable than his own ſtory; for, in ſpeaking of John Lord Williams, of Thame in Oxfordſhire, he tells us, that he was of the ſame family with that Sir Richard Williams, who took the ſirname of Cromwell, and both of them the ſons of John Williams, of Burfield in the county of Berks (12): now this has nothing to do with Morgan Williams the Welſhman, whom he ſuppoſes to have married Lord Cromwell's ſiſter, or with the Lady of the ſame country, whom Brooke (13), and other writers, aſſert was married to Cromwell Earl of Eſſex. Neither will it be any anſwer to ſay, that this is only the miſtake of a Berkſhire family for a family of Wales, ſince there is direct evidence to prove, that Cromwell was ſo far from being any way allied to Williams of Berkſhire, that he was an enemy to, and an oppreſſor of, that family (14). Upon the whole, therefore, I ſhould rather incline to think, that this family deſcended by the females from Ralph Lord Cromwell, of Tatterſhall in Lincolnſhire, the laſt heir-male of which was Lord High-Treaſurer in the reign of King Henry the VIth; and one of his coheireſſes married Sir William Williams (15), whoſe deſcendants might afterwards take the ſirname of Cromwell, in hopes of obtaining that title which Humphry Bouchier, a younger ſon of the then Earl of Eſſex, who married the eldeſt of the co-heireſſes, actually had, and was killed at Barnet field, fighting on the ſide of King Edward the IVth (16). However, if we conſider only thoſe anceſtors of Oliver Cromwell, of whom there is no diſpute, we may ſupport all that has been ſaid in the text; for Sir Richard Cromwell was a great favourite with Henry the VIIIth, and an eminent Commander in his wars (17). His ſon Sir Henry was four times Sheriff of his county, and univerſally eſteemed. As for Sir Oliver Cromwell, he gave King James the Firſt the greateſt feaſt that had been given to a King by a ſubject (18), when his Majeſty paſſed by his houſe in his way to London; and, in return, King James made him a Knight of the Bath at his coronation (19). He had a very large eſtate, and was a very loyal worthy Gentleman; lived high, and ſpent a great part of his fortune, dying in the year 1654 (20), without receiving any favours from his nephew.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 374.

(4) The title of this book is, *The two great myſteries of Chriſtian Religion, the ineffable Trinity, and wonderful Incarnation, explicated*, Lond. 1653.

(5) Fuller's Worthies in Cambridgeſhire, p. 269.

(6) See the liſt of theſe Sheriffs in Fuller.

(7) See the ſame liſt in Fuller

(8) Tanner's *Notitia Monaſtica*, p. 190—193.

(9) By comparing the dates in the two authors laſt mentioned, this fact is aſcertained.

(10) Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xv. p. 22.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 132.

(12) *Idem, ibid.* p. 393.

(13) Catalogue of the Nobility, by R. B. p. 83.

(14) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 132.

(15) *Idem. ibid.* vol. ii. p. 46.

(16) Diſcovery of errors in Brooke's Catalogue, by Vincent, p. 184.

(17) Stowe's Survey, p. 494.

(18) Fuller's Worthies in Huntingdonſhire, p. 54.

(19) Stowe's Annals continued, by Edmund Howſe, p. 827.

(20) Fuller's Worthies, Huntingdonſhire, p. 54.

[*B*] *So near our own times.*] It is no great wonder, that, in the life-time of the Protector, or immediately after his deceaſe, thoſe, who had ſuffered by his power, ſhould endeavour to avenge themſelves upon his character, and even a little at the expence of truth. In this the Cavaliers, if we abate the ſtory of Colonel Lindſey, who was eye and ear-witneſs to Oliver's contract with the Devil (21), were by far the moſt modeſt; for the republican party, whom he had likewiſe humbled, kept no meaſures, but vented their ſpleen in all the malicious and groundleſs fictions they could invent, On the other hand, the courtiers of thoſe times, as in moſt other times, were egregious flatterers, ready to magnify him to the ſkies, and to ſay whatever they thought might pleaſe, though it lay ever ſo much out of the reach of truth. Amongſt others, one Mr. Dawbeny undertook, in a book (22) which he dedicated to the moſt Serene Highneſs of Richard, by the Grace of God Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to draw a parallel, in thirty different ſteps, between Moſes the Man of God, and Oliver late Protector. This Gentleman, foreſeeing that ſome might object to this the profaneneſs of the deſign, apologizes for it thus, in his preface. 'Certainly, ſays he, this piece is not the firſt that has 'gone that way; we have very ſufficient precedents, 'and authority too, to warrant us. Have we not 'ſeen a compleat parallel between Elias and Dr. 'Luther, even to the chariots of Iſrael and the horſemen thereof? and another betwixt his ſucceſſor 'Eliſha and Mr. Calvin, to the double portion of his 'ſpirit? and many of our modern Doctors put in 'ſcale with ſome of the Apoſtles themſelves. Nor 'has this way of compariſon been taken up only by 'Divines, in honour of their own function, but many 'parallels we find in print, between ſome of our late 'Kings, how well deſerving I ſay not, and ſome of 'thoſe holy Princes and Prophets of God's own people, as David, Solomon, Joſiah, Hezekiah, &c. 'And one very expreſs parallel between Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, and that great Princeſs 'and Propheteſs Deborah. Then why ſhould not 'our late incomparable Prince and Protector ſtand as 'well placed in line parallel with that glorious Patriarch Moſes?' The firſt ſtep in this parallel, or, as the author calls it, the firſt aſcent, is, as to nobility of birth; and, upon this ſubject, he is very clear as to Moſes, and ſets forth his pedigree at large from the Scrip-

(21) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 691.

(22) The title of this book at large runs thus: *Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, in the heroic tranſactions of his moſt Serene Highneſs Oliver, late Lord Protector, from his cradle to his tomb, declaring his ſteps to princely perfection, as they are drawn in lively parallels to the aſcents of the great Patriarch Moſes, in thirty degrees of the height of honour, by H. D.* Lond. 1659. 12mo.

ſon of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke in the county of Huntingdon, Knight, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Stuart, of the Iſle of Ely, Knight (*d*), both of them perſons of great worth, and no way inclined to diſaffection, either in their civil or religious principles; but remarkable for living upon a ſmall fortune, with much decency, and maintaining a large family handſomely by their frugal circumſpection [*C*]. He was born

(*d*) Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 88.

Scriptures. One would have imagined hence, that this writer ſhould have taken care to have been perfectly maſter of Cromwell's pedigree: but, to ſhew the reader how little help is to be expected from ſuch writers, we will tranſcribe what he ſays upon this ſubject. 'I cannot ſay his late Highneſs was extracted from ſo 'prieſtly a family, but altogether as princely, being 'lineally deſcended from the loins of our moſt antient 'Britiſh Princes, and tied in near alliances to the blood 'of our later Kings, as by that thrice noble family of 'the Barringtons, and divers others, which, to make 'a pedigree of, would take up more paper than we 'intend for our volume, and make me appear more a 'Herald than an Hiſtorian. Nay, indeed, ſhould I 'but go about to prove his Highneſs's moſt illuſtrious 'houſe noble, I ſhould commit a ſacrilege in the temple of honour, and only violate his moſt glorious family with a more ſolemn infamy.' I will treſpaſs ſo far on the reader's patience, as to give him another inſtance, from an author (23) who attempted to make court to the Protector upon this ſubject, in his lifetime, but in the ſame vague incoherent ſtile, promiſing mighty things, but performing nothing. 'He is well 'born, and of a noble and ancient extract; and hath 'ſo much piety of his own, ſuch virtues and honours 'of his own acquiſition and getting, ſo much ſplendor 'and glory, as might illuſtrate and dignify not only 'his progenitors, had they been never ſo mean and 'inferior, but alſo his poſterity for all ages to come, 'ſhould they be never ſo low and degenerated. He 'hath deſerved highly, and merited for all that can 'lay claim to his blood, or any ways derive from the 'ſtock and lineage of his houſe, and will leave them 'all very great legacies, and patrimonies of glory.' On all other topics theſe authors write juſt at the ſame rate, ſo that it is not eaſy to diſcern their ſenſe, and hardly poſſible to collect any facts from them, that are worth preſerving: yet their conduct, bad as it is, deſerves commendation rather than cenſure, when compared with the books that ſome foreigners have publiſhed. The Abbe Raguenet (24) has written a hiſtory full of faults and miſtakes, in reference to the dates and circumſtances of events, and more erroneous ſtill in the remarks and the reflections, which are very often preciſely the reverſe of what they ought to be, and what it is very apparent they would have been, had the author had a competent knowledge of the ſubject upon which he was writing. This hiſtory, however, is equally authentic and exact, in compariſon of that of Gregorio Leti (25), which is a maſter-piece in its kind; for whereas in other works there is a greater or a leſs mixture of error, there is in this ſcarcely a ſprinkling of truth; and one would really conceive it an impoſſibility for any man, capable of putting a book ſo well together, to contrive that there ſhould be ſo very little in it, I will not ſay of veracity, but of probability. He makes Oliver a prodigy of learning at the Univerſity, exceedingly admired by the Biſhops, a great favourite with King James: he then ſends him over to France upon his travels, gives us a particular account of his galantries, introduces him to an audience of the French King, and an intimacy with Cardinal Richlieu. Upon his return he aſſures us, that Cromwell was highly in the good graces of Dr. Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, to whom, he ſays, he was nearly related; whereas, in fact, no man ſaw ſo early into Cromwell's bad deſigns as that Prelate, though he had no more than a general acquaintance with him. But, what is ſtill more extraordinary than all this, Mr. Leti lets us into the ſecret, that the Biſhop had an amour with Cromwell's wife; though an author of the higheſt character has aſſured us, that Dr. Williams was altogether incapable of any criminal act of that kind; and in the ſame ſtile, and with the like attention to truth, he perſeveres through the whole work, aſſuring us, that he wrote it during his ſtay in England; and that he took care to be perfectly well informed as to every thing which he relates; nor does he ſcruple to name the Earl of Angleſey, the Earl of Ayleſbury, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, for the authors of theſe notorious falſehoods, which no man of common underſtanding would venture to repeat in public company, with any ſhew of giving them credit; yet weak and ſilly as it is, this book is in ſome eſteem abroad; writers very frequently borrow from it; and ſometimes we ſee it cited; which ſhews how neceſſary it is to ſet this article in a proper light, more eſpecially as we have not hitherto had any diſtinct or clear account of Cromwell's government, notwithſtanding there has been ſo much controverſy about it; for as to what we find in ſatires, panegyricks, or declamations, we ſhould be careful of miſtaking that for hiſtory, which ought to be compoſed of unqueſtionable facts, related with ſimplicity rather than ornament.

(23) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 69.

(24) Hiſtoire d'Olivier Cromwell, juſqu-a ſa mort in 1658, avec quelques pieces pour ſervir de preuves. Paris 1691, 4to.

(25) La vie d'Oliver Cromwell, par Gregorio Leti. Amſterdam, 1708. 2 vol. 12mo.

[*C*] *By their frugal circumſpection.*] The father of the Protector, Robert Cromwell, Eſq; lived moſtly at Huntingdon; and though a man of very good ſenſe, and of competent learning, yet ſo fond of a private life, that it does not appear he ever ſought or affected, farther than being a Juſtice of Peace, a public ſtation (26). As to the Lady he married, ſhe has been ſaid, and not without ſome degree of truth, to have been deſcended from the royal Houſe of Stuart. Her great uncle, Robert Stuart, the laſt Prior of the Monaſtery, and the firſt Dean of the Cathedral Church of Ely, left behind him a very full account of his family, which is ſtill preſerved (27); and thence it appears, that Sir James Stuart, being one of the retinue of James, Prince of Scotland, was detained with him in the year 1406, and afterwards choſe to ſettle in England; and was preferred and taken into the ſervice of Henry IV. His ſon Sir John Stuart was created a Knight of the Bath at the marriage of Hen. V. His ſon Thomas Stuart addicted himſelf to the ſea, and, by the daughter of Sir John Hamerton, Knight, had Richard Stuart, Eſq; who married the daughter of John Burleigh, Eſq; by whom he had Nicholas Stuart, a very learned Lawyer of the Middle Temple, who was the father of Dr. Robert Stuart before-mentioned, as alſo of Simeon Stuart, Eſq; (28) who married Joan, daughter and heireſs of Edward Beſteney, of Soham in the county of Cambridge, by whom he had eight ſons, and amongſt theſe Thomas, who was the father of Sir Richard Stuart, Knight, whoſe daughter Elizabeth married Robert Cromwell (29), of whom we have been ſpeaking. It was commonly ſaid by the Cavaliers, in the life time of the Protector, that he was a Brewer, or the ſon of a Brewer; nor was this altogether without foundation; for his mother, finding it hard to breed up ſo large a family, out of the narrow income of Mr. Cromwell's ſmall eſtate, and being too well acquainted with his temper, to expect that he ſhould take any meaſures for augmenting it, thought proper to engage in the brewing trade herſelf, which ſhe managed with great ſkill and prudence (30), and without the leaſt aſſiſtance, either from the father or the ſon. Out of the profits of this trade, and her own ſmall jointure of ſixty pounds a year, ſhe provided fortunes for her daughters, ſufficient to marry them into good families. The eldeſt was the wife of Mr. John Deſborough, afterwards one of the Protector's Major-Generals; another married firſt Roger Whetſtone, Eſq; and afterwards Colonel John Jones, who was executed for being one of the King's Judges; the third eſpouſed Colonel Valentine Walton, who died in exile; the fourth, Mrs. Robina Cromwell, married firſt Dr. Peter French, and afterwards Dr. John Wilkins, Biſhop of Cheſter, a famous Preacher, and a celebrated Mathematician. It may not be amiſs to add, that an aunt of Cromwell's married Francis Barrington, Eſq; another aunt John Hampden, Eſq; of Buckinghamſhire, by whom ſhe was mother to the famous

(26) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459. Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 11.

(27) Wharton's *Anglia ſacra*, vol. i. p. 686.

(28) Fuller's Worthies in Cambridgeſhire, p. 169, 170.

(29) Vincent's Collections, and their continuation, by R. W.

(30) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459. Flagellum, p. 15.

born in the parish of St. John, in the ancient borough of Huntingdon, April 24th (*e*), or, as most writers say, April 25th, 1599 (*f*), in the forty-first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; so that what a foreign writer says, in reference to his birth upon the same day that Queen Elizabeth died (*g*), is like many other facts in his book, absolutely false and groundless. He was christened in the parish church, on the 29th of the same month, when his uncle Sir Oliver Cromwell, a very worthy Gentleman, gave him his name (*h*). It is said, that he received the first tincture of learning from the Rev. Mr. Long (*i*); but it is very certain, that his father, who was highly attentive to his education, put him, as soon as he was fit to go to school, under the care of Dr. Thomas Beard (*k*), a very learned and sensible man, who was, at that time, Master of the Free-school at Huntingdon. We have very different accounts of his behaviour, while he remained in the hands of this Gentleman: some say that he shewed very little propensity to learning, and others that he made a great proficiency in it (*l*). It is highly likely, that both are in the wrong; and that he was not either incorrigibly dull, or wonderfully bright, which might also be owing to the levity or fickleness of his temper; for that he was an unlucky boy, and of an uneasy and turbulent temper, is reported by authors of unsuspected veracity (*m*). It would be tedious, and beside the design of this work, to mention the several stories that have been told of him, even in this early part of his life, as to the proofs he gave of a very singular and extraordinary disposition; but there are two, of which the reader might justly blame us in case of omission. The first respects a kind of a vision, he saw, or fancied he saw, for which, at the desire of his relations, Dr. Beard corrected him severely (*n*) [*D*]. As to the other, it relates to a part he acted in the Comedy of LINGUA, when performed by himself, and the rest of the boys at Huntingdon School (*o*), which, it is pretended, filled his mind with the desire of obtaining the Crown, and affording him also what he always understood to be an omen of future success [*E*]. He was thence removed

(*e*) Collection of Nativities, by Sir Richard Napier, M.S.

(*f*) Carrington's life of Cromwell, p. 3. Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 88. Dugdale, Fuller, &c.

(*g*) Vie de Cromwell, par Leti, vol. i. p. 145.

(*h*) Life of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, Lond. 1741, 8*vo*. p. 3. From the information of the late Mr. Thomas Baker, of St. John's College in Cambridge.

(*i*) Collections relating to the family of Cromwell, by John Vincent, M. S.

(*k*) Flagellum, or the life and death, &c. of Cromwell, p. 12.

(*l*) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 25. Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 13.

(*m*) Perfect Politician, or, Full view of the Life of Cromwell, p. 2, 3. Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 88.

(*n*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(*o*) Winstanley's Lives of English Poets, p. 115.

mous John Hampden; a third aunt was the wife of Mr. Whaley, and the mother of Colonel Whaley, in whose custody the King was while he remained at Hampton Court. He had two other aunts, but of their marriages we have no account (31).

(31) Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* vol. i. col. 90.

[*D*] *Dr. Beard corrected him very severely.*] There is reason to believe, that Oliver was not a little unlucky in his youth; for one of his panegyrists says, that he had several escapes in his infancy from fire, little less wonderful than the deliverance of Moses out of the water: but of these, as we can say nothing with certainty, we shall be silent (32). In reference to his vision, it happened, while he was a boy, in the day-time, when lying melancholy upon his bed, he thought he saw a spectre, and that it told him, that he should be the greatest man in this kingdom; which having related to his father, he was very angry, and desired his master to correct him severely; which, however, had no great effect; for he was still perswaded of the thing, and would sometimes mention it, notwithstanding his uncle Stuart told him, *it was traiterous to repeat it* (33). Sir Philip Warwick tells us, that he was well acquainted with one Dr. Simcot, who was Cromwell's Physician, in the earlier part of his life, and who assured him, that he was a very fanciful man; that he had been often called to him at unseasonable hours, when he imagined himself to be dying; and that, in these black fits of the vapours, he had many whimsical notions about the cross that stood in the town of Huntingdon (34). Nor was he altogether free from these fits during the whole course of his life, not even in the highest of his prosperity; of which many instances might be given, if the bounds prescribed to this article would permit.

(32) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 20.

(33) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 13.

(34) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

[*E*] *To be an omen of future success.*] We have different reports concerning the author of this play from Winstanley and Langbaine, with which it does not seem requisite to trouble the reader. It is sufficient to observe, that it was originally printed in 1607, and afterwards with this title. LINGUA, or, *The combat of the tongue and the five senses for superiority, a pleasant comedy, first acted at* Trinity-College *in* Cambridge, *after at the free-school at* Huntingdon (35). Winstanley says that it was at Cambridge (36), but it is more likely that it was at Huntingdon, that Cromwell performed the part of *Tactus*, which affected him strangely. The scheme of the play is, that Lingua gives a crown and a robe to be contested for by the senses: the two following scenes will shew what gave rise to this notion of Cromwell's being so much struck by his playing this part (37).

(35) Lond. 1657. 24*mo*.

(36) Lives of the English Poets, p. 114.

(37) The reader must be content with the citation of the act, and scene, for this comedy is printed without pages.

ACT I. SCENE V.

MENDACIO. TACTUS.

MEND. Now, chaste *Diana*, grant my nets to hold,
TACT. The blasting childhood of the chearful morn
Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs
Yonder gilt eastern hills, about which time
Gustus most earnestly importuned me
To meet him hereabouts; what cause I know not.
MEN. You shall do shortly, to your cost, I hope.
TACT. Sure, by the Sun, it should be nine o'clock!
MEN. What a Stargazer, will you ne'er look down?
TACT. Clear is the Sun, and blue the firmament:
Methinks the heavens do smile
—— MEN. At thy mishap,
To look so high, and stumble in a trap.
[TACTUS *stumbleth at the Robe and Crown.*
TACT. High thoughts have slippery feet, I had well nigh fall'n.
MEN. Well doth he fall, that riseth with a fall.
TACT. What's this?
MEN. O! are you taken? 'tis in vain to strive.
TACT. How now!
MEN. You'll be so entangled straight.
TACT. A Crown!
MEN. That it will be heard.
TACT. And a Robe!
MEN. To lose yourself.
TACT. A Crown and Robe!
MEN. It had been fitter for you to have found a fool's coat, and a bauble, hey, hey.
TACT. Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here?
MEN. O! Sir, Jupiter is making thunder, he hears you not; here's one knows better.
TACT. 'Tis wond'rous rich: ha! but sure it is not so: ho!
Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha?
No, I am awake, and feel it now.
Whose should it be? [*He takes it up.*
MEN. Set up a *si quis* for it.
TACT. *Mercury!* all's mine own; here's none to cry half's mine.
MEN. When I am gone.

SCENE VI. A SOLILOQUY.

TACT. *Tactus*, thy sneezing somewhat did portend,
Was ever man *so fortunate* as I?
To break his shins at such a stumbling-block.
Roses and bays pack hence: this *Crown* and *Robe*

removed to Sidney-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted, April 23d, 1616, under the tuition of Mr. Richard Howlett (*p*), who, by a very ſtrict attention to his pupil's diſpoſition, quickly diſcovered, that he was leſs addicted to ſpeculation than to action. We have very different accounts of the progreſs he made in his ſtudies while a Member of the Univerſity. As for thoſe wild ſtories that a foreign writer tells us, of his amazing proficiency, and which he loads with ſo many falſe authorities (*q*) and contradictory circumſtances, they are not only unworthy of belief, but of notice; and, on the other hand, it is not eaſy to give credit to what ſome report, of his being ſcarcely maſter of the Latin tongue, becauſe it is certain that he was well read in the Greek and Roman hiſtory (*r*); but whether he acquired this knowledge at Cambridge, is a point that may be doubted. His father dying he returned home, where his conduct was far enough from being regular, inſomuch that it gave his mother, who was a notable and prudent woman, much uneaſineſs. She was adviſed by ſome near relations to ſend him up to London, and to place him in Lincoln's-Inn (*s*); which ſhe accordingly did, but without any extraordinary effects, ſince it ſerved only to bring him acquainted with the vices of the town, by way of addition to thoſe to which he had been addicted in the country. It does not at all appear, that he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Laws, which was what his friend aimed at. On the contrary, he continued to purſue his pleaſures, and gave himſelf up to wine, women, and play, in which laſt, though he was ſometimes fortunate, yet, taking all his expences together, they ſo much exceeded his income, that he quickly diſſipated all that his father left him (*t*): but, after a few years ſpent in this manner, he ſaw plainly the conſequences of his follies, renounced them ſuddenly, and began to lead a very grave and ſober life (*u*) [*F*]. This, however, ought not to be imputed to his falling in with the Puritans, ſince it is very certain, that he remained then, and for ſome time after, a zealous Member of the Church of England, and entered into a cloſe friendſhip with ſeveral eminent Divines, who looked upon his reformation as very extraordinary, and ſpoke of him as a man of ſtrong ſenſe and great abilities (*w*). As he was nearly related to Mr. Hampden of Buckinghamſhire, to the Barringtons of Eſſex, and other conſiderable families, they intereſted themſelves in his favour, and were very deſirous of ſeeing him ſettled in the world; in order to which a marriage was propoſed, which ſoon after took effect (*x*). The Lady he married was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Eſſex, Knight, a woman of ſpirit and parts, and who, being deſcended from an ancient family, did not want a conſiderable portion of pride (*y*). Mr. Cromwell ſoon after

(*p*) Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, vol. ii. lib. vii. num. 22.

(*q*) Vie d'Cromwell, par Leti, vol. i. p. 149, 150, 151.

(*r*) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8vo. vol. xiii. p. 147.

(*s*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 16.

(*t*) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459.

(*u*) Perfect Politician, p. 2, 3.

(*w*) See the life of Oliver Lord Protector, p. 3.

(*x*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 20. Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 89.

(*y*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 3.

My brows and body circles and inveſts,
How gallantly it *fits* me; ſure the ſlave
Meaſur'd *my head* that wrought this *Coronet*.
They lye that ſay complexions cannot change;
My blood's *ennobled*, and I am *transform'd*
Unto the *ſacred temper* of a KING.
Methinks I hear my noble pariſites
Stiling me *Cæſar* or great *Alexander*,
Licking my feet, and wond'ring where I got
This precious ointment; how my pace is mended,
How princely do I ſpeak, how ſharp I threaten:
Peaſants, I'll curb your headſtrong impudence,
And make you *tremble* when *the lion* roars:
Yea earth-bred worms: O for a looking-glaſs!
Poets will write whole volumes of *this change:*
Where's my attendants? Come hither, Sirrah,
quickly,
Or by the wings of *Hermes* ——

[*F*] *And began to lead a very grave and ſober life.*] We are informed by ſome writers, that while he was at the Univerſity, he ſpent much of his time at football, cricket, and other robuſt exerciſes, for his ſkill and expertneſs in which he was very famous (38). In all probability, it might be this that led him into ill company, and drew him into extravagancies of another kind; and this will, in ſome meaſure, account for his mother's being ſo deſirous to remove him out of the country, in hopes that, when he was at a diſtance from his old companions, he might loſe the ill habits they had taught him. His ſtay at Lincoln's-Inn could not be long, nor was this ſeaſon of wildneſs and diſſipation of much continuance. It appears, by the entry in the regiſter of Sidney-College, that he came thither when he was but two days ſhort of ſeventeen (39); and it is very certain, that he was married by that time he was one-and-twenty; ſo that if he ſtaid but two years at the Univerſity, and it is very probable that he did not ſtay there longer, there was not above two years more for his going to Lincoln's-Inn, and running through the whole circle of his follies (40). It is very likely that, after he married and ſettled at Huntingdon, he fell into thoſe fits of melancholy in which Dr. Simcot attended him; and this is the more probable, if what many writers tell us be true, that he ſhewed a very deep concern for the idleneſs of his former conduct, and readily offered to make ſatisfaction to every perſon whom he had wronged during the time that he lived ſo freely (41). Theſe circumſtances, and the noiſe made by his converſion, recommended him to the notice of the Nonconformiſts, who, by degrees, drew him over to their intereſt, ſo that he frequently attended Dr. Williams, then Biſhop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, and was very importunate with him to diſpenſe with the ſeverity of the law, when theſe eccleſiaſtical friends of his came into any trouble for their conduct (42). This gave that Prelate an opportunity of judging of him ſo early; and, as he was a man of very extraordinary ſagacity, and ſingular penetration, ſo, at that time, he ſaw clearly into Mr. Cromwell's ſpirit, which he found to be haſty, and yet obſtinate, very quick in reſenting, but very ſlow in forgiving injuries. It does not appear on what account he differed with his uncle Sir Thomas Stuart, or at what time; but it ſeems he made a complaint againſt him at Court, in which he had not the ſucceſs that he expected; and this gave him the firſt diſtaſte to the King; which, however, upon certain occaſions, he might diſſemble, as upon ſome he certainly did, even before things came to extremities, of which we ſhall have occaſion to take notice; but he never forgot this ſuppoſed injury, notwithſtanding he afterwards, by his mother's intereſt, compromiſed matters with that uncle. We have likewiſe an account of an odd exploit of his at Sir Oliver Cromwell's, which drew upon him very rough uſage, and which, with other things, ſo thoroughly diſobliged that old Knight (43), as to deprive him entirely of his good opinion. Theſe are matters that might perhaps be better cleared up, if any one ſhould take the trouble of writing his hiſtory at large, with that induſtry and care that it deſerves; but, conſidering the nature of our deſign, it may probably be thought, that we have beſtowed too much notice upon particulars of ſo trivial a nature already, and therefore we will forbear them for the future.

(38) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 15.

(39) That entry is in theſe words, *Oliverus Cromwell, Huntingdonienſis*, admiſſus ad commeatum ſociorum *Coll. Sidn.* Aprilis 23, 1616, Tutore M. *Ricardo Howlet.*

(40) This appears from the pariſh regiſter of St. John in Huntingdon, in which we find, that his eldeſt ſon Robert who died a child, was born Oct. 13th, 1621.

(41) Perfect Politician, or life of Cromwell, p. 2.

(42) Biſhop Hacket's life of Archbiſhop William's, P. ii. p. 212.

(43) Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 18, 19.

returned to his own country, and ſettled at Huntingdon till the death of his uncle Sir Tho. Stuart, who left him an eſtate of between four and five hundred pounds a year, which induced him to remove into the Iſle of Ely (z). It was about this time that he began to fall off from the Church, to converſe moſtly with thoſe who were then ſtiled Puritans, and by degrees to affect their notions, as indeed he did every thing which he affected at all, with great warmth and vehemence. He was elected a Member of the third Parliament in the reign of Charles I. which met January 20th, 1628 (a), and was of the Committee for religion, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal againſt Popery, and by complaining of Dr. Neile, then Biſhop of Wincheſter's licenſing books which had a very dangerous tendency (b). After the diſſolution of that Parliament, he returned again into the country, where he continued to expreſs much concern for religion, to frequent ſilenced miniſters, and to invite them often to lectures and ſermons at his houſe; by which he again brought his affairs into a very indifferent ſituation (c); ſo that he judged it requiſite to try what induſtry might do towards repairing theſe breaches, which led him to take a farm at St. Ives, and this he kept about five years; though, inſtead of repairing, it helped to run out the reſt of his fortune; and had totally undone him, if he had not thrown it up (d). Some have charged this upon his enthuſiaſm, and being religious over-much, which induced him to have long prayers with his family in a morning, and again in the afternoon, at which his ploughmen, and all his country ſervants, always attended (e). But granting this to be true, it was a proof of his ſincerity, of which indeed he gave many: amongſt others, he gave public notice, that he was ready to make reſtitution to any from whom he had won money at play; and he actually did return thirty pounds to Mr. Calton, from whom he won it ſeveral years before (f). His diſappointments being ſuch as allowed him very little reaſon to hope he ſhould either make any great figure in his country, or ſecure a reaſonable proviſion for his children, great part of his uncle's eſtate being now gone, he revived, in his own mind, a ſcheme, which his bad circumſtances firſt put into his head while at Lincoln's-Inn, of going over to New England (g). This was in 1637, and this deſign, it is thought, he would certainly have executed, if he had not been hindered by the iſſuing out a proclamation for reſtraining ſuch embarkations (h). The next year he had leſs time upon his hands; for the Earl of Bedford, and ſome other perſons of high rank, who had large eſtates in the fen country, were very deſirous of ſeeing it better drained; and though one project of this ſort had failed, they thought it expedient nevertheleſs to ſet on foot another, countenanced by the royal authority, and which, without doubt, was intended for the public benefit; but for all that it was violently oppoſed, under pretence, that it was injurious to private property, though in reality it gave much more to private people than it took away, and made thoſe rents ſafe and ſecure, which before were very precarious (i). At the head of this oppoſition Mr. Oliver Cromwell placed himſelf, and puſhed things with great ſpirit and vigour, as he did every thing in which he once embarked, ſo that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble (k) [G]. It was the vigour and viligence which he ſhewed upon this occaſion, that firſt rendered him conſpicuous and conſiderable, and gave occaſion to his friend and relation Mr. Hampden to recommend him afterwards to his friends in Parliament, as a perſon capable of contriving and conducting great things (l). But for all this, he was not very ſucceſsful in the matter of which we have been ſpeaking; and, as his private affairs were ſtill declining, he was in a very neceſſitous condition at the approach of the Long Parliament (m). In theſe circumſtances one might wonder how he ſhould form a deſign, at a time when elections were conſidered as things of the utmoſt conſequence, of getting himſelf choſen, more eſpecially for the town of Cambridge, where he was ſo far from having any intereſt, that in reality he was not ſo much as known, and if he had been known would never have been elected. The whole of that affair was owing

(z) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 20. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79.

(a) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 12.

(b) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 3.

(c) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 460.

(d) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 21.

(e) Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, p. 32, 33. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(f) Perfect Politician, p. 2, 3.

(g) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4. Neal's Hiſtory of New England.

(h) Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 646. Ruſhworth, Part ii. p. 298.

(i) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

(k) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 579.

(l) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(m) Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 89. Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5. Flagellum, &c. p. 22.

[G] *So that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble.*] The Earl of Bedford living at that time, was one of the wealthieſt, and alſo one of the wiſeſt, men in England: he had a very large eſtate in the fen country (44), and a very great influence over moſt of thoſe who had great eſtates in that neighbourhood: it was no wonder therefore that he patronized a ſcheme for improving the great work of draining, which, in a country where there are millions of acres depending upon it, muſt be always a point of very high importance. He found himſelf however, after great pains taken, and much money laid out, obliged to abandon one very probable and profitable project, for want of the power requiſite to carry it into execution (45). It was this which induced that noble Peer, and thoſe who concurred with him, in ſo great and good a deſign, to apply themſelves to the Crown for that aſſiſtance, which was requiſite to perfect the great ſcheme they had formed, and for the carrying on of which they deſired, that ſuch commiſſions of ſewers might from time to time be iſſued, as might prove neceſſary: they likewiſe, for the honour of the buſineſs, though fit to ſtile it a royal undertaking, and, as was highly reaſonable, ſettled a ſhare of the profits upon the Crown (46). But, as it was impoſſible to manage an affair of this nature, without levying a kind of land-tax upon thoſe who were to have the benefit of it, and providing that no man's private property ſhould impede the carrying on the works that were requiſite, this furniſhed a ſubject for clamour, not only againſt the undertakers, but againſt the King; which, however groundleſs and unreaſonable, was carried to a very great height; and, in a meeting held at Huntingdon in 1638, Mr. Cromwell, who had a conſiderable intereſt in thoſe parts, was very active, and by his vigilance, and plauſible ſpeeches, created a very formidable oppoſition (47); which, though it did not abſolutely ſubvert, it greatly hindered and retarded the progreſs of the works; for which theſe obſtinate people were ſeverely puniſhed in 1657, when, upon the melting of the ſnows, the banks gave way, and a conſiderable quantity of land was, at leaſt for the preſent, loſt, and a large number of cattle deſtroyed (48).

(44) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 60.

(45) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

(46) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 380.

(47) Coke's Detection, p. 106.

(48) Camden's Britannia, vol. i. p. 479.

to

to an accidental intrigue, in which himſelf had at firſt no hand; but, from the time he meddled with it, he conducted every thing with ſuch ſagacity and dexterity, that, by the help of the party, who firſt thought of him as a proper inſtrument for carrying on the cauſe, he was, to the wonder of others, and perhaps, in ſome meaſure, of his own, choſen by a great majority (*n*). This, which was the beginning of all his greatneſs, ought to be conſidered as a point of conſequence, and therefore we have taken ſome pains to ſet it in a proper light [*H*]. When he came into Parliament he ſhewed himſelf very active, was very conſtant in his attendance, and a frequent ſpeaker; though he did not, at that time, diſcover any of the great qualities which afterwards appeared in him, and which ſeemed to be called out as occaſion required; for had he at firſt been eſteemed ſo conſiderable a perſon in point of abilities as he was afterwards found, thoſe of his own party would have probably been jealous of him, and ſought his deſtruction; but he had an art of concealing his faculties, ſo that he ſeemed always fit for the ſtation in which he was, and for that only (*o*). He affected not only plainneſs but careleſſneſs in dreſs, was very uniform in his conduct, ſpoke warmly and roundly, but without either art or elocution. He was very forward in cenſuring what were called grievances, both in Church and State, though he had not framed to himſelf any plan of reformation. This he frankly acknowledged with reſpect to eccleſiaſtical affairs, when preſſed by Sir Thomas Chicheley and Mr. Warwick to declare his ſentiments upon that ſubject; *I can tell*, ſaid Mr. Cromwell, *what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would have* (*p*). He was very zealous in promoting the Remonſtrance which was carried on the 14th of November 1641, and which in reality laid the baſis of the civil war. He ſhewed himſelf more ſanguine in his expectations upon that head, than the reſt of his party; for he thought they were ſo ſtrong, ſo ſteady, and ſo well connected; and that thoſe who were for the King were ſome of them ſo timorous, others ſo careleſs, and not a few ſo indolent, that it would have been carried almoſt without a debate; nor had he any regard to the Lord Falkland's opinion, who thought the quite contrary. But when, after a debate which laſted all day and all night, it was at length carried by ſo ſmall a majority as nine, and that rather by diſcipline than argument, (for wearineſs and fatigue were really the parents of that dear bought victory), he could not forbear ſpeaking his mind freely (*q*). In ſhort, he told Lord Falkland, that he would take his word another time; and, that if the Remonſtrance had not been carried, he was reſolved to have converted the ſmall remains of his eſtate into ready money the next day, and to have taken the firſt occaſion of quitting the kingdom; and this he affirmed was the ſentiment alſo of ſome of the moſt conſiderable men of the party (*r*). The noble Hiſtorian had reaſon therefore to ſay, upon this occaſion, *that this poor nation was very near its deliverance*; near it indeed! for if zeal for the Church, or duty to the King, could have kept ten more of thoſe, who made ſuch ſtrong profeſſions of both, from their ſuppers and their beds for a few hours, all the conſequences

(*n*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 528. Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 89. Flagellum, &c. p. 24, to 27. Coke's Detection, p. 160.

(*o*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 248. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 579.

(*p*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 5.

(*q*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 514, 515.

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 102, 103.

[*H*] *And therefore we have taken ſome pains to ſet it in a proper light.*] One reaſon why Mr. Cromwell quitted Huntingdon was, a diſpute he had with Mr. Bernard, upon his becoming Recorder, about precedency, a point in which he was very nice (49). After he came to Ely, he reſorted entirely to Nonconformiſts meetings, where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gifts, as they ſtiled them in thoſe days, in preaching, praying, and expounding (50). At one of theſe meetings he met with Richard Tims, a tradeſman at Cambridge, who rode every Sunday to Ely for the ſake of pure doctrine, and captivated his heart entirely. This man hearing that a Parliament was to be called, and being himſelf one of the Common council, took it into his head, that there could not be a fitter man to be their Burgeſs than Mr. Cromwell; and, with this notion in his brain, he went to Mr. Wildbore, a Draper in the town, who was Cromwell's relation, who agreed with him exactly as to the fitneſs of the perſon, but told him the thing was impoſſible, as he was not a freeman (51). Tims, not ſatisfied with that, addreſſed himſelf next to Mr. Evett, a Tallow-chandler, who was alſo a Puritan. He too liked the thought, but, as he was not a freeman, pronounced the deſign impracticable: however, Tims was hardly got out of his houſe before he ſent for him back, to give him a whiſper, that the Mayor had a freedom to beſtow; and that one Kitchingman, an Attorney, who had married his wife's ſiſter, and was of their party, had a great influence over him; and therefore he adviſed him to move Mr. Kitchingman in it, who was to uſe his intereſt with the Mayor, under colour that Mr. Cromwell was a Gentleman of fortune, and had a mind to come and live in the town, then but in a poor condition, but with a ſtrict charge to hide the true deſign, Alderman French, who was then Mayor, being a declared royaliſt. When they came to make this application to him, Mr. French ſaid he was ſorry, but that in reality they came too late, for he had promiſed his freedom to the King's Fiſherman. Mr. Kitchingman eaſily removed this objection, by undertaking that the town ſhould confer a freedom upon the perſon he mentioned; and ſo, at the next Court-day, the Mayor declared his intention to beſtow his freedom upon a very worthy Gentleman of the Iſle of Ely, one Mr. Cromwell, who, being apprized of his friend's induſtry, came to town over night, and took up his lodgings at Mr. Almond's, a Grocer (52). Thither the mace was ſent for him, and he came into Court dreſſed in ſcarlet richly laced with gold, and, having provided a pretty parcel of ſtrong claret and ſweetmeats, they were ſo well circulated amongſt the corporation, that they unanimouſly declared, Mr. Mayor's freeman was a very civil worthy Gentleman. When the election came on, the Mayor diſcovered his miſtake, but it was then too late, for the party amongſt the Burgeſſes was ſtrong enough to chuſe him (53), and, at the next election in the enſuing year, he threw out Mr. Meawtis, who had ſerved the Corporation in every Parliament in that reign (54). After the Corporation Act paſſed in King Charles the Second's time, this tranſaction being called to mind, occaſioned the diſplacing Alderman French, who was then Mayor alſo, which affected him ſo ſtrongly, that he was taken ſick upon it, and died in three days through downright grief; and Mr. Richard Tims, who, by this time, was become an Alderman, was degraded, for the pains he took in this tranſaction; which circumſtances occaſioned the preſerving ſo particular an account of it to poſterity (55).

(49) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(50) Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 59.

(51) Flagellum, &c. p. 24, 25.

(52) Coke's Detection, p. 160.

(53) *Notitia Parliamentaria*, vol. i. p. 164.

(54) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5. *Notitia Parliamentaria*, vol. i. p. 164.

(55) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 27. Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 89.

of that fatal night had been prevented. This ſucceſs in the Senate ſo much ſtrengthened the courage of the victors, gave ſo much reputation to their cauſe, drew over ſo many that were wavering, and diſpirited ſuch as adhered to the King, ſo ſtrangely, that, from this time, all things went to their wiſh in the Houſe of Commons; and Mr. Cromwell's firmneſs recommended him ſo effectually to Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pym, and the reſt of the leading men on that ſide, that they took him into all their councils; which gave him, in a very ſhort ſpace, ſo clear an inſight into things, and ſo perfect a knowledge of men, that he was not only able to manage when they were removed, but even to contrive the removal of ſeveral, who, at this juncture, looked upon themſelves, and that juſtly too, as very much his ſuperiors (*s*). For to ſay the truth, the circumſtances of his fortune, intereſts, and connections, compared with many who were then members, and of the ſame party, would have made it very improbable, in the ſenſe of the moſt competent judges, that he ſhould ever have opened a paſſage to ſuch greatneſs, as afterwards, in ſpite of theſe very men, he obtained (*t*). As ſoon as the Parliament formed any ſchemes of raiſing forces for their ſervice, which was in the very beginning of the year 1642, Mr. Cromwell ſhewed his activity, by going immediately to Cambridge, where, in a ſhort ſpace of time, and with very little trouble, he raiſed a very good troop of horſe, which he commanded by virtue of a Commiſſion from the Earl of Eſſex, acting, in other reſpects, under the Lord Grey of Wark, who had the power of a Major-General in the aſſociated counties for ſome time (*u*). However, Capt. Cromwell, being a Member, and at the head of the Committee, knowing very well the ſenſe of the Houſe, and being thoroughly aſſured, that what he performed for their ſervice would be well accepted, did not wait for orders, but took upon him, when his men were once in readineſs, to act as he thought proper (*w*). He fixed his head quarters in Cambridge, where he acted with great ſeverity, towards the Univerſity more eſpecially, after he miſſed of ſeizing the plate contributed by St. John's and other loyal Colleges, for the King's ſervice (*x*), which many writers affirm he actually did ſeize, but that is a miſtake; though it is very certain, that he did all that in him lay, and was as near ſeizing it as could be (*y*) [*I*]. He was more ſucceſsful in his next enterprize; for being informed, that the King had appointed Sir Thomas Coningſby, Sheriff of Hertfordſhire, and had ſent him a writ, requiring him to proclaim the Earl of Eſſex and his adherents traytors, Capt. Cromwell marched with his troop directly to St. Alban's, where he ſeized Sir Thomas Coningſby for that action, and carried him priſoner to London, with which the Parliament was highly pleaſed; committed Sir Thomas to the Tower, where he lay ſeveral years, and ſeized his eſtate (*z*). Capt. Cromwell having received the thanks of the Houſe for this, which paſſed in the month of November, was encouraged to perform a more important ſervice; for being informed that Sir Thomas Barker, Sir John Pettus, and other Gentlemen of great families and fortunes, were met at Loweſtoft in Suffolk, for the King's ſervice, he marched thither early in the ſucceeding Spring, where he not only ſurprized, and made moſt of theſe Gentlemen priſoners, but took alſo a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and military ſtores, which they had provided (*a*). This enabled him to increaſe his forces, ſo that we find him ſoon after at the head of a thouſand horſe, with the title of Colonel Cromwell; and it deſerves particular notice, that, entering ſo late in life, for he was in his forty-third year before he had thoughts of appearing in a military character, he ſhould notwithſtanding, in the ſpace of a few months, not only raiſe the reputation of an officer, but really become a very good one (*b*); and, which is ſtill ſtranger, ſhould, by mere dint of diſcipline, make his new raiſed men excellent ſoldiers, and lay the foundation of that invincible ſtrength which was afterwards exerted on the behalf of the Parliament. That all this is ſtrictly true, we

(*s*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 3. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 251. Winſtanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 528.

(*t*) Coke's Detection, p. 161.

(*u*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 3, 4.

(*x*) Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 25.

(*y*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 4.

(*w*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 32.

(*z*) Chauncey's Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 462. May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79.

(*a*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 34. Winſtanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 529. Heath's Chron. p. 59.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131. Heath's Chron. p. 60. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8*vo*. vol. xiii. p. 145.

[*I*] *And was as near ſeizing it as could be.*] The King wrote a letter to the Vice-chancellor, Dr. Richard Holdſworth, Maſter of Emanuel College, dated June 29th, 1642, ſignifying the extreme want he was then in, ſo as not to have wherewithal to ſubſiſt his private family; upon which the Univerſity reſolved to ſend his Majeſty a ſmall ſupply, which, though no way adequate to his occaſions, or to their zeal for his ſervice, was, however, as much as lay in their power. What the ſum might be appears not; only it is certain, that the loyal College of St. John's ſent one hundred and fifty pounds in money, and two thouſand ſixty five ounces of plate. It was for the ſhare they had in this tranſaction that Dr. Beale, Maſter of St. John's, Dr. Martin, Provoſt of Queen's, and Dr. Sterne, Maſter of Jeſus College, were by Cromwell carried up priſoners to London, where they ſuffered a long impriſonment in the Tower (56). Many Members of the Univerſity were much worſe treated, being kept priſoners for a long time in the hold of a ſhip in the river, and that too in very ſevere weather; and the three heads before-mentioned ſhared in proceſs of time the ſame fate, and were in danger of ſuffering ſtill worſe, one Rigby, a Lawyer, having twice moved, that they ſhould be ſold as ſlaves at Algiers, or ſent as tranſports to the plantations, becauſe he had contracted with two merchants for the purchaſe of them (57). The perſon intruſted with this ſmall treaſure was Mr. Barnaby Oley, Preſident of Clare Hall, who, being very well acquainted with the bye-ways, ſet out with a ſmall party of horſe the very night in which Cromwell took poſt upon the common road, and had the good fortune to bring it ſafe to his Royal Maſter, at the very time he ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham (58). It was, very probably, not long after this that Mr. Cromwell had a very remarkable interview with his uncle, which Sir Philip Warwick had from the good old Gentleman's mouth, and therefore we ſhall give it in his own words.

'Viſiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his houſe at Ramſey, he told me this ſtory of his ſucceſsful nephew and godſon, that he viſited him with a good ſtrong party of horſe; and that he aſked him his bleſſing; and that the few hours he was there, he would not keep on his hat in his preſence; but at the ſame time he not only diſarmed but plundered him, for he took away all his plate (59).'

(56) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of England, B. iii. p. 79. *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, p. 2, 3, 4. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 41.

(57) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 577.

(58) Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 26, 27.

(59) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 251.

have

have not only the authority of his own aſſertion to prove, and he was not a vain man, but that likewiſe of the beſt writers on all ſides, who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the principal circumſtances relating to it (*c*) [*K*]. In the Spring of the year 1643, having ſettled all things in the ſix aſſociated counties, *viz.* Eſſex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, he advanced into Lincolnſhire, which was now added to the number, having diſarmed in his paſſage ſuch as he took to be diſaffected in Huntingdonſhire, and increaſed his forces to about two thouſand men (*d*). Here he did very great ſervice by reſtraining the King's garriſon of Newark, gave a check to the Earl of Newcaſtle's troops at Horncaſtle, and performed many other things, of which mention is made by thoſe who have written the hiſtory of this fatal war; which gained him ſtill farther credit with the Parliament, and more eſpecially with that party, which meant to proſecute things to extremity, and till they ſhould be terminated by compleat victory on their ſide (*e*). It was to accompliſh theſe views that new armies, under the Earl of Mancheſter and Sir William Waller, were ſet on foot, and in the former, though the Earl had the title, yet the power was chiefly in Cromwell; for things were ſo dexterouſly managed between him and his friends at Weſtminſter, that, as they knew they might depend upon all in his power, ſo they took care to put as much in his power as they could (*f*) [*L*]. The

(*c*) Conference on the Parliament's deſiring him to take on him the title of King. Lond. 1680. 8*vo.* p. 38, 39. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 238, 239. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72.

(*d*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 5.

(*e*) Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 35. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131. Lord Hollis's Memoirs, p. 5.

(*f*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 59. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 245. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 45.

[*K*] *Who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the circumſtances relating to it.*] When he firſt raiſed his troop of horſe, he gave a very ſingular ſpecimen of his ſkill in purging; for, not doubting that ſome of them might prove cowards, he deviſed a moſt effectual method of diſcovering which they were, by poſting twelve men in ambuſcade, who ruſhed out upon them at their firſt muſter. Upon this twenty of them rode out of the field as faſt as their horſes could carry them; and theſe Mr. Cromwell diſmiſſed, and liſted bolder fellows in their places (60). We are told, by a writer of great credit, that Cromwell's brave regiment of horſe were his countrymen, moſt of them freeholders, or freeholders ſons, men who had ſomething to loſe beſides their lives, and who, upon all occaſions, gave the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of ſteadineſs and reſolution (61). A learned perſon, who knew him well, and loved him little, accounts for this clearly, by giving us a ſketch of his method of managing them (62). 'He uſed 'them, ſays he, daily to look after, feed, and dreſs 'their horſes, and, when it was neceſſary, to lie to-'gether on the ground, and beſides, taught them to 'clean and keep their arms bright, and have them 'ready for ſervice; to chuſe the beſt armour, and to 'arm themſelves to the beſt advantage. Trained up 'in this kind of military exerciſe, they excelled all 'their fellow-ſoldiers in feats of war, and obtained 'more victories over the enemy. Theſe were after-'wards preferred to be commanders and officers in the 'army, and their places filled up with luſty ſtrong fel-'lows, whom he brought up in the ſame ſtrictneſs of 'diſcipline.' But Cromwell's own account is far clearer, and more ſatisfactory, than any, and cannot therefore but be welcome to the judicious reader (63). 'I was,' ſaid he, in one of his ſpeeches, 'a perſon 'that, from my firſt employment, was ſuddenly pre-'ferred, and lifted up, from leſſer truſts to greater. 'From my firſt being captain of a troop of horſe, I 'did labour, as well as I could, to diſcharge my truſt, 'and God bleſſed me, as it pleaſed him. I had a 'very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble 'perſon, and I know his memory is very grateful to 'all; Mr. John Hampden was the perſon. At my 'firſt going out into this engagement, I ſaw our men 'were beaten on every hand. I did indeed, and de-'ſired him that he would make ſome additions to my 'Lord of Eſſex's army, of ſome new regiments. And 'I told him, it would be ſerviceable to him in bringing 'ſuch men in as I thought had a ſpirit, that would 'do ſomething in the work. Your troops, ſaid I, 'are moſt of them old decayed ſerving-men and tap-'ſters, and ſuch kind of fellows; and their troops 'are Gentlemens younger ſons, and perſons of good 'quality. And do you think, that the mean ſpirits 'of ſuch baſe and mean fellows will ever be able to 'encounter Gentlemen, that have honour, and cou-'rage, and reſolution, in them? You muſt get men 'of a ſpirit, and, take it not ill what I ſay, 'of a ſpirit that is likely to go on as far as Gentle-'men will go, or elſe I am ſure you will be beaten 'ſtill: I told him ſo. He was a wiſe and worthy 'perſon, and he did think that I talked a good notion, 'but an impracticable one. I told him I could do 'ſomewhat in it: and I accordingly raiſed ſuch men 'as had the fear of God before them, and made ſome 'conſcience of what they did. And, from that day 'forward, they were never beaten, but, wherever they 'were engaged againſt the enemy, they beat conti-'nually.' We are told by Echard (64), that the very firſt time he muſtered his troops, he dealt with them very plainly; that he would not cozen them by the perplexed expreſſion in his commiſſion, to fight for King and Parliament, but that if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as ſoon diſcharge his piſtol upon him, as any private perſon; and if their conſciences would not permit them to do the like, he adviſed them not to liſt themſelves under him. This, as the Archdeacon obſerves, was thought very bold at that time; and yet, whoever conſiders it attentively will ſee, that it was very politickly ſpoken; for, in the firſt place, it let his ſoldiers into the true notion of what was required from them before they came to action, and, conſequently, before it was expected from them; ſo that this commander and his men were never at a loſs about each other's meaning: and, ſecondly, it gave the heads of the party a juſt hint of his reſolution; whence they ſaw, that he was a man determined, whom they might rely upon in going all lengths, and whom no propoſitions, how high or extraordinary ſo ever, could aſtoniſh; agreeably to Mr. Hampden's notions of him at the beginning of the troubles (65), and his own behaviour during the continuance and to the very end of the war.

(60) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 33.

(61) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72.

(62) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 239.

(63) Conference on the Parliament's deſiring him to take the title of King, p. 38, 39.

(64) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 579.

(65) Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 193.

[*L*] *So they took care to put as much in his power as they could.*] It muſt be confeſſed, that how deficient ſoever we are in reſpect to good hiſtories of other periods of time, yet, in reference to this of the civil war, we have as many, and thoſe too as conſiderable lights, as can well be deſired, either in regard to general regular compoſitions, or in reference to private memoirs, and on both ſides of the queſtion; ſo that if any judicious and impartial perſon will carefully read, and give himſelf time cautiouſly to compare, what all theſe authors have advanced on any point, he will not find it extremely difficult to fix his judgment about it. The matter we will endeavour to explain in this note is, the ſubdiviſion of the views with which the leading members in the Parliament at Weſtminſter began the war; for though themſelves, and their Hiſtorian Mr. May, would turn this upon the King (66), yet, from the dates of the commiſſions, and from many other unanſwerable reaſons alledged by Mr. Coke (67), who was no very zealous Royaliſt, it is inconteſtibly proved, that the Parliament began the war; and the buſineſs is to know why they began it: for, though numbers of men may concur in one joint reſolution, yet it cannot be thence inferred, that they are all governed by the ſame reaſons, or all aim to bring about the ſame end. Yet it muſt be allowed, that concurring in one reſolution may ground a preſumption, that ſuch perſons are of the ſame opinion; and the contrary of this can only be made appear from their ſubſequent behaviour:

(66) May's Hiſt of the Parliament, B. ii. p. 47.

(67) Coke's Detection, p. 149—155.

The Scots having been invited into England by that party to whom Cromwell adhered, it was judged highly requiſite that the army under the Earl of Mancheſter, and Cromwell, who was now declared Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, ſhould join them, the better to enable them to reduce York, which they had cloſely beſieged. This ſervice, very important in itſelf, was executed with great vigour and diligence, more eſpecially by Cromwell, who, with all his horſe, made a ſwift and ſurprizing march, ſo as to join the Scots unexpectedly (*g*). In the battle of Marſton-Moor, July 3d, 1644, it is unanimouſly agreed, that Cromwell's cavalry, who were commonly ſtiled Ironſides, changed the fortune of the day, as that did of the war; for the King's affairs declined, and the Parliament's flouriſhed, ever after (*b*). It is, I ſay, agreed, that all the ſucceſs here was attributed to Cromwell's forces, and, by many good writers, to him who headed and animated them, whereas others give the honour entirely to his men; and would have us believe, that his behaviour was far from being extraordinary (*i*)[*M*]. However this matter might

(*g*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 60. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 530. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 93.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 402. Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 597. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(*i*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 16, 17, 18. Sir Roger Manley's Hiſtory of Rebellions, p. 71.

for if, after going a certain ſpace together, theſe people divide, and take ſeparate roads, it is plain they had from the beginning different intentions, which remained ſo long concealed as all parties remained under the perſuaſion that they might travel with advantage together, and be, at the ſame time, advancing towards that point which each of them deſired to reach (68). This then was the caſe of the Members who remained at Weſtminſter: they all of them judged, that taking up arms was a thing expedient; and, from the meaſures they afterwards purſued, we may, with great probability at leaſt, if not with certainty, diſcover, what the motives were that led them to concur in this firſt ſtep. Now, not to perplex ourſelves, or the reader, with too great nicety, or more than neceſſary diſtinctions, we ſhall be content to obſerve, that, from their future conduct, it clearly appears, there were three great parties in this Parliament. The firſt was compoſed of ſuch as meant to reduce the Prerogative within narrower bounds, to ſecure the liberties of the people, and to prevent Miniſters from miſleading the King, or his ſucceſſors, into acts of arbitrary power with impunity. Without doubt theſe Gentlemen were right in their intentions; but, whether they purſued a method conſiſtent with the Conſtitution, is another queſtion; which, however determined, will ſtill leave it certain, that they did not aim to overturn the Conſtitution. The heads of this party were Mr. Hollis, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pym, Sir John Maynard, Sir Philip Stapylton, *&c.* and, at the beginning of the war, this party had the majority in the Houſe of Commons (69). The ſecond were, from the beginning, bent upon changing the Conſtitution, overturning the Monarchy, and ſettling a Republic: the chief heads of this faction were Mr. Oliver St. John, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Sir Henry Ludlow, and, after his deceaſe, his ſon, Mr. Liſle, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Corbet, *&c.* (70). The third party might be ſaid to be without any ſettled principles, as being chiefly bent upon getting what they could for themſelves, and ſteering in ſuch a manner, in this dangerous ſtorm of their own raiſing, as might contribute to their own ſafety and proſperity, with no regard whatever, either to the King or Kingdom. Amongſt theſe Mr. Cromwell, Mr. Henry Martin, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and many others, might be reckoned (71). The diviſion that is commonly made in reſpect to religion, making the firſt *Preſbyterians*, and the two laſt parties *Independants*, is not very clear in itſelf, and, at the ſame time, far from being conſiſtent with truth. Some of the firſt party were very well inclined to the eſtabliſhed religion; and, notwithſtanding they diſliked ſome Biſhops, had no averſion at all to Epiſcopacy (72). On the other hand, many of the other two parties were well enough ſatisfied with the Preſbyterian diſcipline, if it could have been moulded ſo as to ſerve their civil purpoſes (73). If indeed it be neceſſary to aſſign a religion to each of theſe parties, the title of Preſbyterians may well enough become the firſt, that of Independents will ſit better upon the ſecond, but, truly, as to the religion of the third, it wants a name: ſome of them indeed profeſſed they had no religion, ſuch as Chaloner and Martin, and, without breach of charity, one may ſay, there might be others of this ſect in their heart, though they profeſſed a great deal. It is requiſite to obſerve, that there were in reality but two parties among the Lords, that is, ſuch as meant well to the public, ſuch as the Earls of Bedford, Eſſex, Mancheſter, *&c.* and ſuch as meant well to themſelves, as the Earls of Saliſbury, Warwick, the Lord Grey, and a few others (74). This brief account of parties is the true key to the underſtanding the hiſtory of thoſe times; and, as it may be very uſeful towards forming a right notion of other articles, ſo this would be abſolutely unintelligible without it.

(68) Remarks on the conduct of the long Parliament, p. 75.

(69) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 3, 4, 5.

(70) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 183.

(71) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(72) See Clarendon, Echard, Bates, Dugdale, Warwick, *&c.*

(73) As appears by their conforming during all the time that Preſbytery was eſtabliſhed.

(74) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 155, 156. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.

[*M*] *That his behaviour was far from being extraordinary.*] In order to juſtify what is ſaid in the text, we muſt produce a very famous paſſage from the work of a noble author, who was himſelf very deeply engaged in theſe affairs, and who wrote this account when the perſon he reflects on was living (75). 'However, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, *ſays he*, had the impudence and boldneſs to aſſume much of the honour of it to himſelf, or rather, Herod like, to ſuffer others to magnify him and adore him for it; for I can ſcarcely believe he ſhould be ſo impudent to give it out himſelf, ſo conſcious as he muſt be of his own baſe cowardlineſs. Thoſe who did the principal ſervice that day were Major-General Leſley, who commanded the Scots horſe, Major-General Crawford, who was Major-General to the Earl of Mancheſter's Brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the Northern Brigade. But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the buſineſs, for I have ſeveral times heard it from Crawford's own mouth; and I think I ſhall not be miſtaken, if I ſay Cromwell himſelf has heard it from him; for he once ſaid it aloud in Weſtminſter-Hall, when Cromwell paſſed by him, with a deſign he might hear him; that when the whole army at Marſton-Moor was in a fair poſſibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he ſaw the body of horſe of that Brigade ſtanding ſtill, and, to his ſeeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them, in a great paſſion reviling them with the name of poltroons and cowards, and aſked them if they would ſtand ſtill and ſee the day loſt? Whereupon Cromwell ſhewed himſelf, and, in a pitiful voice, ſaid, *Major-General, what ſhall I do?* he begging pardon for what he ſaid, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his diſtance, as to his ſuperior officer, told him, *Sir, if you charge not all is loſt*; Cromwell anſwered, *He was wounded, and was not able to charge*; his great wound being a little burn in the neck, by the accidental going off behind him of one of his ſoldier's piſtols. Then Crawford deſired him to go off the field, and, ſending one away with him, who very readily followed wholeſome advice, led them on himſelf, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his party's pernicious deſigns. This I have but by relation, yet I eaſily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honour, that was not aſhamed nor afraid to publiſh it in all places. Beſides, I have heard a parallel ſtory of his valour from another perſon, Colonel Dalbiere, not inferior either in quality or reputation to Major-General Crawford, who told me, that, when Baſing-houſe was ſtormed, Cromwell, inſtead of leading on his men, ſtood a good diſtance off, out of gun-ſhot, behind a hedge. And ſomething I can

(75) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 15, 16, 17.

might be, it is very certain, that, on the 19th, Cromwell ſtormed the Earl of Exeter's fine houſe at Burleigh; and the courage and conduct of the Lieutenant-General was the theme of every tongue, and no man's fortune or ſervices ſo much valued at London (*k*). He was alſo in the ſecond battle at Newbury, September 17th, in the ſame year; and is ſaid to have made ſo bold a charge with his Horſe upon the Guards, that his Majeſty's perſon had been in the utmoſt danger, if the old Earl of Cleveland had not come in to his relief, and preſerved his maſter's liberty at the expence of his own (*l*). In the winter the diſputes in Parliament ran higher than ever: nothing but Cromwell's merit and good fortune were talked of by his party; and ſome of whom blaſphemouſly ſtiled him, *the Saviour of the Nation* (*m*). Yet, notwithſtanding this, the wiſeſt men, and the beſt patriots, ſaw very clearly to what theſe exceſſive praiſes tended; and, that the nation might be made as ſenſible in this reſpect as themſelves, the Earl of Mancheſter exhibited a charge againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell, not to be in his debt, brought in another charge againſt the noble Peer in the Houſe of Commons (*n*). It is true, that neither of theſe charges were proſecuted; but it is nevertheleſs true, that General Cromwell and his friends abſolutely carried their point, by bringing in what was called the *ſelf-denying ordinance* (*o*), that excluded the Members of either Houſe from having any commands in the army; from which however, on the ſcore of his extraordinary merit, that ſet him above all ordinances, Lieutenant-General Cromwell was at firſt occaſionally, at length abſolutely, exempted. This victory in Parliament was ſtill of greater conſequence than that of Marſton-Moor; for, as that turned the *fortune* of the *war*, ſo this determined the *fate* of the *King* and *Kingdom* (*p*) [*N*]. Upon the introduction of the

(*k*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 65.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 65. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 149.

(*m*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 122.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 66.

(*o*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 283.

(*p*) Hollis's Memoirs, p. 35, 36.

I can deliver of him upon my knowledge, which makes paſſage for the eaſier belief of both theſe, and aſſures me, that that man is as errant a coward as he is notoriouſly perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was, his baſe keeping out of the field at Keinton battle, where he, with his troop of horſe, came not in, impudently and ridiculouſly affirming the day after, that he had been all that day ſeeking the army, and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, twenty or thirty miles off; ſo that certainly he is far from the man he is taken for.' His keeping out of the field at the battle of Keinton has been taken notice of by Sir Roger Manley, who ſays, that Cromwell went to the top of a ſteeple, whence perceiving part of the Earl of Eſſex's army routed, he was in ſuch haſte to get down, that, inſtead of deſcending the ſtairs, he ſwung himſelf to to the bottom by the belly-rope (76). This we find confirmed likewiſe by Sir William Dugdale: yet neither of theſe writers mention this to the prejudice of Cromwell's character for courage: on the contrary, they regard it as an inſtance how much the human temper and diſpoſition may be changed from the effects of boundleſs ambition, and the force of a long continued habit (77). It is alſo to be remembered, that Colonel Dalbiere, one of Lord Hollis's witneſſes, was, at the beginning of the war, a great favourite of Cromwell's, who made uſe of his advice to keep his troops in better order (78); but, as he differed with him afterwards, it is not at all impoſſible that there might be a ſtrong mixture of reſentment in what Dalbiere delivered upon this ſubject (79). Major-General Crawford was likewiſe a competitor with Cromwell, and beſides, a great friend to the Earl of Mancheſter (80), to whom Cromwell was a profeſſed enemy. The accounts we have of the battle of Marſton-Moor from the Royaliſts, unanimouſly attribute the loſs of that day in a manner ſolely to Cromwell.

(76) Hiſt. of the Rebellions of England, p. 49.

(77) Short view of the late troubles, p. 110.

(78) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 21.

(79) It was Cromwell's policy to find fit men for his purpoſes, and when they grew unfit, to diſcard them.

(80) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 15.

[*N*] *So this determined the fate of the King and Kingdom.*] As we have, in a former note, given the reader an account of the ſeveral parties in the Parliament at the breaking out of the civil war, there will be no great difficulty in making him clearly comprehend how this great change was brought about, by which that aſſembly manifeſted an intention at leaſt, inconſiſtent with, if not directly repugnant to, that which they had ſhewn at the beginning. While the *firſt* of the three parties had the majority, they were very deſirous, that as much of the executive power of the Government as poſſible might be in the hands of their friends, that they might always know whom they had to truſt. Many of them being, by this means, at a diſtance from Weſtminſter, left the other parties, who generally voted together, much ſtronger than they would otherwiſe have been; and this ſtrength they made uſe of to fill moſt of the Committees with their friends, which procured them great intereſt in the country, drew over many to their party, and, whenever exceptions were taken to a Member's character, they had commonly ſtrength enough to vote him out as a malignant, and to bring one of their own party in (81). Cromwell was the officer in the army in whom theſe people moſt confided, and he was obliged to make great profeſſions of his willingneſs to ſerve them, becauſe, through a ſeries of untoward accidents, he was become very obnoxious to what was ſtiled the Preſbyterian intereſt. He had ſeen enough of the Scots when in Yorkſhire to be ſatisfied, that they by no means meant a change of Government in the ſenſe that his friends did, and for this he hated them heartily. His averſion to the Earl of Eſſex was as warm as implacable: he judged that he was but half an enemy to the King, which produced that Nobleman a whole enemy in himſelf. Beſides, he was informed, that the Earl of Eſſex had held a private meeting with the Earl of Loudon, the Scotch Chancellor, to concert meaſures for ſeizing and impeaching him, which he could never forgive (82). Add to all this, that his quarrel with the Earl of Mancheſter came to a very great height, as appears from what is ſaid in the text, and therefore we ſhall mention but one circumſtance of it here. He propoſed, in diſcourſe to that noble Lord, ſomething of an extraordinary nature, to which his Lordſhip expreſſed a doubt, whether the Parliament might be brought to conſent; to which Cromwell immediately replied, *My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you will find an army at your command that will give law both to King and Parliament* (83). After premiſing theſe points, we may, without fear of being miſunderſtood, proceed to obſerve, that the party to which he adhered in Parliament comprehending perfectly his intentions, and confiding in his attachment to them, reſolved to make an effort to gain ſuch a ſuperiority, as might enable them to end the war in that manner, and with that expedition, which ſuited beſt with their deſign. In order to effect this they began to complain privately, of want of zeal in ſome of their great officers, and publickly of want of diſcipline in their army. To remedy both theſe it was propoſed, that, for the future, ſuch as had ſeats in either Houſe ſhould be diſqualified from having commands in the army; whence the intended law had the title of the SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, and the armies, when put under this direction, were ſaid to be of the *new model* (84). The reader muſt obſerve, with what craft this party improved the abſence of the leading men on the other ſide, to gain a prevalence in Parliament; and now being

(81) The whole of this matter is thoroughly diſcuſſed in a treatiſe intituled. *The Myſteries of the two Junto's, Preſbyterian and Independant*, printed in 1648. 4*to*.

(82) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 116. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 546.

(83) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 561, 562.

(84) Hiſt. Independency, P. i. p. 4. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 422. 435. 443. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 118, 119—138, &c.

the new model, as it was called, the chief command of the army was given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and, from being Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, Cromwell became Lieutenant-General of the Army; nor was it long before he gave a ſpecimen of his great ſkill in Politics, by procuring an addreſs from his regiment, declaring their ſatisfaction (*q*) with the change; which was a precedent ſoon followed by the reſt, and upon the heels of this, as ſtrong an inſtance of his military abilities (*r*). For, attacking the Earl of Northampton with a body of the King's forces at Iſlip Bridge, he routed them entirely, took four hundred horſe, two hundred men, and the Queen's ſtandard (*s*). The ſame good fortune attended him at Radcod-Bridge, where he beat Sir William Vaughan, and took him, and a great part of his troops, priſoners (*t*). He puſhed his good fortune to the utmoſt, and, April 24th, 1645, attacked Blechingdon-Houſe, in which Colonel Windebank had a garriſon. The place indeed was very indifferently fortified; but, as Cromwell had only horſe, he knew it was impoſſible to take it if defended, and thereupon ordered his men, as they approached, to cry out, *fall on foot* (*u*). His very name had terrified abundance of Ladies, who came to compliment the Governor upon his marriage, and this cry of *fall on foot* diſconcerted the Colonel himſelf, who, confounded with the cries of the women, and knowing the place was not tenable againſt infantry, ſurrendered; for which he was, ten days after, ſhot at Oxford (*w*). But Cromwell had not the like ſucceſs againſt Farringdon-Houſe, where Sir George Liſle commanded, though ſupported by ſix hundred foot; and he afterwards received a check from General Goring (*x*). At this time the King threatening the aſſociated counties, which had not been attacked during the war, the Parliament ordered Cromwell into the Iſle of Ely, where he had the power, if not the title of Governor (*y*). At the requeſt of Fairfax, however, he had orders to return to the army, which he accordingly did; and being informed, that the King intended to march northward, adviſed Sir Thomas Fairfax to prevent that, by fighting his Majeſty; which brought on the battle of Naſeby, June 14th, 1645, in which Cromwell commanded the right wing, and his ſon-in-law Ireton the left; and here it was that the King loſt all through the temerity of Prince Rupert (*z*), and the confeſſed conduct and courage of Cromwell, who, when Ireton was routed, and taken priſoner, charged the King's foot, and, with much danger to his own perſon, entirely broke them (*a*). He proſecuted the ſucceſs of this day with the ſame vivacity which acquired it. In a month's time he defeated General Goring, and reduced moſt of the King's garriſons in Hampſhire and Wiltſhire; defeated and cut to pieces the poor Clubmen (*b*); and, having made himſelf Maſter of the Devizes, Wincheſter, and Baſing-Houſe, with the perſon of the Marquis of Wincheſter, its maſter, he, for theſe ſervices, received the thanks of both Houſes (*c*). Afterwards joining Sir Thomas Fairfax, he had his ſhare in reducing the Weſt, till, upon the ſurrender of Exeter, April 13th, 1646, he found leiſure to return to London, in order to receive thoſe rewards (*d*) which the party he had ſo effectually ſerved were very willing to beſtow, and of which, as an earneſt, they had voted him the ſum of two thouſand five hundred pounds a year, the greateſt part of which was to be taken out of the eſtate of the Marquis of Wincheſter in Hampſhire (*e*). Upon his taking his ſeat

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 67.
(*r*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 531.
(*s*) The Civil Wars of England, p. 154.
(*t*) The Perfect Politician, p. 9.
(*u*) Flagellum, or life and death of Cromwell, p. 41. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 614.
(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74, 75. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 614.
(*x*) Heath's Chr. p. 74, 75.
(*y*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.
(*z*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 150. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. p. 42. 44. Heath's Chronicle, p. 77. Echard's Hiſt. of Eng. p. 615, 616.
(*a*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 200.
(*b*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 163.
(*c*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 189.
(*d*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 46.
(*e*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 180, 181.

being pretty ſure of that, they made uſe of it to ſecure to their ſide the army. Yet it is not at all impoſſible, that they might have failed in this bold project, if they had not inſiſted upon theſe two popular points, of putting a ſhort end to the war, and of providing againſt civil and military power reſting in the ſame hands; for theſe gained to them the timorous and the weak of the other party, becauſe the former were afraid to oppoſe men who talked in ſo high a ſtrain, and the latter were actually impoſed upon by the ſolemnity of their profeſſions. By the paſſing of the Self-denying Ordinance, and the new modelling of the army, the Preſbyterians loſt their power, and the King all hopes of making a good peace, or, to ſay the truth, any peace at all. The firſt appeared by the little reſpect ſhewn to thoſe Members, both Lords and Commons, who had hazarded their lives and fortunes for the Parliament, and the ſeverity with which thoſe were proſecuted, who were ſuſpected of an inclination to return again to the King's obedience; the latter, from the leaving out in the new commiſſion of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the clauſe for the ſecurity of the King's perſon (85). In the courſe of the debates which aroſe upon this ſubject in the Houſe of Commons, for it did not paſs there without very high debates, Mr. Cromwell ſpoke vehemently on the ſide of the Bill, and, when ſome expreſſed a ſuſpicion, that this new diſcipline, though it made the army better ſoldiers, would go near to make them worſe ſubjects, he undertook for the contrary, more eſpecially for his own regiment, which, he ſaid, would fight or not fight, ſerve or not ſerve, juſt as the Parliament pleaſed, to whoſe orders they owed an implicit obedience, which they never had, or ever would, forfeit in any degree (86). It is thought, and not without reaſon, that many voted for the new model from their credulity in this reſpect, and from the certainty which they thought they had, that Cromwell would loſe his command as well as the Earls of Eſſex and Manchester, Sir William Waller, and the reſt. In this however they were ſtrangely diſappointed; for notwithſtanding Cromwell went to make a viſit to the new General, in which he declared his willingneſs to reſign his command; yet that ſubmiſſive, that well-diſpoſed, that implicitly obedient regiment, for whom he had ſo roundly undertaken, mutinied upon this occaſion, and refuſed to ſerve without their old Commander Cromwell at their head (87). Upon this the Parliament diſpenſed with the ordinance in reſpect to him, at firſt for twenty days, then for forty, and at length, Sir Thomas Fairfax being unwilling to loſe ſo able an aſſiſtant, for good and all; and thus, when it was too late, thoſe who had been cheated into an approbation of this ſcheme, ſaw their miſtake, and repented of their deluſion (88). By this refined piece of management the Independants, with the aſſiſtance of Cromwell, triumphed both in the Parliament and in the Army. We ſhall hereafter ſee how, by the aſſiſtance of the latter, he triumphed over them in their turn (89). Theſe are the great points of hiſtory that ought to be ſifted out, and ſet in their true light: theſe are thoſe ſhining particulars that diſtinguiſh Biographical Memoirs; and theſe are thoſe important ſecrets that are ſo ſeldom explained in a ſatisfactory manner in general hiſtories, where the courſe of events is more regarded than the ſprings of action, whence thoſe events ariſe.

(85) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74.
(86) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.
(87) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 40. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.
(88) Hiſt. of Independency. Hollis and Warwick's Memoirs.
(89) See Clarendon, Heath, Echard, and all the Hiſtorians of thoſe times.

in the Houſe, thanks were returned to him, in terms as ſtrong as words could expreſs; and the prevailing party in the Houſe received from him ſuch encouragement, as induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion (*f*) [O]. But in this they were miſtaken: for, while they thought the Lieutenant-General buſy in doing their buſineſs, he was in reality attentive only to his own; but covered all his deſigns with ſuch wondrous dexterity, that they were diſcerned only by a few, and of thoſe there were ſcarcely any that durſt ſpeak their thoughts plainly: neither did their ſpeaking avail, ſince the majority were of another mind, and ſome extraordinary methods were practiſed, to procure and preſerve a majority that ſhould be of that mind always (*g*). That party in the Parliament which began the war for the ſake of redreſſing grievances, and to ſet ſome bounds to the Prerogative, were now ſincerely deſirous of making an end of the war, to which they thought nothing could contribute ſo much, as having the King's perſon in their hands; for which reaſon orders were ſent to Sir Thomas Fairfax to beſiege Oxford (*h*). Others would have been better pleaſed with the King's eſcape, becauſe it was more likely to promote the deſign of continuing the army. Accordingly, April 27th, the King quitted Oxford, to go and put himſelf into the hands of the Scots. This was preciſely what the Independants wanted, becauſe it made long treaties neceſſary, not with the King only, but with the Scots (*i*). The latter demanded vaſt ſums of money, under the notion of arrears; but Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and his party, who did not either love or value them, oppoſed ſuch a negotiation as this, as injurious to the honour of the nation, upon a ſuppoſition that this might induce the Scots to join with the King, embark their cauſe and his on the ſame bottom, and produce thereby a ſecond war (*k*). It was to promote this that they puſhed things ſo far in Parliament, as to procure an Order of the Houſe of Commons, for burning the propoſals that had been made them by the Scotch Commiſſioners, by the hands of the common hangman. This, however, prevented the two nations from agreeing with his Majeſty, and produced ſome ill blood on both ſides, yet none of thoſe heats and tumults that were expected; for at length a bargain was made in the beginning of Auguſt, that the Scots ſhould deliver up the King to the Engliſh for the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds, to be paid them immediately, and the like ſum ſoon after (*l*). The Parliament Commiſſioners accordingly received him with very great civility and reſpect; and this having ſet open a very wide door, perſons of all ages, ſexes, and ranks, were aſſiduous in paying, as far as they were permitted, their duty to him (*m*). To free the people from the burthens under which they laboured, and, at the ſame time, to ſtrengthen their own authority by leſſening that of the army, the Parliament inclined to diſband a part of their forces. As no-body better underſtood the meaning of this than Lieutenant-General Cromwell, inſtead of openly oppoſing it, he contrived to turn it in a double manner to his own and his party's advantage; for, in the firſt place, he inſinuated, by his emiſſa-

(*f*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 202.

(*g*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 172. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 43.

(*h*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 208. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 54.

(*i*) Behemoth, by Thomas Hobbs, p. 217, 218.

(*k*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 62, 63.

(*l*) Heath's Chron. p. 121.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 187.

[O] *As induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion.*] It was a maxim with Cromwell, as we may gather from his conſtant practice, whenever he had any extraordinary ſucceſs in the field, to return as ſoon as he had an opportunity, and ſhew himſelf in Parliament, that the hazards he ran in the field might contribute to his victories elſewhere. Another art he practiſed, as in truth what art is there he did not practiſe? which availed him highly; he was exceedingly conſtant in his correſpondence with the Parliament; his letters brought them the news of every conqueſt, nor was any expence thought too great to facilitate the early arrival of his diſpatches. His language too, though generally wrapped up in the cant of the times, which no man uſed more, had in it ſomewhat peculiarly ſubmiſſive, and irreſiſtibly inſinuating: his ſoldiers, as he ſaid, were not only dutiful but devoted; and if their courage deſerved to be remembered, as at the ſiege of Briſtol, they made it their requeſt to be forgotten: they deſired only to be conſidered as God's inſtruments in the righteous cauſe of the Parliament (90). By theſe methods he kept himſelf continually in their thoughts, and in their votes or reſolutions. Thus two days after the battle of Naſeby, they ordered that he ſhould be Lieutenant-General of the Horſe under Fairfax, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes, which the Lords changed to three months; Auguſt 8th, 1645, he was continued for four months longer; and on the firſt of December, the ſame year, they voted him two thouſand five hundred pounds a year, and that he ſhould be made a Baron; all which he ſeemed to accept with much leſs reliſh for the honours, than for the good-will ſhewn him by Parliament, to which, upon theſe occaſions, he profeſſed a reverence ſuperior to that which is paid to the moſt abſolute Monarchs of the Eaſt (91). By theſe contrivances both parties enjoyed, for a time, the higheſt ſatisfaction; for Cromwell's friends in Parliament believed him unalterably addicted to their meaſures, and that they might direct and diſpoſe of him how they pleaſed; while, on the other hand, he promoted his own intereſt moſt effectually, and ſuch propoſitions as he made, purely with a view to that, were by them interpreted as tending only to the maintenance of their authority, and ſecuring the unlimited obedience of the army to their orders (92). Beſides all this, he was likewiſe very attentive to the eſtabliſhment of an extenſive reputation, and that even among enemies; for ſome of his own ſoldiers having broken the articles upon which the city of Wincheſter was ſurrendered, he cauſed one of them to be hanged, and ſent five more of them priſoners to the Governor of Oxford, to be by him puniſhed as he thought fit; but he very wiſely ſent them back again (93). At the conferences alſo which preceded the ſurrender of Exeter, he entered into a converſation with Sir John Berkeley, of ſuch a nature, as to prove an introduction to a correſpondence with that Gentleman when a proper opportunity offered, as afterwards there did. Thus at one and the ſame time he managed many different intereſts, creating in all an attention to, and confidence in, his conduct, and yet communicating his real deſigns to none; for at this juncture, though all the parties in the army and the nation had their eyes particularly fixed upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell's management, in order to penetrate his deſigns; yet it manifeſtly appears, from the writings on all ſides, that there was not any two of them who concurred in their ſentiments. Only the Preſbyterians ſeemed to underſtand him beſt; for they judged him as little affected to the Parliament as to the King, and that, for the aggrandizing of his own power, he would make no ſcruple of conſcience to deſtroy both (94).

(90) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. vi. p. 46. 88. 94.

(91) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 180, 181. 189. 202.

(92) See Ludlow, Whitlocke, Hollis, Fairfax, and Warwick's Memoirs.

(93) See the Myſtery of the two Junto's Preſbyterian and Independant. Hiſt. of Independency, P. i. p. 4.

(94) See Whitlocke, Ludlow, Fairfax, Hollis, Berkeley, and Warwick's Memoirs.

ries, to the ſoldiers, that this was not only the higheſt piece of ingratitude towards thoſe who had fought the Parliament into a power of diſbanding them, but alſo a crying act of injuſtice, as it was done with no other view than to cheat them of their arrears (*n*). Secondly, he procured an exemption for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, or, in other words, for his own, the General having that title only and appointments, while Cromwell had the power; and the weight of the reduction fell upon Maſſey's Brigade in the Weſt, together with the troops which Colonel Poyntz commanded in Yorkſhire, men of whom he had good reaſon to doubt, and upon whom the Parliament might have depended (*o*). Thus he dexterouſly turned to his own advantage, the means contrived for his deſtruction. To compleat the triumphs of this year, the Earl of Eſſex died ſuddenly, September 14th, at Eſſex-Houſe, and was buried with great pomp, October 22d, at the public expence (*p*), Mr. Cromwell coming poſt to town, in order to attend his funeral (*q*). On the 12th of November following, the army marched triumphantly through London, and, in the beginning of February following, the Scots having received their money, delivered up the King, who was carried priſoner to Holmby (*r*). At this time Lieutenant-General Cromwell had a very nice game to play. What wore the legal appearance of power, was evidently in the hands of the Parliament, in which the Preſbyterian party was ſtill prevalent; and as the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was likewiſe in that intereſt, it looked as if the real power was alſo on their ſide. At the bottom, however, the army, now taught to know their own ſtrength, were in reality the maſters, and they were entirely directed by Cromwell, though they knew it not themſelves (*s*) [*P*]. If the King and Parliament had immediately cloſed, which was the intereſt of both, the Kingdom muſt have been ſettled, which was the point that the army chiefs, and their friends, meant to avoid; and what gave them an opportunity of avoiding it was, the King's inflexible attachment to Epiſcopacy on one ſide, and the Parliament inſiſting as obſtinately on the eſtabliſhment of Preſbytery on the other (*t*). Lieutenant-General Cromwell ſaw the neceſſity of having a ſtrong place, and getting the King's perſon into their power; and he contrived to do both, without ſeeming to have any hand in either. Oxford was, at that time, in a good condition, and well ſupplied with artillery; upon which the army ſeized it with the magazines, and every thing elſe (*u*). And Cromwell, then at London, prevailed upon Cornet Joyce to ſeize the King's perſon, with a ſtrong detachment of horſe, not only without the General's orders, but without any orders at all, excepting theſe verbal inſtructions from Crom-

(*n*) Coke's Detection, p. 177.

(*o*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 81.

(*p*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 630.

(*q*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 225.

(*r*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 193. Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 234.

(*s*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 189.

(*t*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 297.

(*u*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 96.

[*P*] *Though they knew it not themſelves.*] There are ſome things in the text which ſtand in need of explanation; and indeed it cannot be otherwiſe: but to render this article intelligible, and to make the reader perfectly maſter of the ſubject of which we are treating, it is abſolutely requiſite to go very deep into the hiſtory of theſe times, which, in truth, is no other than the perſonal hiſtory of Cromwell; for his, and his friends intrigues, either moved, or gave motion, to all the parties in the kingdom. But, to come to thoſe difficulties we mention, and to reſolve them: in the firſt place then, it may ſeem ſtrange, that having before intimated more than once, that Cromwell's party was become the ſtrongeſt in the Houſe of Commons, we ſhould now aſſert, that there was a party ſtronger than theirs (95). The anſwer to this is, that the facts are certainly true; neither will it be hard to give a clear account of them. Thoſe might be juſtly called Cromwell's party who framed the new model, continued him, his ſon Ireton, and a few more officers, in their commands, notwithſtanding the Self-denying Ordinance; for theſe tranſactions ſhew that they were his party, as their being able to carry them ſhews they were the prevailing party. But, when the war was at an end, a conſiderable number of members, amongſt whom were Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Whitlocke, and ſeveral other eminent perſons, altered their conduct, and believing that the army had anſwered the ends which it was propoſed they ſhould anſwer, by entirely ſubduing ſuch as were in arms for the King, were now very ſincerely for a peace; and therefore joined the old Preſbyterian party, that were always for it. With them came back thoſe who had been deluded, and ſuch as had been frighted out of their former principles; and thus, in the latter end of the year 1646, the firſt party in the Houſe was again become the ſtrongeſt, and, for a time, were ſtronger than ever (96). Another difficulty may be raiſed, from conſidering the conduct of Cromwell, and the great officers, who, while the army firſt became mutinous, remained in the Houſe, and not only remained, but ſpoke and voted with the majority; ſo that nothing ſeems to be more unfair, than to charge them, at this juncture, with promoting thoſe bad deſigns, notwithſtanding they afterwards openly concurred in them. Now to remove this difficulty, it muſt be obſerved, that Cromwell and Ireton went down from the Houſe to the army firſt, to diſpoſe them to diſband, but, inſtead of acting ſincerely in this matter, they diſcouraged and brow-beat ſuch officers and ſoldiers as ſhewed themſelves inclined to it, and gave hints to the reſt how they might avoid it, by ſuggeſting, that they were not mercenaries but military commoners, who, in that reſpect, had a right to apply to their repreſentatives, and, amongſt other things, to inſiſt, previouſly to their being diſbanded, upon an Act of Indemnity with the royal aſſent, that they might not ſuffer as the King's ſubjects for what they had done as the Parliament's ſoldiers (97). This produced the erecting a new council, compoſed at firſt of two private men out of each company and troop in every regiment, under the title of Agitators, who were to frame and diſpoſe the propoſitions of the army to the Parliament. After taking this ſtep, which was the foundation of all that followed, Cromwell, Ireton, and the reſt of the great officers, came up to attend the ſervice of the Houſe, well knowing, that the fire they had kindled would burſt out with violence in their abſence, as accordingly it did. Another difficulty yet remains, and that is as to their conduct in the Houſe, which, it is allowed, was not at all of a piece with their behaviour in the army (98). Now the reaſon of this will quickly appear; for, by the manner of their ſpeaking and voting, they ſecured the confidence of the Parliament to ſuch a degree, that, when the diſobedience of the army became flagrant, they were ſent down to reduce them to their duty, whereas had they uſed another language, or a different conduct, they had been ſent to the Tower. But what followed upon their returning to the army? Why, inſtead of performing what they were ſent for, they joined with the mutineers (99), added a Council of Officers to the Council of Agitators, erecting thereby Military Houſes of Lords and Commons, and ſent up their reſolutions to give law to the Parliament; which clearly proves the truth and certainty of all that is advanced in the text.

(95) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 6.

(96) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 72. See alſo Clarendon, Whitlocke, and Echard.

(97) See Major Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell. Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 77.

(98) Myſtery of the two Junto's, Preſbyterian and Independant. Whitlocke's Memorials. Memoirs of Hollis and Ludlow.

(99) See Major Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell. Flagellum, &c. p. 55.

well

well (*w*). This was executed on the 4th of June 1647, notwithſtanding the Parliament's Commiſſioners were then with the King, who was conducted from Holmby to Childerſley (*x*), then the army's head quarters, where he was received not only with reverence but with kindneſs, and treated much more indulgently than while in the hands of the Parliament; chiefly through the management of Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commiſſary Ireton, his ſon-in-law, who, if Major Huntington, and others, may be believed, made high profeſſions for his ſervice (*y*). It is very certain, that Sir Thomas Fairfax knew nothing of the taking away of the King; that he diſliked it; that he would have ſent him back again with the Commiſſioners, under the guard of two regiments of horſe; but the Commiſſioners refuſed to act, or the King to move (*z*). Nay, to ſuch a degree was that Monarch perſuaded of the ſincerity of his new friends, that he had the indiſcretion to tell Sir Thomas Fairfax, when he made him a tender of his duty and reſpect, with promiſes of fair treatment, that *he thought he had as good an intereſt in the* ARMY *as himſelf* (*a*), The remaining ſix months of this year were the moſt critical of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's whole life; for, in order to ſucceed in his ſchemes, it was abſolutely neceſſary to deceive the King, the Parliament, and the Army, which, in their turns, was effected, though not without danger and difficulty. As for the King, he relied ſo entirely upon Cromwell and Ireton, and they, on the other hand, ſpoke of and acted towards him in ſuch a manner, that they were looked upon as abſolute courtiers; nor is it at all wonderful that the King gave credit to them, when they brought the army to ſend a letter to the Parliament, which was delivered July 9th, 1647, avowing the King's cauſe to be their's (*b*), and that no ſettlement could be hoped for without granting him his juſt rights. In reference to the Parliament, ſo long as they enjoyed their power, Mr. Cromwell always ſpoke the language of a Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſhewed a high regard for their privileges, and profeſſed, that he was ſuſpected and diſliked by the Army, for his attachment to the Civil Government (*c*). This did not, however, hinder his being diſbelieved by many, till at length he found it neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to make his eſcape from the Houſe with ſome precipitation (*d*). As to the ſoldiers, and that mutinous ſpirit which they diſcovered againſt the Parliament, it was raiſed, fomented, and managed, by Cromwell and Ireton, the former declaring at Triploe-Heath, when the Parliament had been obliged to eraſe their own declaration out of their Journals, *Now they might be an Army as long as they lived* (*e*). It was owing to this ſpirit that the *eleven* Members of the Houſe of Commons were impeached, the Houſe of Commons purged, and their authority brought ſo low, that the London apprentices came into the Houſe, and forced them to vote what they pleaſed (*f*). It is true, that, when the Earl of Manchester and Mr. Lenthal, the Speakers, retired to the Army, and the Lord Grey and Mr. Pelham were choſen in their places, the Lords and Commons recovered their authority; but they did not hold it for a week, Sir Thomas Fairfax marching directly to London, replacing the old Speakers, Auguſt 6th, and the next day marching in triumph through the city, ſo that now the Army, and not the Parliament, were the Supreme Authority (*g*). Soon after this a new party ſprang up among the ſoldiers, under the title of LEVELLERS, who made no ſecret of their hating equally both King and Parliament; and it was to ſave himſelf from theſe people, who, as he was informed by Cromwell, ſought his life, that the King, Nov. 11th, fled from Hampton-Court to the Iſle of Wight, after having rejected the Parliament's propoſals by Cromwell's and Ireton's advice (*h*). Immediately after this tranſaction General Cromwell altered his behaviour towards the King entirely, as ſome think, out of fear of the Agitators, but, as Lord Hollis and others affirm, in conſequence of his own deſigns (*i*); for, having made uſe of the King's preſence to manage the Army, and of the power which the Army had thereby acquired, to humble and debaſe the Parliament, there was no farther end to be anſwered by keeping meaſures any longer towards the King (*k*). In order to be convinced of this we need only conſider, that the ſame method was practiſed in the Iſle of Wight, while the Parliament was again treating with the King, which had been before practiſed at Holmby, and the very ſame inſtrument employed, the famous Cornet Joyce, who, upon very good grounds, is believed to be the very man that cut off the King's head (*l*). The Parliament, now much altered from what it was, upon the King's refuſing to paſs *four* Bills which they ſent him, fell into very warm debates, in which it is ſaid, that Cromwell was a principal ſpeaker, and inveighed bitterly againſt his Majeſty: he ſaid, the King was a very able man, but withal a great diſſembler, one in whom no truſt could be repoſed, and with whom therefore they ought to have nothing to do for the future (*m*). However this might be, the Parliament, on the 5th of January, voted that no more addreſſes ſhould be made to the King (*n*), and from that time he was more ſtrictly impriſoned than ever; all which the beſt writers attribute to a new conjunction between Cromwell and the Commonwealth's Men, who, after ſo much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament (*o*) [Q]. It very ſoon appeared, notwithſtanding this agreement between the grandees

(*w*) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 225, 226. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 67.
(*x*) Perfect Diurnal, p. 1612.
(*y*) Coke's Detection, p. 178. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 193. Major Huntington's Charge of High Treaſon againſt Lieutenant-General Cromwell.
(*z*) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 240. See the General's own letter to the Parliament in Heath's Chronicle, p. 131.
(*a*) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 116.
(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 259. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 195. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 113.
(*c*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 190. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 100.
(*d*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55.
(*e*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 132, 133. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 230, 231. Major Huntington's Charge.
(*f*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 260. Coke's Detection, p. 162, 163.
(*g*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 264. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 253. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.
(*h*) Major Huntington's Charge. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 203, 204.
(*i*) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 234, 235. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 186, 187.
(*k*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 63.
(*l*) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 239. Heath's Chron. p. 157.
(*m*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 229. 236. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 63.
(*n*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 275.
(*o*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 239, 240. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 97.

[Q] *Who after ſo much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament.*] It is a point out of all diſpute, ſince there is not a writer of any party but agrees in the fact, that the great inclination ſhewn by the

grandees of the Army, and the friends to a Republic, that the nation in general hated the thoughts of ſubmitting to a Stratocracy, Ariſtocracy, or a Democracy, and were reſolved

the Army to provide not only for the ſafety of the King's perſon, but for his reſtitution to his juſt rights, was, at firſt infuſed, and promoted all along, by Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commiſſary-General Ireton, who, from this merit, aſſumed to themſelves the negotiation with the King; which they carried on ſo much to his ſatisfaction in moſt reſpects, that he thought his condition much mended, and truſted them very much; though he was not ſo weak to confide entirely in their promiſes, as ſome writers have aſſerted. What the methods were by which Cromwell impoſed upon him and his old ſervants, and to how great a height this impoſition was carried, may appear by one paſſage out of many, in the work of a Gentleman of honour, and who was deeply intereſted in this affair; and who was both an eye-witneſs, and very largely concerned in every tranſaction that he mentions (100). After obſerving that the Agitators, on the King's firſt coming to the Army, were very ſincere in his cauſe, and deſired this Gentleman to give them notice if he ſaw any cauſe to ſuſpect the reality of Cromwell's profeſſions, he proceeds thus: 'In all my conferences 'with him, I found no man, in appearance, ſo zea-'lous for a ſpeedy blow as he, ſometimes wiſhing that 'the King was more frank, and would not tie him-'ſelf ſo ſtrictly to narrow maxims, ſometimes com-'plaining of his ſon Ireton's ſlowneſs in perfecting 'the propoſals, and his not accommodating more to 'his Majeſty's ſenſe, always doubting, that the Army 'would not preſerve their good inclinations for the 'King. I met with him about three days after I 'came to Reading, as he was coming from the King, 'then at Cauſum: he told me, that he had lately 'ſeen the tendereſt ſight that ever his eyes beheld, 'which was, the interview between the King and his 'children, and wept plentifully at the remembrance 'of it, ſaying, that never man was ſo abuſed as he, 'in his ſiniſter opinions of the King, who, he thought, 'was the uprighteſt and moſt conſcientious man of 'his three kingdoms; that they of the Independant 'party, as they were called, had infinite obligations 'to him, for not conſenting to the Scots propoſitions, 'which would have totally ruined them, and which 'his Majeſty's intereſt ſeemed to invite him to; and 'concluded with me by wiſhing, that God would be 'pleaſed to look upon him according to the ſincerity 'of his heart towards his Majeſty. I immediately 'acquainted his Majeſty with this paſſage, who ſeem-'ed not well edified with it; and did believe, that all 'proceeded out of the uſe Cromwell and the Army 'had of his Majeſty, without whom he thought they 'could do nothing.' This paſſage ſhews at what time Cromwell endeavoured to be thought well affected to the King, and profeſſed his having a good opinion of him. Had theſe been ſincerely his ſentiments, he would never have altered them, for the King gave him no occaſion; ſince it is clearly proved, that his final anſwer to the propoſals which were made him, not only ſpoke the ſenſe of him and Ireton, as the King conceived it, but was altered by their hands till it ſatisfied themſelves (101). Had he been really inclined to reſtore the King, he might have done it now with a high hand. A great majority of the Parliament were for him; the city of London was in their ſentiments; the meaſures taken by the Scots, and the inſurrections in ſeveral counties in his favour, ſhew, that this was alſo the ſenſe of the nation: if therefore Lieutenant-General Cromwell had made uſe of his wonderful capacity, to diſpoſe the Army not to any new deſign, but to have performed their own promiſes; he might have ſettled the Government upon its old foundation, and have made himſelf a very great man (102). He reſolved, however, not to do this; and, having made that reſolution, it became neceſſary to prevent the King's being ſettled by others; and how he contrived to bring this about, a noble Hiſtorian has very fully informed us, after having aſſured us that this was Cromwell's deſign (103). 'The difficulty was, how to bring this about to cozen the King, ſo as to make him act it himſelf, and fly into the cage: carry him by force they durſt not; it would be unhandſome; it might be dangerous: they uſe this ſtratagem; heighten, and ſharpen underhand, the mad humour of their party againſt him, to have it break out all manner of ways in threatning ſpeeches, pamphlets, ſome conſultations, that, whilſt his Majeſty lived in England, he could not be ſafe; meetings to conſider, and come to ſome reſolutions, of taking him out of the way; the Army is again diſquiet, the Officers not obeyed; all things tending to mutiny, and ſome violent eruption. Then does Mr. Cromwell, and his Cabinet-Council, ſeem to be extremely ſolicitous of the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon; cauſe ſome diſcoveries to be given him of his danger; expreſs great indignation and trouble in the Houſe, in the Army, and other places, againſt theſe proceedings; act their parts ſo to the life, as the life of a man muſt go to make up the diſguiſe; an Agitator, whom, at a Council of War, with two more they condemned, was ſhot to death; ſo as the King could not but have a great confidence in theſe men, to believe that they were really for his preſervation. At laſt Cromwell writes a letter to Whalley, who commands the Guards about his Majeſty's perſon, to be ſhewn his Majeſty; and other informations are likewiſe brought him, to make him believe, that, if he eſcape not preſently, he will be murdered; and he is adviſed to go to the Iſle of Wight, where they had before-hand provided him a jaylor, Colonel Hammond, one for whom, they ſaid, they could anſwer, that there his Majeſty would be in ſafety, and they able to ſerve him. Here they have the King ſafe enough; and now the Army is preſently quiet, the Agitators as obedient as lambs, and Councils of War are ſet up again to act as formerly. And Sir Thomas Fairfax, with their advice, ſets out a Remonſtrance, to give ſatisfaction to the Army; which he concludes with a proteſtation to adhere to, conduct, live and die with the Army, in the proſecution of ſome things there expreſſed; as namely, to obtain a preſent proviſion for conſtant pay, ſtating of accounts, ſecurity for arrears, with an effectual and ſpeedy courſe to raiſe monies; a period to be ſet to this Parliament; proviſion for future Parliaments, the certainty of their meeting, ſitting, and ending; the freedom and equality of elections, and other things, which he had the impudence and boldneſs to publiſh in print.' It is true, that Lord Hollis, being an enemy to Cromwell, and writing this book to ſhew the cauſe of his enmity, is not a witneſs to be believed entirely from his own aſſertion. But the main fact here is, the letter which had been paſſed over by ſome, denied by others, and, for any thing that I know, never proved upon Cromwell by any; till Colonel Whalley's letter to the Parliament, upon the King's withdrawing from Hampton-Court, was publiſhed; in which it is poſitively ſaid, that Cromwell wrote the letter to him (104), and that he ſhewed it to the King. This letter Ruſhworth had in his power, and might have printed, if he had ſo pleaſed; but truths of all kinds are not welcome to all men. As for the Propoſitions that were ſent to the King in the Iſle of Wight, they were deſtructive not only of his power and honour, but of the Conſtitution. By them he was required to take the guilt of all the blood ſhed in the war upon himſelf, to cancel all his own acts, and to eſtabliſh the independent power of the Parliament and Army; that is, in plain Engliſh, to depoſe himſelf, and, at the ſame time, lend his authority for the eſtabliſhing a new tyrannical power over his people (105). For rejecting ſuch terms, Cromwell declared that he ought to be treated with no more; the Parliament, now under the direction of the Army, voted this; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, without waiting for their directions, ordered the King to be made a cloſe priſoner; and this, though done without their knowledge, was approved by Parliament (106). Theſe indiſputable facts are ſufficient to let us into the motives upon which thoſe men proceeded who did all theſe things, and who, in the Council of War held at Windſor, immediately after, reſolved to do all that they afterwards did, though, from certain unfore-

(100) Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley, p. 26, 27, 28.

(101) See Major Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell; and the Memoirs of Hollis, Ludlow, and Aſhburnham.

(102) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 60, 61.

(103) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 185, 186, 187.

(104) Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, vol. ii. B. ix. p. 38.

(105) Heath's Chron. p. 160, 161. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Hiſt. of Independency, P. i. p. 41.

(106) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 64, 65.

resolved to run any hazard, in order to recover their old Constitution (*p*); and this it was that created the second Civil War, in which many, who had formerly fought for the Parliament, took up arms for the King; and part of the fleet under Vice-Admiral Batten, who had been displaced to make way for Cromwell's favourite Rainsborough, revolted to Prince Charles (*q*). Yet this was far from being all. The Scots, who now saw that their expectations were entirely defeated, fell upon new measures, and having, without doubt, some secret encouragement from the chiefs of the Presbyterian party in England, determined to raise an army, and march it into England (*r*), in hopes of being joined by the King's friends in the field, and, upon the first advantage gained there, owned and applauded by their old acquaintance in the Parliament (*s*), who were true to their ancient principles, and desirous of a settlement upon a basis of their own laying, rather than a revolution, taking rise only from chance and power (*t*). In the mean time there were risings also in Kent and Surrey; and, though these were in a manner suppressed by that part of the Army which lay near London, yet the remains of these two bodies forcing a passage into the county of Essex, took possession of Colchester, where, under the Earl of Norwich, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, they made a very gallant defence (*u*). As the war was thus revived in all parts of the Island, there was a necessity of dividing the Army, in consequence of which Cromwell marched into Wales against Major-General Langhorn, Colonel Poyer, and Colonel Powell (*w*). Sir Thomas Fairfax besieged Colchester (*x*), and General Lambert marched northward against the Scots (*y*). The military power being thus employed, the city of London and the Parliament were left, in some measure, at liberty to pursue their own sentiments, and what these were quickly appeared; for on June the 27th, 1648, the city petitioned for a personal treaty with the King, which was very well received, and some steps taken thereupon (*z*). But by the arts of Sir Henry Vane, and those of his party, many obstacles being raised, the city, on the 8th of August following, petitioned the House of Lords in still stronger and more direct terms; which petition was not only favourably accepted, but the petitioners had also the thanks of the House given them; an evident proof, that the scope of their petition was also the sense of that House (*a*). A few days after the Commons recalled their vote for non-addresses, set on foot a personal treaty with the King at the Isle of Wight, and at length voted his Majesty's concessions satisfactory (*b*). An attempt was also made to impeach Cromwell of High-treason upon Major Huntington's information, whom he had chiefly intrusted in his negotiation with the King; but this failed (*c*). The great success of the Army quickly altered the face of things; for Cromwell having reduced, and, in a great measure, destroyed those who took up arms in Wales, began his march northward in the middle of July, and, in a month after, routed Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Scots under Duke Hamilton; the terror of which victory forced Colchester to surrender (*d*): and now the Army, returning towards London, November the 28th, sent a Remonstrance to the House of Commons, disapproving all they had done (*e*). This Remonstrance was carried by Colonel Ewers, who went next into the Isle of Wight, where he seized the person of the King, which was resented by the Parliament, who commanded the General to recal his orders (*f*). Instead of this the Army marched directly to London, and, in the first week of December, took possession of it, purged the House of Commons, that is, turned out the better part of its Members, and then forced the remainder to do what they pleased (*g*). In most of these steps Cromwell was very active, and is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the rest (*h*) [*R*]. It is not necessary unforeseen circumstances that fell out, they were hindered from doing it so soon as they intended (107). As for the coalition between Cromwell and his creatures, and the Commonwealth party in the House of Commons, the history of it may be found in Whitlocke and in Ludlow (108), much to the honour of Cromwell's abilities, who deceived them with as much dexterity as he had done the King, and for the very same reason, because there was no other way of working his own purposes but by deceiving them. If there had, he would probably have taken it; but, as there was not, he was forced to take it; and the great wonder is, that, having dissembled and deceived so often before, he should be trusted again; to account for which we must consider, that this was not choice in the Commonwealth's men (109), but necessity: they did not trust Cromwell to do their work, but they made use of him, because he was the only instrument by which their work could be done.

[*R*] *And is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the rest.*] After Lieutenant-General Cromwell was sent to reduce those who, deserting the Parliament's service, had taken up arms in Wales, he prosecuted that expedition with such vigilance, that he did more in a month than could have been well expected from him in six; and yet what he did was most effectually done also, and without the least tincture of passion; though he is commended for his clemency by some, and as loudly condemned of cruelty by others; but as haste was all he aimed at, so he was either gentle or severe as that directed. If he could procure a surrender upon terms, no-body gave better, none kept them more strictly; but if he was obliged to make use of force, he did not spare shedding blood; not from particular resentment, or any barbarous delight in it, but to serve his purpose, which, in this case, was dispatch (110). This war being quickly ended, though at a great expence of men, who had done the Parliament good service, those who fought against Cromwell having had a share in most of the battles against the King; he marched northwards to join Lambert, and came time enough to fall upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the English Royalists, who behaved as well as men could do, and were beat by dint of numbers; but for the Scots under Duke Hamilton. they were so ill commanded, that, though they had numbers on their side, they were rather butchered than beaten, so that not a tenth part of them got home again (111). Cromwell now changed his maxim, proceeded slowly, went into Scotland, concluded

(*p*) Heath's Chron. p. 170, 171.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 530, 531.

(*r*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 278, 279.

(*s*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 100.

(*t*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 232.

(*u*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 249, 250.

(*w*) Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. iv. p. 1098.

(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 175.

(*y*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 233.

(*z*) Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. iv. p. 1167.

(*a*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 647. Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. iv. p. 1220.

(*b*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 289. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 647.

(*c*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 325. 327.

(*d*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 178, 179.

(*e*) Rushworth's Collect. vol. ii. P. iv. p. 1331. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 293.

(*f*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 651. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 135.

(*g*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192, 193.

(*h*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 70, 71.

(107) Berkeley's Memoirs, p. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75.

(108) Memorials of the English affairs, p. 361—363. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 271—273.

(109) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 99.

(110) The Perfect Politician, or life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 28, 29.

(111) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 100, 111. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 67.

neceſſary to dwell particularly upon thoſe circumſtances that are well known, in relation to bringing the King before the High Court of Juſtice, and in purſuance to the ſentence paſſed there to his death, ſince the ſhare that Lieutenant-General Cromwell had therein was open and public: he ſat in the Court, he ſigned the Warrant, and he proſecuted the accompliſhment of it by the King's bloody execution (*i*). It is alſo known, that he threatened Colonel Downs out of that tenderneſs which he ſhewed for his Sovereign, when before the Court; and Colonel Ingoldſby always affirmed, that Cromwell guided his hand in his ſigning the ſentence. What applications were made to him for ſaving the King's life may be found in a multitude of books, and ſome of the paſſages relating to them are undoubtedly worthy of notice (*k*) [*S*]. One remark however is very obvious upon this head,

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 567—569. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 370—375. Echard's Hiſt. of Eng. p. 653—661.

(*k*) Heath's Chron. p. 200. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 734.

cluded a treaty with the dominant party in that kingdom, and left a body of troops with them to maintain it; by which having ſecured that part of the iſland, he was in no pain about the reſt, as knowing that his victorious army muſt make all bend before them. At this diſtance, however, he ſignified to his friends in Parliament, that they ſhould adhere to their vote of making no farther addreſſes to the King (112), which, though they found it impoſſible to do, yet, as the moſt effectual ſtep towards fruſtrating the oppoſite meaſures, they procured Sir Henry Vane the younger to be one of the Commiſſioners in the Treaty at the Iſle of Wight, where, by his arts, and in conjunction with the Lord Say, he retarded it very much, which gave Cromwell time to march up to London (113). In this march the Remonſtrance was hammered out directly contrary to the declaration of the Army, in which they had bewailed their former miſcarriages towards the Parliament, offering violence to the two Houſes, and promiſed faithfully and dutifully to acquieſce in their wiſe reſolutions. Upon the very day that Cromwell came to London, Colonel Pride turned one-and-forty Members out of the Houſe, and made them priſoners; and the very ſame day Colonel Ewer ſeized the King in his bed-chamber, and carried him out of the Iſle of Wight to Hurſt-Caſtle (114); both which ſteps are ſuppoſed to have been taken by directions from Cromwell; and that this ſuppoſition was not ill founded, the reader may probably conclude from the following account of it by the General Thomas Lord Fairfax (115). 'In the Iſle of Wight the Parliament treated 'upon propoſitions of peace with the King; but alas! 'the *Envious one* ſowed *tares*, that could not be rooted 'out but by plucking up the corn alſo. The King 'was the golden ball caſt before the two parties, the 'Parliament and the Army; and the conteſt grew ſo 'great, that it muſt again have involved the kingdom 'in blood, but the Army, having the greater power, 'got the King again into their hands, notwithſtanding 'all endeavours to hinder it. The treaty was ſcarcely 'ended before the King was ſeized on by the hands of 'the ſame perſons that took him from Holmby; ſoon 'after followed his trial. To prepare a way to this 'work, this agitating Council did firſt intend to re-'move all out of the Parliament who were like to 'oppoſe them; and carried it on with ſuch ſecrecy, 'as I had not the leaſt intimation of it till it 'was done, as ſome of the Members of the Houſe 'can witneſs, with whom I was at that very time, 'upon ſpecial buſineſs, when that attempt was made 'by Colonel Pride upon the Parliament, which I pro-'teſt I never had any knowledge of till it was done. 'The reaſon why it was ſo ſecretly carried, that I 'ſhould have no notice of it, was, becauſe I always 'prevented thoſe deſigns when I knew them. By 'this purging of the Houſe, as they called it, the 'Parliament was brought into ſuch a conſumptive 'and languiſhing condition, that it could never again 'recover that healthful conſtitution which always kept 'the kingdom in its ſtrength, life, and vigour.' When the firſt propoſition was made in the Houſe of Commons, for trying the King, Mr. Cromwell roſe up (116), and ſaid, that 'If any man moved this upon 'deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt traitor in 'the world; but ſince Providence and neceſſity had 'caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray God to bleſs their 'counſels, though he was not provided on the ſudden 'to give them counſel.' But not long after he was: for, being a great pretender to Enthuſiaſms and Revelations, he told them, that, as he was praying for a bleſſing from God on his undertaking to reſtore the King to his priſtine Majeſty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not ſpeak one word more; which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King; and to others he aſſerted, that it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and fraud. If the reader is inclined to purſue this matter any farther, he may meet with the cleareſt information in the work of a late Prelate, who has given ſuch an account of Mr. Cromwell's diſpute with the Commiſſioners from Scotland, on the neceſſity of the King's being ſubjected to a capital proſecution, as will leave him without the leaſt colour of doubt, that the whole of this meaſure was of his contriving and conducting, though ſupported by all the Republican party in the Parliament (117).

(112) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 96.

(113) Sir John Bowring's Memoirs. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, vol. i. p. 44.

(114) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 355. 357.

(115) Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 118, 119, 120.

(116) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 54.

[*S*] *Are undoubtedly worthy of notice.*] Of theſe one of the moſt remarkable is, the tranſaction between the Lieutenant-General and a couſin of his, Colonel John Cromwell, an officer in the ſervice of the States. This Gentleman is ſaid to have been in England while the King was in the hands of the Army; and that in a conference he had with the Lieutenant-General, the latter made uſe of this expreſſion, *I think the King the moſt injured Prince in the world*, and then clapping his hand upon his ſword, added, *But this, couſin, ſhall do him right* (118). The Colonel returning to Holland ſoon after, reported what he took to be truth, that the Lieutenant-General had a great regard and reſpect for the King. When, therefore, the news of the King's trial reached Holland, he was ſent over with Letters Credential from the States, to which was added a blank with the King's ſignet, and another of the Prince's, both confirmed by the States, for Cromwell to ſet down his own conditions, if he would now ſave his Majeſty's life. The Colonel went directly to his kinſman's houſe, who was ſo retired and ſhut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home, that it was with much difficulty he obtained admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually ſaluted each other, the Colonel deſired to ſpeak a few words with him in private; and began, with much freedom, to ſet before him the heinouſneſs of the fact then about to be committed, and with what deteſtation it was looked upon abroad, telling him, That of all men living he could never have imagined he would have had any hand in it, who, in his hearing, had proteſted ſo much for the King. To this Cromwell anſwered, It was not he but the Army, and though he did once ſay ſome ſuch words, yet now times were altered, and Providence ſeemed to order things otherwiſe. And it is ſaid he added, that he had prayed and faſted for the King, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this the Colonel ſtepped a little back, and ſuddenly ſhut the door, which made Cromwell apprehend he was going to be aſſaſſinated, but the other pulling out his papers, ſaid to him, *Couſin, this is no time to trifle with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourſelf but your family, relations, and poſterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwiſe, as they changed their name before from* Williams *to* Cromwell, *ſo now they muſt be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring ſuch an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface.* At this Cromwell pauſed a little, and then ſaid, *Couſin, I deſire you will give me till night to conſider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to bed, till you hear from me.* The Colonel did accordingly; and, about one in the morning a meſſenger came to tell him, He might go to reſt, and expect no other anſwer to carry to the Prince; for the Council of Officers had been ſeeking God, a phraſe, it

(117) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 365. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 46, 47.

(118) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 5.

head, which is, that his power and his principles muſt have been very well known, both at home and abroad, otherwiſe ſuch general applications could have never been made; for though it be true, that there were addreſſes alſo to the General, yet thoſe were from ſuch as oppoſed the action, as for inſtance, the Preſbyterian Miniſters, the Scots Commiſſioners, and ſome of the ſecluded Members; but thoſe who were guided entirely by pity and concern, laboured only to move Cromwell, who is ſaid, after this tragedy was acted, to have ſpoken his mind freely by owning, that, if he had not been a King, he might have lived longer (*l*).

(*l*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, P. 74.

The Government being now entirely changed, for in five days after the King's death the Houſe of Lords was voted uſeleſs, it became neceſſary to think of ſome expedient for managing the executive power; and therefore it was reſolved to ſet up a Council of State, of which John Bradſhaw was Preſident, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell a principal Member (*m*). Before he had well taken poſſeſſion of this new dignity, he was again called to action, and that too as briſk, and at leaſt as hazardous, as any in which he had taken any ſhare. The perſons with whom he was to engage were a part, and certainly, if they had known their own minds, the far greateſt part of the very army which he commanded, and the occaſion this. All the purpoſes for which they were neceſſary being anſwered, it was reſolved the Agitators ſhould aſſemble no more. The Houſe of Commons had deprived the Houſe of Lords of a being, by a vote; but in the Army the contrary method was purſued; the General, and his Council of Officers, would no longer vouchſafe any conference with, or even countenance to, the Agitators, which was what the greateſt part of the Army could not bear; and therefore had themſelves recourſe to a method which their officers had taught them upon other occaſions; and this was, to ſet forth their ſentiments by way of Remonſtrance, which was preſented by five Agitators to the General (*n*). For this high offence they were ſeized, and tried by a Court-Martial, and ſentenced to ride with their faces to their horſes tails, at the head of their reſpective corps, with a paper, expreſſing their crime, fixed on their breaſts; after which their ſwords were to be broke over their heads, and themſelves caſhiered; every circumſtance of which was ſtrictly executed upon the 6th of March, in Great Palace-Yard (*o*). This ſerved only to raiſe the flame higher; for ſeveral regiments of horſe, and amongſt the reſt Cromwell's, mutinied, put white cockades in their hats, and appointed a rendezvous at Ware; where Cromwell appeared when he was leaſt expected, and brought with him ſome regiments quartered at a diſtance, that he could depend on. Here, without any previous expoſtulations, he, with two regiments of horſe, ſurrounded one regiment of the mutineers, and calling four men by name out of their ranks, obliged them to caſt dice for their lives, and thoſe two that eſcaped were ordered to ſhoot the others, which they did, and upon this the tame ſpectators of the tragedy thought fit to ſlip their white cockades into their pockets, and to ſecure themſelves by a ſubmiſſion (*p*). This affair did not end here: for one Lockyer being ſhot in St. Paul's Church-Yard for the like offence, his confederates, to the number of a thouſand, attended at his funeral with black and ſea-green ribbons, by way of favours (*q*). This portended a ſtorm, which quickly after broke out; for Scroop's regiment of horſe, quartered at Saliſbury, having firſt ejected their officers, marched to join three other regiments that were in the ſame diſpoſition (*r*); upon which Fairfax and Cromwell, with the troops that adhered to them, moved towards the mutineers with the utmoſt expedition, marching as the neceſſity of the caſe required, forty miles in one day. It is, however, very doubtful, whether all this vigilance, or even the valour of their victorious troops, would have done their buſineſs againſt theſe men, bred in the ſame ſchool, and not at all inferior, either in firmneſs or fame, to themſelves. In ſo nice and dangerous a caſe, therefore, Cromwell ventured upon a ſpecifick which he ſeldom adminiſtred, that is to ſay, he deluded them with a treaty, broke it, and deſtroyed them (*s*) with

(*m*) Hiſt. Independency, P. ii. p. 110.

(*n*) Heath's Chron. p. 233.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 386.

(*p*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 81.

(*q*) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 163. Heath's Chron. p. 233.

(*r*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 82, 83.

(*s*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 233, 234.

it ſeems, very much in uſe at that time, as he alſo had done the ſame, and it was reſolved by them all, that *the King muſt die* (119). All the circumſtances of this relation agree perfectly with the moſt authentic diaries of thoſe times, by which fictitious ſtories are eaſily detected. Lady Fairfax charged the whole deſign of ſeeking the King's death upon Cromwell, at his Majeſty's trial (120). Sir John Bowring told the King himſelf, during the Hampton-Court treaty, what Cromwell's intentions were; and Sir Peter Killigrew likewiſe told him, at the ſame place, that Cromwell meant to fetch him up to London, bring him to a trial there, and put him to death (121). Some have doubted whether the laſt was his original intention or not, for he never loved a Commonwealth, and therefore it is ſuppoſed, that he was the author of that paper-book of propoſals offered to the King the evening before he died; which would have eſtabliſhed the being of the Army moſt effectually, by putting it in their power to pay themſelves, and, at the ſame time, rendering them perpetual (122). If this be true, as indeed I think it cannot be diſproved, the King ſhewed that his great patience did not proceed from want of ſpirit, for he preſently rejected thoſe terms, and reſolved to die a martyr rather than live a cypher (123). But though, without Lieutenant-General Cromwell, this deed could not have been done, yet, when he had brought it ſo far, in order to try whether the King, who, by his laſt treaty, had conſented to a never ending Parliament, might not be brought to change that for an everlaſting Army, yet it might not be abſolutely in his power to go back, nor was it, probably, ever in his will; ſince, how generally ſoever the death of the King was imputed to him, the ſaving of him might, and, in all appearance, would, have been attributed to others; which was ſo repugnant to his ſcheme, if we may judge from his former and future actions (124), that there appears not the leaſt foundation to ſuppoſe he ever had a thought of conſenting to it, nor is there any thing like it ſuggeſted, by any of thoſe who either commend or condemn him.

(119) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 658.

(120) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 375. State Trials, vol. i. p. 991.

(121) Bowring's Memoirs, p. 151.

(122) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 109. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 660. Heath's Chron. p. 215.

(123) See the King's ſpeech at his death.

(124) Perinchief's life of Charles the firſt, p. 93.

as

as little mercy as, in the High Court of Juſtice, he had ſhewn to the King or his friends [T]. After this great ſtroke he accompanied the General, firſt to Oxford (t), where they were made Doctors in the Civil Law, and thence to London, where they were ſplendidly entertained by the city, and had preſents of great value when they took leave (u). At this time England, if not quiet, was totally ſubdued, the Scots were diſcontented but not in arms, ſo that Ireland became the principal object of the Parliament's care, ſince, in that iſland, of three parties which had been for many years ſhedding each others blood, their own was the weakeſt. It was reſolved to ſend over a compleat army of ſeventeen thouſand men, for the ſoldiers were now ſo humbled, they might be ſent any where, and to add weight to the new erected Commonwealth of England, by ſubduing this divided nation (w). One only difficulty remained, which was, to find a proper General. Fairfax was unwilling to go, Waller was talked of, then Fleetwood; but, upon naming Cromwell, a ſilent conſent was given, a great majority approved, and the reſt were afraid to oppoſe it (x). Hiſtorians ſeem at a loſs for the motives which induced him to accept of this command, but they were, probably, theſe: he was willing to be relieved from the troubleſome fatigue of inventing new ſchemes, to render himſelf uſeful to the Parliament, while, as yet, they had both credit and power; he was deſirous of being at the head of an army in action, wherever it was, and he foreſaw thoſe diſtractions that would make ſuch as were now glad to be rid of him, no leſs deſirous to recal him (y). The Parliament ſeemed ſtrongly inclined to make this ſervice as acceptable as poſſible; for they gave him the title of Lord Lieutenant, a moſt extenſive commiſſion, and he was ſent out of London with the greateſt pomp imaginable. He embarked for Ireland in the month of Auguſt, and arrived at Dublin ſoon after the ſiege of that city was raiſed, and Ormond defeated (z). The great induſtry he had uſed, in providing all things neceſſary for this expedition, made his army wear another appearance than any of thoſe that had been yet ſeen in Ireland; ſo that many places ſurrendered upon his approach; but Sir Arthur Aſton being in Drogheda with two thouſand five hundred men, all old troops, it was believed he would have detained the conqueror ſome time, and have allowed Ormond leiſure to have drawn together a new army. But Cromwell, better acquainted with the real ſtrength of places, and better provided with the means of reducing them than thoſe who had gone before him in this war, declined a regular ſiege, and, obſerving where the place was weakeſt, employed all his artillery to open a paſſage. In a very ſhort ſpace of time two breaches were practicable, which Cromwell immediately ſtormed, September 16th, 1649; and though the garriſon made a gallant defence, yet, by ſome accident, Cromwell's forces gained admittance, and, as he had before reſolved, he put all that were to be met with to the ſword, ſo that, at the out-ſide, there were but thirty eſcaped. The ſtrong town of Wexford had the ſame, or, rather, a worſe fate, for there abundance of unhappy women periſhed (a). His ſucceſſes here, as in England, were ſeaſoned with very few diſappointments, though ſome he did meet with; and ſickneſs and action having much reduced his Army, he was once in danger of being attacked with great advantage by Ormond; but that opportunity being loſt, was never recovered (b). He did not put his forces into winter-

(t) Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 88.

(u) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 406.

(w) Heath's Chronicle, p. 237.

(x) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 406, 407.

(y) See Ludlow's Memoirs, Flagellum, or Heath's life of O. Cromwell, and the Hiſt. of Independency.

(z) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 422.

(a) Heath's Chron. p. 243, 244. Ludlow's Mem. vol. i. p. 301—303.

(b) See Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the War in Ireland, and Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond.

[T] *And deſtroyed them with as little mercy, as, in the High Court of Juſtice, he had ſhewn to the King or his friends.*] It is very obſervable, that though, in matters of difficulty and great importance, Cromwell was ſlow in taking his party, and yet more ſo in declaring it when taken, this conduct of his was entirely altered from the time he once declared; for he was then, generally ſpeaking, not only as firm, but more forward than any, and this in matters that would have put the greateſt difficulties upon another man. As for inſtance, he moved for a Committee to look into the proceedings at the trial of the King, in order to teſtify their concurrence and approbation, and actually reported this matter to the Houſe himſelf (125). Upon the trial of Lord Capel, he made a ſpeech as ſenſible as it was ſevere: he acknowledged that Lord had great courage, induſtry, and generoſity; avowed a ſincere perſonal eſteem and reſpect for him; but then added, that the true queſtion was, not whether they ſhould ſpare the life of a ſingle man? but, Whether they ſhould preſerve the moſt bitter and implacable enemy they ever had (126). When he marched againſt the Levellers, it was not only the Parliament's, but his own cauſe that was at ſtake, and therefore he preſſed Lord Fairfax not to loſe a moment's time; and indeed if any time had been loſt, it is very probable that a new Civil War had begun; for Capt. Thompſon, who had put himſelf at the head of theſe people, had drawn together near five thouſand men, who, like himſelf, were determined; and the Manifeſto they had publiſhed daily brought in more. To prevent, if poſſible, an action whence Cromwell foreſaw the worſt conſequences imaginable, Col. Reynolds was allowed to parley with them, and to give them hopes of a treaty. Under the ſenſe of this being ſecure, they took the ſaddles off their horſes, and put them into a meadow to feed; but, about twelve at night, they were attacked on all ſides, and, being unable to form themſelves, were eaſily defeated. A great many ſurrendered upon having quarter given them, who were the next morning ſpectators of the death of three of their Chiefs, one of whom was Thompſon's brother: they all died with great courage and ſpirit. A meſſage was then ſent to the reſt of the mutineers, that they ſhould be decimated, that is, one in ten was to ſuffer death; but upon the heels of this came Lieutenant-General Cromwell, to let them know, that with much difficulty he had procured them pardon, by which he recovered the affection of the Army; neither is it at all improbable, that he brought the Lord General with him hither, that he might have an opportunity of doing this, which happened May 15, 1649 (127). As for Thompſon, the Ringleader, he eſcaped the ſlaughter made of his companions, and threw himſelf into a wood, where, though much wounded, he defended himſelf deſperately ſo long as he had any ammunition, and then, abſolutely refuſing quarter, was killed upon the ſpot. This broke the heart of that deſign, which might otherwiſe have given the Parliament a great deal of trouble, notwithſtanding they had voted them rebels, for they were a ſort of people not to be frighted with words. After this Cromwell purſued his point, and prevailed upon thoſe regiments, moſt inclined to join the mutineers, to wipe out the memory of paſt offences, by conſenting to go with him to Ireland, which accordingly they did (128).

(125) See the Journal of the Houſe annexed to the King's trial.

(126) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 113. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 670.

(127) Hiſt. of Independency, P. ii. p. 167. Heath's Chron. p. 233, 234.

(128) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 84.

quarters till the month of December; and the rainy ſeaſon made it impoſſible for him to keep the field. He was in motion again in the beginning of February, and reduced ſeveral other places: not a few alſo revolted to him; and at laſt, in the beginning of March, he came before Kilkenny, which had been the chief ſeat of that bloody and barbarous rebellion, which he quickly reduced, and, not long after, Clonmell, by ſtorm; ſo that by the month of June, 1650, all Ireland was, in a manner, ſubdued, and that in ſo ſhort a ſpace as nine months (*c*). A ſtrange concurrence of circumſtances made his preſence now deſired in England, not only by thoſe who wiſhed him well, but by ſuch alſo as wiſhed him worſt. Conſtituting therefore his ſon-in-law Ireton his deputy, he took ſhipping for Briſtol, where, after a dangerous paſſage, he ſafely arrived (*d*), leaving ſuch a terror on the minds of the Iriſh, as made every thing eaſy to thoſe who ſucceeded him, and compleated the conqueſt of that country [*U*]. Upon his return to London he came, as it were, in triumph, and all ranks of people contended, either from love or fear, who ſhould ſhew him moſt reſpect. At his taking his ſeat in the Houſe he had thanks returned him for his ſervices, in terms as high as the Speaker's eloquence could reach (*e*). Theſe ceremonies once over, they proceeded to things of greater conſequence; for, by this time, the Parliament had another war upon their hands, the Scots having invited home King Charles II. and preparing an army to invade England. There is no doubt that the Parliament would have been content to have truſted this war to the conduct of Lord Fairfax, a brave man, and a good officer, though no profound politician; but he had always ſcruples, and, having been often deceived and deluded, was now not ſo eaſily dealt with (*f*). Cromwell made no ſecret of his ſentiments, which were, that they ſhould not wait for an invaſion, but prevent it by an invaſion, and in this, without queſtion, he had the better ſide of the argument; but Lord Fairfax's conſcience could not digeſt this reaſoning: he had taken the Covenant, and, notwithſtanding all the ſeries of tranſactions he had run through, he could not bring himſelf to think of breaking it, by attacking the Scots in their own country (*g*). Cromwell, who had taken meaſure of his capacity, and knew that, as far as that went, he was inflexibly honeſt, carried his diſſimulation to the greateſt height, preſſed him to continue in his command, declared he thought it a greater honour to ſerve as his Lieutenant-General, than to command the fineſt army in the world in chief; and, ſtrange as this declaration was, he ſupported it with ſuch a ſhew of ſincerity, that Mr. Ludlow (*h*), who ſuſpected him as much as any man, confeſſes that he was deceived, and that he thought himſelf obliged to interpoſe, and to deſire that the Lieutenant-General would not ſuffer his complaiſance to prove fatal to his country. This famous conference was held June 25th, 1650; and, though a whole month had been now ſpent in trying to get the better of Lord Fairfax's diſtaſte to the expedition againſt the Scots, yet it was all in vain; ſo that June 26th an Ordinance paſſed for repealing his commiſſion, and, at the ſame time, another for appointing Oliver Cromwell, Eſq; General and Commander in Chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth (*i*). He had now as great power as might have ſatisfied the moſt ambitious mind; for, though he

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 251. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 459. Ludlow's Mem. vol. i. p. 309.

(*d*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 88, 89.

(*e*) Heath's Chron. p. 267. Ludlow's Mem. vol. i. p. 313, 314.

(*f*) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 127, 128.

(*g*) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 273.

(*h*) Memoirs, vol. i. p. 315.

(*i*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460—462.

[*U*] *Leaving ſuch a terror on the minds of the Iriſh, as made every thing eaſy to thoſe who ſucceeded him, and compleated the conqueſt of that country.*] We have ſeen the ſhare that Commiſſary-General Ireton had in affairs of the greateſt importance and difficulty, where Cromwell had occaſion for advice, and his hand was chiefly uſed in drawing all papers; for having been bred a Lawyer, he was much more capable in things of that nature than moſt of his party. He was very uſeful to his father-in-law in the courſe of the Iriſh war, and therefore it is no wonder that Cromwell committed the extinction of it to his care. Some writers, and more eſpecially a famous Prelate (129), have indeed ſuggeſted that he was ſo far from being ſecond to Cromwell, that he governed him, and that particularly in the buſineſs of the King's death he was the principal inſtrument, and drove the Lieutenant-General into it whether he would or not. Ludlow does not ſay this; but he ſeems to countenance ſuch an opinion; for he was as great an admirer of Ireton, as he was an implacable enemy to Cromwell. If one could give entire credit to this, it might be reaſonably preſumed, that Cromwell left him his Deputy in Ireland, to prevent his embarraſſing the meaſures he meant to take in England. But whoever conſiders attentively the characters of both theſe men, will not, I perſuade myſelf, diſcover any real grounds for ſuch ſuppoſitions. While Cromwell and Ireton dealt with the King, their behaviour was perfectly the ſame, that is to ſay, they diſſembled alike, or, if there was any difference, Ireton did it the beſt of the two, whence one would naturally infer, that his principles were the ſame with Cromwell's: neither is it at all improbable, that, if they had lived longer together, they would have agreed as well in the latter part of their lives as they did in the former (130). Upon the whole, therefore, the truth ſeems to be, that Cromwell made choice of him for Deputy, becauſe he was at once the fitteſt man for that employment, and the perſon in the world he could beſt truſt with it. If theſe were Cromwell's reaſons, they were fully juſtified in the event; for Ireton did every thing that could be expected from him: he proſecuted the war with all the vigour and vigilance of a great officer, and ſettled alſo the civil affairs of the kingdom upon the beſt foundation poſſible. At the time of his death, there was an Engliſh army in Ireland of eight thouſand horſe and twenty-two thouſand foot, and though the Iriſh had ſtill ſome thouſands in arms, and were poſſeſſed of ſeveral places of conſiderable ſtrength, yet their counſels were ſo broken, their forces ſo diſpirited, and they had ſo few reſources left, (Cromwell, from a ſeeming ſpirit of compaſſion, having ſuffered multitudes to be tranſported abroad for the Spaniſh and other ſervices) that notwithſtanding what Ludlow tells us of his own exploits in that kingdom, there was really nothing to be done of any conſequence; and as the reduction of Ireland was firſt rendered practicable by Cromwell, ſo with juſtice one can hardly ſay, it was compleated by any but Deputy Ireton and Lord Broghill, who were both of them, though from very different motives, equally attached to Cromwell and his family (131). We ſhall hereafter ſee that it was his policy to keep Ireland conſtantly in ſuch hands; which, without doubt, was very neceſſary, ſince the army there would have been always formidable, if at the devotion of any but thoſe on whom he could abſolutely depend.

(129) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 44. 46, 47.

(130) See Sir John Berkeley's Memoirs, Huntington's Charge againſt Cromwell, Hiſtory of Independency, P. ii. p. 178.

(131) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 67.

offered to reſign his Lieutenancy of Ireland, yet the Parliament would not accept it. Being ſenſible, however, of the neceſſity there was to preſerve the military affairs in that kingdom from falling again into confuſion, and being deſirous to remove out of his way any officer the Parliament might think capable of taking a ſuperior command, he reſolved to follow that impreſſion which he perceived his late conduct had made upon Mr. Ludlow, and to procure his being ſent to Ireland in quality of Lieutenant-General of the Horſe; which was accordingly done (*k*). Experience afterwards taught Ludlow the true meaning of this; but, in all probability, he conſidered it, at that time, as a favour; and this the great admirers of Cromwell have juſtly conſidered, as an inſtance of his refined policy (*l*) [*W*]. All obſtructions being now removed, he began his march towards Scotland, much about the ſame time that King Charles appeared there in public. The army which he commanded conſiſted of about twenty thouſand men, which were the flower of the Parliament Army, and ſuch as, with the change of a very few officers, General Cromwell could well depend upon (*m*). He uſed great expedition, and arrived in a month's time at Berwick, where he publiſhed a Declaration, importing, that the Engliſh had no intention to impoſe any form of government upon the inhabitants of Scotland, but engaged in this war purely upon a principle of ſelf-defence. The Scots had deſtroyed all their own country, and withdrawn as many of their people as they could, ſo that from the time Cromwell entered it, his forces were much diſtreſſed; nor was the progreſs he made attended, for ſome time, with much greater ſucceſs; for at Muſſleborough he was attacked in the night (*n*) with great fury, and was in no ſmall danger of being defeated; notwithſtanding which he continued his march towards Edinburgh, and came to the very walls of that city. The Army of the Scots Preſbyterians, for it could ſcarcely be ſtiled the King's Army, ſince they would not ſuffer him to be in it, was commanded by old Leſley, who ſhewed himſelf a very good officer; for being ſenſible, that his new-raiſed troops were not able to contend in the field with Cromwell's ſeaſoned old ſoldiers, he kept them ſo well intrenched, that even Cromwell, who put his troops ſometimes upon doing miracles, could not think of attacking him, but depended chiefly upon propagating diſcontents in the Scotch Army, which was eaſily done, and upon provoking them to fight, which he judged muſt, ſome time or other, have its effect (*o*). The firſt, indeed, Leſley could not prevent, though it gave him a great deal of trouble and diſquiet; but the latter he hindered for ſome time, and thereby brought Cromwell's forces into great ſtraits. They had once retreated to Dunbar, and thence advanced again to Muſſleborough; but this having no effect, the Scots growing daily ſtronger, and the Engliſh Army dwindling in the ſame proportion, Cromwell marched again to Dunbar, with a deſign, as is generally believed, of ſhipping his foot for England, and breaking through the Scots Army with his horſe (*p*). But while he was meditating either this retreat, or a final attempt before he made it, the Scots changed their reſolution at the requeſt of their Miniſters, who promiſed them, with a moſt enthuſiaſtic vehemence, a complete victory; in confidence of which, againſt Leſley's advice, they determined to fight (*q*). General Cromwell who, in the night of September 2d, 1650, had alſo reſolved in a Council of War, to attack them, obſerving, with a perſpective glaſs, that they were in motion, declared, as if it had been through a ſpirit of prophecy, but in reality from his military ſkill, That God had delivered them into his hands (*r*). Their attack was furious; but Cromwell's foot ſtood ſo firm, that they were able to make but little impreſſion; and the hurry of their own charge having thrown them into confuſion, the Engliſh horſe eaſily broke,

(*k*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 321—323.

(*l*) Modeſt Vindication of O. Cromwell, p. 35.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 269.

(*n*) Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 163.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 466. Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 165.

(*p*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 684. Walker's Hiſt. Diſcourſes, p. 179.

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, vol. i. p. 54. Walker's Hiſt. Diſcourſes, p. 180, 181.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, vol. i. p. 54.

[*W*] *As an inſtance of his refined policy.*] It muſt be very clear to ſuch as peruſe what Mr. Ludlow has written, and who conſider what General Cromwell had acted, that, if we except their bravery, there could not be two more different men in the world. Ludlow was ſincerely and ſteadily a Republican. Cromwell was not wedded to any kind of Government, but of all kinds liked that the leaſt. Ludlow ſpoke his mind plainly, and was never taken for any other than he profeſſed himſelf to be: Cromwell valued himſelf upon acting a part, or rather upon acting ſeveral parts, and all of them equally well; and when he had occaſion to perform that of a Commonwealth's-man, he performed it ſo admirably, that though Ludlow knew him to be a player by profeſſion, yet he now thought he had thrown off the maſk, and appeared what he really was (132). Ludlow was entirely devoted to the Parliament as now conſtituted, and would have implicitly obeyed their orders upon any occaſion whatever: it was quite otherwiſe with Cromwell, who marched into Scotland to do his own buſineſs as well as theirs: from all which it may be inferred, that Cromwell ſent Ludlow over to Ireland, that, in caſe of any accident, like that which actually happened of the King's ſudden march into England, the Parliament might not have any officer at hand fit to command a new army, which new army, being alſo compoſed of troops raiſed under their authority, might have given a check to his own. He well knew, that two armies in a country of any thing near equal force, is the ſame thing with having none, in caſe the civil authority and the voice of the people declare on one ſide; for then there will be no way left to keep the other army together, which would have been his caſe if Ludlow had ever had a Parliamentary army, and was actually the caſe of Lambert againſt Monk; for the latter prevailed only by his having the Parliament and the people on his ſide. In Ireland there was no ſuch danger: Cromwell himſelf was Lord Lieutenant, Ireton was his Deputy, and therefore Ludlow could do little harm, for Ireton fooled him there as Cromwell had done in England; but when, through a change of circumſtances, he might have become dangerous, we ſhall find that General Cromwell took notice of it in time, and ſent over another perſon whom he could truſt to take the command out of his hands, of which alſo Ludlow bitterly complained, though he does not ſeem to have apprehended fully the motives of that alteration (133). I have dwelt upon this as a proper inſtance of Cromwell's refined policy, of which alſo many others might be given, but, for the ſake of brevity, theſe are left to the reader's own obſervation.

(132) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 321.

(133) Modeſt Vindication of O. Cromwell.

routed,

routed, and cut them off with prodigious ſlaughter: only one highland regiment of foot remained firm, and covered with their bodies the ground upon which they were poſted, no more than twenty wounded men being taken priſoners out of eight hundred of which that corps conſiſted (*s*). Such was the famous victory of Dunbar, than which Cromwell never gained any more entire, or that did him greater credit as a Commander (*t*) [*X*]. After taking the neceſſary precautions, by ſending away the priſoners, he returned to Edinburgh, where he met with no reſiſtance except from the caſtle, which held out to Chriſtmas-Eve, and was then ſurrendered, or, as ſome ſay, betrayed into his hands (*u*). He continued the war all the winter, and, in the beginning of the enſuing year, made diſpoſitions for attacking the King, whom the Scots had now crowned, and provided with another army; but factions ſtill continued amongſt them, of which none knew better how to take advantage than Cromwell. In the Spring he was ſeverely attacked by an ague, and this gave the Engliſh Parliament an opportunity of ſhewing an equal concern for his perſon and their own intereſts, which they expreſſed by ſending down Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, two eminent Phyſicians, to attend him, and large ſupplies of men and money for reinforcing his army (*w*). He quickly recovered his health, and in ſeveral ſmall actions and ſieges was conſtantly ſucceſsful; but the King continued near Stirling with his army, now in a good meaſure under his command, in a ſtrong camp, where Cromwell could not force him, and out of which he was reſolved not to be drawn. At length, tired with this tedious manner of making war, Cromwell attacked and reduced Perth, which threw the King into great perplexity, ſo that, towards the end of July 1651, he reſolved to take that which ſeemed to be his only advantage, a retreat from Cromwell into England, to which he was neareſt (*x*). All who were about him concurred in this advice, excepting only the Marquis of Argyle, who told him, his fate would, in that caſe, depend upon a battle, where if he loſt it, it would be in a country where he had no reſource, and where, without a miracle, his perſon would be alſo loſt; that he might ſtill retire into Argyleſhire, and thence, if any misfortune happened, into the Highlands, where,

(*s*) Whitlocke's Memorials, P. 471. Walker's Hiſt. Diſcourſes, P. 181. Burnet's Mem. of the Dukes of Hamilton, P. 424.

(*t*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 684. Rapin, vol. xiii. p. 53, 54.

(*u*) Heath's Chr. p. 280, 281. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 110.

(*w*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 106. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289, 290.

(*x*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 501. Heath's Chron. p. 294, 295. Bates's *Elenchus Matuum*, P. ii. p. 120.

[*X*] *Or that did him greater credit as a Commander.*] The moſt ſatisfactory account that is to be met with of this battle, ſeems to be that given by Cromwell himſelf, in his letter to the Parliament, which not being eaſily met with, the reader cannot but be pleaſed to read the moſt remarkable facts in it, as delivered by himſelf (134). 'Upon Monday evening, the enemy, 'whoſe numbers were very great, as we hear about ſix 'thouſand horſe, and ſixteen thouſand foot at leaſt; 'ours, drawn down as to ſound men, about ſeven 'thouſand five hundred foot, and three thouſand five 'hundred horſe. The enemy drew down to their 'right wing about two thirds of their left wing of 'horſe, ſhogging alſo their foot and train much to the 'right, cauſing their right wing of horſe to edge down 'towards the ſea. We could not well imagine but 'that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to 'place themſelves in a more exact condition of interpoſition. The Major General and myſelf coming 'to the Earl of Roxborough's houſe, and obſerving 'his poſture, I told him I thought it did give us an 'opportunity to advantage to attempt upon the 'enemy, to which he immediately replied, that he 'had thought to have ſaid the ſame thing to me, ſo 'that it pleaſed the Lord to ſet this apprehenſion 'upon both our hearts at the ſame inſtant. We called for General Monk, and ſhewed him the ſame 'thing, and coming to our quarter at night, and demonſtrating our apprehenſions to ſome of the Colonels, they alſo chearfully concurred. We reſolved 'therefore to put our buſineſs into this poſture, that 'ſix regiments of horſe, and three regiments and a 'half of foot, ſhould march in the van, and that the 'Major-General, the Lieutenant-General of the 'horſe, and the Commiſſary-General and Colonel 'Monk to command the brigade of foot, ſhould lead 'on the buſineſs; and that Col. Pride's brigade, Col. 'Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments 'of horſe, ſhould bring up the cannon and rear, the 'time of falling on to be by break of day; but, by 'ſome delay, it proved not to be 'till ſix o'clock in 'the morning. The enemy's word was *the Covenant*, 'which they had uſed for divers days; ours *the Lord 'of Hoſts*. The Major-General, Lieutenant-General 'Fleetwood, and Commiſſary-General Whalley, and 'Col. Twiſsleton, gave the onſet; the enemy being 'in very good poſture to receive them, having the advantage, their cannon and foot againſt our horſe, 'and before our foot could come up the enemy made 'a gallant reſiſtance. And there was a very hot diſpute, at ſword's point, between our horſe and theirs. 'Our firſt foot, after they had diſcharged their firſt 'fury, being over-powered with the enemy, received 'ſome repulſe, which they ſoon recovered; but my 'own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goff and my Major White, did come ſeaſonably in, and at puſh of pike did repel the ſtouteſt 'regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage which the Lord was pleaſed to give, which 'proved a great amazement to the reſidue of their 'foot, this being the firſt action between the foot: 'the horſe in the mean time did, with a great deal of 'courage and ſpirit, beat back all oppoſition, charging through the bodies of the enemies horſe and their 'foot, who were after the firſt repulſe given, made, 'by the Lord of Hoſts, as ſtubble to their ſwords. 'Indeed I believe I may ſpeak it without partiality, 'both your Chief Commanders and others in their ſeveral places, and ſoldiers alſo, were acted with as 'much courage, as ever hath been ſeen in any action 'ſince this war. I know they look not to be named, 'and therefore I forbear particulars. The beſt of the 'enemy's horſe and foot being broken through and 'through in leſs than an hour's diſpute, their whole 'army being put into confuſion, it became a total rout, 'our men having the chaſe and execution of them near 'eight miles. We believe that upon the place, and 'near about it, were three thouſand ſlain; priſoners 'taken of their officers, you have this incloſed liſt; 'of private ſoldiers, near ten thouſand; the whole 'baggage and train taken, in which was good ſtore 'of match, powder, and bullet; all their artillery 'great and ſmall; thirty guns. We are confident 'they have left behind them no leſs than fifteen 'thouſand arms. I have already brought unto me 'near two hundred colours, which I herewith ſend 'you. What officers of quality of theirs are killed, 'we yet cannot learn, but yet ſurely divers are, and 'many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Col. 'Lumſdale, the Lord Libberton, and others; and that 'which is no ſmall addition, I believe we have not 'loſt twenty men; not one commiſſioned officer ſlain 'as I hear of, ſave one Cornet, and Major Rookſby 'ſince dead of his wounds; and not many mortally 'wounded; Col. Whalley only cut in the hand, wriſt, 'and his horſe twice ſhot, and killed under him, but 'he well recovered another horſe, and went on in his 'chaſe. Thus you have the proſpect of one of the 'moſt ſignal mercies God hath done for England and 'his people this war.'

(134) What is here cited was tranſcribed from Cromwell's letters in Dr. Nalſon's M. S. Collections.

while there were men, he would never want an army (*y*). This moved the King, and him only: the reſt were determined, and prevailed upon him to begin his march ſouthward, as he did on the laſt of July (*z*). The news of his coming into England alarmed the Parliament at Weſtminſter exceedingly, and put them upon augmenting their army with many thouſand men. The rapidity of the King's march brought him to Worceſter before Cromwell could overtake him; but in the mean time the gallant Earl of Derby, who was marching to his aſſiſtance, was routed and taken; and ſoon after General Cromwell blocked him up in Worceſter, where, on the 3d of September, he attacked and carried the place, totally defeated the King's forces, and gained that which himſelf called, in his letter to the Parliament, the crowning victory (*a*) [*Y*]. He did not remain long with the troops: for having ſeen the walls of Worceſter demoliſhed, and directing ſome thouſands of priſoners to be driven before him, he began his march, as it were, in triumph for London. He met four Commiſſioners from the Parliament not far from Ayleſbury, and, when he came to Acton, the Speaker, the Houſe, and the Council of State, met him in form, as did ſoon after the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and with all this pomp he proceeded to Whitehall, where, having repoſed himſelf a little, September the 16th, he took his place in the Houſe, where his great atchievements were again the ſubject of Lenthall's eloquence; and the ſame day he dined upon a ſolemn invitation in the city (*b*). Yet theſe, though great, were far from being the moſt conſiderable marks of honour that were paid him. A general thankſgiving was appointed for his victory, and the 3d of September appointed an anniverſary State holiday: he had beſides four thouſand pounds a year voted him out of the eſtates of the Duke of Buckingham and Marquis of Worceſter (*c*). When theſe ceremonies and acknowledgments were over, he had leiſure to look about him, and to conſider as well his own condition as that of the nation. He ſaw himſelf at preſent General and Commander in Chief of a great army in England, and, at the ſame time, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but then he knew that all this was derived to him from the Parliament; and he clearly diſcerned that, whether Independents or Preſbyterians ſat there, they would endeavour to perpetuate ſupreme power in their own hands, which, for many reaſons, he diſliked; and therefore he ſifted the moſt eminent perſons, in order to find out their ſentiments about the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom, which was a new phraſe invented to cover the deſign of ſubverting the Parliament (*d*). In reference to this he found, that different men had different opinions, all concurring in part, but not in the whole, with his own [*Z*]. As it was not yet time for him

(*y*) See the article of Campbell, Marquis of Argyle, in this work.

(*z*) Heath's Chron. p. 294. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 281.

(*a*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 222. Behemoth, by T. Hobb, p. 281, 282. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507, 508. Echard's Hiſt. Eng. p. 697.

(*b*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 118, 119. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 509.

(*c*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 697.

(*d*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 157.

[*Y*] *The crowning victory.*] In this battle of Worceſter Cromwell gave very high proofs of his perſonal courage, and that for a generous purpoſe, ſince he expoſed himſelf extremely to offer quarter to the Scots who defended the Fort Royal, with a view only of preventing the unneceſſary effuſion of blood amongſt his own troops, for his propoſition being refuſed, and the place taken, he directed all that were in it to be put to the ſword (135). He likewiſe ſhewed his impartiality in commending the courage of the King, who charged with the Scots foot, and gained ſome advantage even over Cromwell's guards (136): but the Scots horſe, under the command of Leſley, behaved baſely. There needed not much of conduct in the buſineſs, for beſides that they were certainly better troops, Cromwell had alſo the advantage in numbers, the King's army conſiſting but of ſixteen thouſand, and that of the Parliament of twenty-eight thouſand (137). It is ſaid that Cromwell treated the militia but indifferently, though they contributed much to the victory; but in his letter to the Parliament he acknowledges their great ſervices, in as clear and as ſtrong terms as could be expected. There is no doubt that this was as ſignal and compleat a ſtroke of ſucceſs, as even the ambitious heart of Cromwell could deſire, and therefore it is no great wonder that it took him a little off his guard, as it certainly did. He would have knighted two of his principal Commanders upon the field of battle, and was with great difficulty diſſuaded from it (138). His letter to the Parliament is conceived in more ſtiff and lofty terms than any of his former writings. Ludlow ſays that his behaviour was altered from that day, and that all who were about him obſerved it (139). Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to ſay, it was altered upon that day and the next, for he very ſoon recovered himſelf, and ſhewed as much ſubmiſſion and humility as ever. He treated his priſoners with great ſeverity, and it is thought would have brought Maſſey and Middleton to the ſcaffold, if they had not had the good luck to eſcape. He was now compleatly maſter of the Army, which expected its continuance and the payment of all arrears from his weight and influence, which opinion he took care to encourage, and gave them frequent aſſurances, that they might much better depend upon him than upon their old reſource of Agitators (140). All his conduct afterwards was of a piece with this, and he took all the care imaginable to make the Army ſenſible of their own importance, and to let them ſee that nothing could divide their intereſts from his own, which was the true foundation of his growing greatneſs, and of the gradual declenſion of the Parliament's power, which, though they clearly diſcerned, they knew not how to prevent.

(135) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 116.

(136) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 123.

(137) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 282. Heath's Chron. p. 297.

(138) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 365, 366.

(139) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 447.

(140) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 118.

[*Z*] *But not in the whole with his own.*] After the great victory of Worceſter, General Cromwell took a new text, upon which he preached with wonderful eloquence upon all occaſions, and this was, *the neceſſity of an eſtabliſhment*. There had been a great deal of fighting, and now the fighting was over, he thought the conquerors ought to know what they had been fighting for (141). In a meeting among the principal perſons in power, held about three months afterwards, he propoſed the queſtion fairly (142), when St. John, Whitlocke, Lenthall, and Sir Thomas Widdrington, declared plainly for monarchy, Harriſon, Deſborough, and Whalley, as plainly for a Commonwealth. Cromwell did not think fit to diſcover his own opinion with the like clearneſs, but expreſſed a deſire of knowing, if a Monarchy was neceſſary, Who was to be that Monarch? Sir Thomas Widdrington anſwered directly, one of the late King's ſons, and propoſed the Duke of Glouceſter then in their power. To this Whitlocke demurred, and was for inviting the two elder brothers; but this being nothing to Cromwell's deſign, he ſoon broke up that conference. Upon the 7th of Nov. 1652, meeting the Lord Commiſſioner Whitlocke in the Park, he entered into a long diſcourſe with him upon this important ſubject, in which the part that Cromwell took was this (143): he ſhewed him that the Parliament was now become a faction; that they were reſolved to rule all, and to rule for ever, merely for

(141) Heath's Chron. p. 301.

(142) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 214, 215.

(143) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 516.

him to declare himſelf plainly, he made it his buſineſs to entertain as fair a correſpondence as poſſible with all parties. He behaved in public with great decency and duty towards that body of men he was contriving to remove, but held a private correſpondence with every one of the parties that were caballing againſt them, by which he was in all their ſecrets, as they probably thought they were in his, but in that they were deceived; he never had but one confident, and that confident was gone. This was his ſon-in-law Ireton, whom he had placed at the head of affairs in Ireland, where he died of the plague (*e*). It was of great importance to him to ſubſtitute another there as much devoted to his ſervice; but the thing was difficult. The Parliament had caſt their eyes upon Lambert, who was to govern with the title of Lord Deputy; but ways and means were found to change their reſolution as to the title, though not as to the man: but as he rightly foreſaw, the change of the one produced the change of the other; for Lambert, who would have been proud of being Deputy, diſdained to go thither as a Commiſſioner (*f*). Under theſe circumſtances the ordinance appointing Cromwell Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom determined, which he very prudently declined to renew, but inſtead of it got the ordinance appointing him Captain-General and Commander in Chief in England, extended by another ordinance to Ireland; and thus he had the power without the name: but as he never meant to go thither again in perſon, he gave his daughter, Mrs. Ireton, in marriage to Colonel Fleetwood, a man entirely under his direction, whom he procured to be declared Lieutenant-General of the forces in Ireland; by which the great point he aimed at was fully attained (*g*). This dexterity in his management became very ſoon after obvious enough, though little notice was taken of it at the time; which ſhewed the deep reach of his politicks, and how much his abilities were in reality ſuperior to thoſe of the perſons he had to do with, who, with all the good-will in the world to oppoſe him, found themſelves, at every turn, the dupes of his deſigns, which at the bottom were juſt as honeſt as their own (*h*). As a proof of this we may obſerve, that the very perſon worſt treated in this affair, that is, General Lambert, not only miſplaced his reſentment, and grew diſaffected to the Parliament, but ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far cajoled by Cromwell, as to believe, that he thought him worthier than to be ſent to Ireland upon any terms, and that if any thing ſhould happen to himſelf, he ſincerely wiſhed him for his ſucceſſor, how eminent ſoever his ſtation might be (*i*). All the winter of the year 1652 was ſpent in cabals and contrivances on both ſides, that is, by the friends of the Parliament, to ſupport and ſuſtain its authority, and, by their opponents, to bring things into ſuch a ſituation, as might render the neceſſity of diſſolving that aſſembly univerſally apparent. But while all this was doing, General Cromwell neglected nothing that might eſtabliſh hopes of favour from him, and of benefit to their reſpective cauſes in all the parties then ſubſiſting in the nation; which, conſidering the diverſity of principles on which they acted, and their inveteracy againſt each other, muſt appear a thing almoſt incredible (*k*) [*AA*]. As the Spring advanced

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 467.

(*f*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 414.

(*g*) Heath's Chron. p. 309.

(*h*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. 159, 160. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 125.

(*i*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 414. Flagellum, &c. p. 126, 127.

(*k*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 159. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 449, 450.

for their own ſakes; that they gave all employments to themſelves, their relations, or friends; that they drew every thing within their own cognizance, by which the ſubject loſt the benefit of the law, and held his property but by a precarious tenure; that, all this conſidered, they had fought themſelves into a worſe condition, and that, inſtead of a Monarch with a prerogative royal, they had now many maſters who made laws and broke them at their pleaſure; that, on the other hand, the Army was very ſenſible of this; that they bore it with great reluctancy; that they too had great diſputes amongſt themſelves; and that it could not be long before theſe miſchiefs broke out into a new flame. Whitlocke very readily agreed, that he had deſcribed both parties truly, but, at the ſame time, acknowledged, that, notwithſtanding he was acquainted with the diſeaſes of the Commonwealth, he was entirely ignorant of any right method of cure. What, ſaid Cromwell, if a man ſhould take upon himſelf to be King? Whitlocke undertook to ſhew him, that he would get nothing by it, that he had more power already than former Kings ever had, and that by aſſuming the name he might run a great hazard of loſing the thing. Cromwell then preſſed to know, What he would have done? upon which, as before, the Lord Commiſſioner propounded compromiſing matters with Charles Stuart, the debating of which Cromwell declined, as being a matter of much difficulty. There is no doubt but that he had many converſations of this ſort with the moſt intelligent of all parties; but we ſhall mention only one more, and that for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe it ſhews us that he was perfectly aware of what is ſuggeſted in the text, that thoſe who hated each other extremely, all concurred in ſtill hating him with greater inveteracy; for as the Royaliſts deteſted his perſon, ſo the Republicans abhorred his power. Secondly, becauſe it is reported upon good authority, having been often related by Mr. Henry Nevil, a celebrated Politician, and once a Member of the Council of State. He was wont to tell it thus (144): 'That Cromwell upon this great 'occaſion ſent for ſome of the chief city Divines, as if 'he made it a matter of conſcience to be determined 'by their advice. Among theſe was the leading 'Mr. Calamy, who very boldly oppoſed the project of 'Mr. Cromwell's ſingle government, and offered to 'prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell 'anſwered readily upon the firſt head of unlawful, and 'appealed to the ſafety of the nation being the ſupreme law. But, ſays he, pray Mr. Calamy why 'impracticable? Calamy replied, Oh 'tis againſt the 'voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten againſt 'you. Very well, ſays Cromwell, but what if I 'ſhould diſarm the nine, and put a ſword into the tenth 'man's hand, Would not that do the buſineſs?'

(144) Life of Henry Nevil, Eſq; p. 35.

[*AA*] *Muſt appear a thing almoſt incredible.*] It cannot but be ſatisfactory to the inquiſitive reader to ſee this point a little more fully explained, the chief difficulty lying in this, that the inveteracy of people in thoſe times was ſo great, as to render it next to impoſſible, to ſhew the leaſt favour to any one party, without irritating all the reſt. The path indeed was narrow, and precipices there were on every ſide; yet Cromwell had the courage to venture himſelf in this path, and ſo great conduct as to paſs through it without making one falſe ſtep. He never courted the Cavaliers directly, but, upon particular occaſions, and under a variety of pretences, he did many of them ſignal ſervices, and generally ſpoke of them as men of honour acting upon miſtaken principles; exclaiming at the

advanced this great affair began to ripen: the people in different parts of the nation, and the Army in general, began to murmur at the amazing ſtretch of power which the Parliament, though ſo thin of Members, aſſumed to themſelves, which ſometimes the General encouraged, and at others repreſſed; as for inſtance, when it was debated in the Council of Officers, whether they ſhould petition the Parliament to turn their vote into a bill for their own diſſolution, Cromwell ſent Colonel Deſborough, who had married a ſiſter of his, to put an end to that debate, in which he declared, in expreſs terms, againſt uſing any violence, and at the ſame time ran out into the higheſt commendations of that Aſſembly (*l*). But afterwards perceiving, that the party againſt them in the Army was growing daily ſtronger, and that, on the other hand, the Parliament, having gotten both courage and credit from their ſucceſs in the Dutch war, were contriving to ſet up the Fleet againſt the Army, and to diminiſh the power of the one, and to augment that of the other, had ordered part of the Army on board the Fleet, he found himſelf obliged to make more haſte (*m*). On the 19th of April, 1653, he called a Council of Officers, once more to debate this point, in which as he had many friends, ſo he had alſo ſome opponents, who inſinuated, that what he did proceeded from ſelf-intereſt and ambition. Major-General Harriſon, a zealous Fanatick, but abſolutely deceived by Cromwell, aſſured the Aſſembly, in the ſincerity of his heart, That the Lord General ſought only to pave the way for the government of Jeſus and his Saints, to which Major Streater briſkly returned, That then he ought to come quickly, for if it was after Chriſtmas, he would come too late (*n*). Upon this Cromwell adjourned the meeting till the next morning, when a new point was ſtarted, whether it might not be expedient for the Houſe and the Army to appoint twenty perſons of a ſide, to be intruſted with the ſupreme power. In the midſt of this diſpute advice came, that the Houſe had under conſideration their own diſſolution, and upon this ſuch as were Members withdrew, and went thither to promote that deſign. But in reality the Parliament had framed a bill, to continue themſelves to the 5th of November in the next year, propoſing, in the mean time, to fill up the Houſe by new elections (*o*). Colonel Ingoldſby came back to the General, and informed him what the Houſe was upon: at which the General, who expected they ſhould have meddled with no other buſineſs but putting an immediate period to their own ſitting, without any more delay, was ſo enraged, that he immediately commanded ſome of the officers to fetch a party of ſoldiers, to the number of three hundred, with which marching directly to Weſtminſter, he placed ſome of them at the door, ſome in the lobby, and others on the ſtairs (*p*). Himſelf going into the Houſe, firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and told him, That he then came to do that which grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears prayed to God againſt; nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it; but that there was a neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation (*q*). Then he ſat down, and heard their debates for ſome time on the fore-mentioned act; after which calling to Major-General Harriſon, who was on the other ſide of the Houſe, to come to him, he told him, That he judged the Parliament ripe for a diſſolution, and this to be the time of doing it (*r*). Harriſon anſwered, Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it, before you engage in it. You ſay well, replied the General, and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an hour; and then the queſtion for paſſing the ſaid act being put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, This is the time, I muſt do it: and ſo ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bad the Speaker leave the chair, and told the Houſe, That they had ſitten long enough, unleſs they had done more good; that ſome of them were whoremaſters, looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth; that others of them were drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, and ſcandalous to the profeſſion of the goſpel; and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit as a Parliament any longer, and therefore he muſt deſire them to go away (*s*). He charged them with not having a heart to do any thing for the

(*l*) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 451, 452.

(*m*) Heath's Chron. p. 324, 325. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 160.

(*n*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 126, 127.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 524.

(*p*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 160.

(*q*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 129. Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 230.

(*r*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 455, 456.

(*s*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 554. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 405. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 457.

the ſame time againſt the flagrant acts of injuſtice done to them by the Rump, who, to get at their eſtates, made no ſcruple of diſputing away the force of their own acts, and breaking through the moſt ſolemn capitulations (145). This, with the heat he ſhewed in puſhing the Act of Oblivion after the battle of Worceſter, induced them to wiſh well to him rather than the Parliament. He complained to all ſober and religious perſons, of the ſcandalous lives, and diſſolute manners of ſome of the Republican Members. There are, ſaid he, Tom Chaloner and Harry Martin, bleſſed reformers and legiſlators, while they are notorious whoremaſters, and have no more religion than their horſes. He expoſed the pride of ſome, the fraud of others, and the ſelf-ſeeking of all; which gained him great reputation (146). To the Fifth Monarchy men he talked in their own ſtile, and profeſſed his deſire that the ſaints ſhould reign, explaining this to men of ſounder underſtandings, as meaning no more than that the Government ought to be in the hands of men of prudence and probity, which, the then ſituation of things conſidered, was very acceptable doctrine. His real deſign, however, he cloſely concealed; ſo that all who were deſirous of a change expected it from him, and at the ſame time flattered themſelves with the hopes that it would be ſuch a change as they wiſhed. In every thing he ſaid and did, he had a manner that ſeemed to manifeſt the greateſt ſincerity; and yet there was ſo much of caution in all his words and actions, that he knew how to interpret the one, and to account for the other, in ſuch a way, that no hold could be taken of them to his diſadvantage. In ſhort, he never expreſſed reſentment againſt any but it was followed with deſtruction, ſo as to leave them no capacity of revenge; and wherever he conferred obligations, it was in a way ſo high and ſo generous, that as he never beſtowed them on unworthy objects, ſo the memory of them was never loſt, or himſelf deceived as to their effects (147).

(145) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 405.

(146) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 703, 704. Unparalleled Monarch, p. 114.

(147) See Maurice's Memoirs of Lord Broghill, Winſtanley's Select Lives of Engliſh Worthies, p. 596, 597.

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public good, and eſpouſing the intereſt of Preſbytery and the Lawyers, who were the ſupporters of tyranny and oppreſſion, and accuſed them of an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power. When ſome of the Members began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the midſt of the Houſe, and ſaid, Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; then walking up and down the Houſe, he cried out, You are no Parliament, I ſay you are no Parliament, and, ſtamping with his feet, he bad them for ſhame begone, and give place to honeſter men (*t*). Upon this ſignal the ſoldiers entered the Houſe, and he bad one of them take away that bauble, meaning the mace; and Harriſon taking the Speaker by the arm, he came down. Then the General, addreſſing himſelf again to the Members, who were about a hundred, ſaid, 'Tis you that have forced me to this; for I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon the doing of this work. And then ſeizing on all their papers, he ordered the ſoldiers to ſee the Houſe cleared of all Members, and, having cauſed the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall (*u*). With the ſame ſpirit he proceeded to turn out the Council of State, and to take ſuch other meaſures as appeared to him the moſt proper, for the ſupport of that great authority he had attained, preſerving the affection of the Army, and keeping peace and quietneſs in the nation [*BB*]. He continued, for a few days, to direct all things by the advice of the Council of Officers, where he profeſſed his own painful ſenſe of the vaſt burthen laid upon his ſhoulders, and how deſirous he was to remove it; but finding, by the ſpeeches of ſome of them, he might probably be taken at his word, he firſt excited them to diſcover, and then ſo effectually expoſed their different, contradictory, and irreconcileable ſentiments as to Government, that they were at laſt glad to propoſe a new Council of State, in which the ſupreme authority was veſted (*w*); and then publiſhed a very rational and well-drawn declaration, dated April 22d, in which they gave the faireſt colours poſſible to the late diſſolution, and promiſed that a new repreſentative ſhould be called (*x*). This was accordingly done, by virtue of letters or warrants under the Lord General's hand. This Aſſembly conſiſted of one hundred forty-two perſons, and met July the 4th, in the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, where Cromwell told them, that they had a clear call to take upon them the ſupreme authority; which they did without ceremony, and elected Francis Rous, Eſq; Provoſt of Eton, their Speaker. This, from its narrowneſs in point of numbers, was ſtiled the little, from its manner of proceeding, the godly, and from the pragmatical behaviour of one Praiſe-God Barebone, a Leatherſeller in the city, Barebone's Parliament. This Aſſembly ſat long enough to do Cromwell's buſineſs and their own; for the majority of them being Fifth Monarchy-men, threatened total deſtruction to the Miniſtry, and the Lawyers; and took ſuch ſtrange ſteps with re-

(*t*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 405. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 161. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 457.

(*u*) Heath's Chron. p. 340.

(*w*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 136.

(*x*) Heath's Chron. p. 340, 341, 342, 343.

[*BB*] *And keeping peace and quietneſs in the nation.*] When General Cromwell came back to Whitehall he found a Council of Officers ſtill aſſembled, and this grand point yet in debate, upon which he told them roundly, they need trouble themſelves no farther about it, for he had done it. Col. Okey, who was none of his creatures, demanded immediately What he had done? and, when he had told him, expoſtulated the point warmly; but Cromwell talked ſo much louder than he, of the glory of God and the good of the nation, the removing of yokes and badges of ſlavery, that he very ſoon thought proper to be ſilent, and to wait for the concluſion of this affair, in order to diſtinguiſh from his actions, what were Cromwell's real intentions in ſo bold an action (148). In the afternoon of the ſame day, Cromwell, attended by the Majors-General Lambert and Harriſon, went to the Council of State, and finding them ſitting, addreſſed them in the following terms: 'Gentlemen, if you are met here as private perſons you ſhall not be diſturbed, but if as a Council of State, this is no place for you. And ſince you cannot but know what was done at the Houſe this morning, ſo take notice, that the Parliament is diſſolved.' Serjeant Bradſhaw boldly anſwered, 'Sir, we have heard what you did at the Houſe in the morning, and, before many hours, all England will hear it. But, Sir, you are miſtaken to think that the Parliament is diſſolved, for no power under Heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves, therefore take you notice of that.' Some others alſo ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe: But the Council finding themſelves to be under the ſame force, they all quietly departed (149). The true reaſon why General Cromwell diſmiſſed, in that manner, this Council of State, was, becauſe he intended to have another of his own conſtruction, theſe as they derived their authority from, being men entirely devoted to the Parliament. It cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch a tranſaction as this ſhould paſs in ſilence, or that the perſons ejected, and their friends and creatures, ſhould not make a very great noiſe, as indeed they did, repreſenting this act of Cromwell's as the moſt inſolent violation of the ſupreme authority that could be practiſed or imagined (150). To prevent any impreſſion that theſe invectives might otherwiſe make, ſome were employed to tell the people, that theſe men had no reaſon to complain; that themſelves had taken pains to ſhew the nation that there was no authority inviolable in its nature, that they had themſelves fled to the Army, and by the aſſiſtance of the Army purged their own Houſe at their pleaſure; that they had taken away the Upper Houſe of Parliament without any other law than their will; and that in all their proceedings they had been by far more arbitrary, than any Monarch that ever filled the Engliſh throne, and this without any other colour of right than what was derived to them from their own vote. The Royaliſts took this advantage alſo to deſcant upon public affairs, and without much ceremony treated the diſperſed Parliament as a herd of uſurpers, exhauſting the wealth, and trampling upon the liberties of the people, who could only be delivered by one who had ſuperior power in his hands, and who in this inſtance had made the right uſe of it (151). When ſuch diſcourſes had been thoroughly ſpread, and the General afterwards proceeded to ſome popular acts, ſuch as reducing the tax from one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds to ninety thouſand pounds a month, and had emitted the Declaration mentioned in the text, it was preſently approved by addreſſes from the fleet and army, as well as from different parts of the kingdom, which was called the voice of the nation: and, by the way, it may not be amiſs to take notice, that this was the firſt riſe of addreſſes (152), which very clearly ſhews how great a politician Cromwell was, and how much better ſkilled in the art of giving a fair colour to all his proceedings than is generally imagined.

(148) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 127, 128.

(149) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 461.

(150) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 136. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 162.

(151) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 128.

(152) Heath's Chron. p. 343. 343.

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gard to the Dutch Ambaſſadors, that they were abſolutely at a loſs how to deal with them; ſo that all parties (except their own ſmall one) being heartily tired with theſe Legiſlators, ſome of themſelves, who were in the ſecret, met early on the 12th of December, and agreed to ſurrender up their power to Cromwell, from whom it came (*y*). Major-General Harriſon, and about twenty more, remained in the Houſe, and ſeeing the reign of the Saints at an end, placed one Mr. Moyer in the Speaker's chair, and began to draw up proteſts; but they were ſoon interrupted by Colonel White, with a party of ſoldiers; who aſking them what they did there, they told him, They were ſeeking the Lord: to this he replied, That, to his knowledge, the Lord had not been ſought there many years, and ſo fairly turned them out of doors (*z*). The ſcene thus changed, the ſupreme power was ſaid to be in the Council of Officers again, and they very ſpeedily reſolved, that the Lord General, with a ſelect Council, ſhould have the adminiſtration of public affairs, upon the terms contained in a paper, intituled, The INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT; and that his Excellency ſhould be Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and have the title of Highneſs; and accordingly he was inveſted therewith on the 16th of December, in the Court of Chancery in Weſtminſter-Hall, with great ſolemnity (*a*). When he had thus reduced the Government into ſome order, he proceeded very wiſely and warily; appointed a Privy-Council, in which there were ſeveral great and worthy men, who, he knew, would either not act at all, or not act very long with him; but their names giving a ſanction for the preſent, he proceeded, with the advice of ſo many of this Council as attended upon him, to make ſeveral ordinances that were neceſſary, as alſo to diſpoſe matters for the holding a new Parliament (*b*).

(*y*) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 475. Heath's Chronicle, p. 353.

(*z*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 139. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 170.

(*a*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 707. Heath's Chron. p. 354.

(*b*) Coke's Detection, p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265.

Thus, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, he aſſumed ſovereign power, and exerciſed it with great dignity; and though he well knew, that all obedience to him roſe from fear, and that his danger was nearly equal from all parties, yet, by his prudent management, he left none the capacity of hurting him [*CC*]. He applied himſelf immediately to the ſettlement of the public affairs, both foreign and domeſtic; he concluded a peace with the States of Holland, in which the point of the flag was carried pretty high, ſatisfaction was promiſed for the barbarous maſſacre at Amboyna, the reſtitution of Pollcroon, and other things that were never complied with (*c*). In this treaty the King of Denmark got himſelf included: the Lord Commiſſioner Whitelocke made a firm peace with Sweden: the King of

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 357. Ludlow's Mem. vol. ii. p. 487.

[*CC*] *Though by his prudent management he left none the capacity of hurting him.*] Immediately after his turning out the Long Parliament, when, as we before obſerved, all parties took the liberty of ſpeaking, and ſome places that of addreſſing, which thoſe who liked the contents called the ſenſe of the people; ſome there were in the counties near London that talked of a King, and this hint ſome people had a mind to improve; for which purpoſe, on Tueſday the ſeventeenth of May in the forenoon (153), about 'Change time, a Gentleman extremely well dreſſed came in a coach to the Royal Exchange, where, taking out of his coach the General's picture, he fixed it againſt one of the pillars, and after making two or three turns, took coach again and drove away. Over the head of the pourtrait ſtood theſe words, *'Tis I*; and underneath were the following verſes:

(153) From Dr. Nalſon's MS. Collections, vol. xvi. num. 134.

Aſcend three thrones, great Captain and Divine,
By the will of God, (*) O Lyon, for they're thine:
Come Prieſt of God, bring oil, bring robes, bring gold,
Bring crowns and ſceptres; 'tis high time t' unfold
Your cloiſter'd bags, ye State Cheats, leſt the rod
Of ſteel and iron, of this your King and God,
Pay you in 's wrath with intereſt; kneel and pray,
To Oliver, the Torch of Sion! the Star of day!
Shout then ye Merchants, City and Gentry ſing,
And all bare-headed cry, God ſave the King!

(*) Alluding to the Protector's arms.

As ſoon as exchange time was over the Lord Mayor cauſed the picture to be taken down, and carried it directly to the Lord General at Whitehall. Some writers mention this as a libel upon Cromwell (154); but in thoſe days, when the thing was moſt likely to be underſtood, it was believed that the fox was the finder, and that the Lord Mayor himſelf, not without the privity of the Lord General, ſet up this picture on the Royal Exchange by way of a political weather-cock, to ſee in what corner the popular wind ſat (155). Indeed, why might not my Lord Mayor aſk the citizens upon 'Change the ſame queſtion that Cromwell did Whitlocke in St. James's Park, *What if a man ſhould take upon himſelf to be King?* When it was found this ſcheme could not be brought to bear, then the calling an aſſembly by way of Parliament was the next ſtep, and for this the Lord General had three good reaſons: the firſt was, that it might appear that he made a diſtinction between diſliking the Rump, and diſcarding Parliaments: the next, that upon their ſinking again into nothing, he might receive his power back from them, as it were by form of law; and, laſtly, that by making the Fifth Monarchy men, who were predominant in this Parliament, both odious and ridiculous, he might have the leſs to fear from them, and withal the greater ſupport from the Clergy and Lawyers, for that Parliament had fairly voted that tythes were a relict of Judaiſm, that the Common-Law was a badge of ſlavery; and, on the other hand, that the Court of Chancery ought to be aboliſhed; and thus, to all the thinking part of the world, it was made evident that the Saints, having no ſenſe, were not fit to govern (156). The taſk he now undertook, of governing as a Monarch with a Council, was ſtill harder than all the reſt; and yet he ſeemed to manage it with the ſame eaſe, for he ſtill continued to practiſe upon all parties by their hopes and fears. As to the Cavaliers, he intimated that he was not irreconcilable to thoſe who ſhould give proofs of their affection to his government; that he meant not to hurt or oppreſs thoſe who were inclined to live quietly; but that if any attempted to aſſaſſinate him, he had thoſe at his command who ſhould immediately repay that by taking off whole families (157). He encouraged and protected the Preſbyterians that ſubmitted, and delivered up thoſe who oppoſed him to be worried by the ſectaries. He maintained his old language to the Fifth Monarchy men: he ſaid things were not ripe for the Saints to take the rule of the earth, and that in the mean time he was ſo far from taking the ſceptre, that he had only taken the Conſtable's ſtaff, in order to keep the peace, and prevent the people from cutting one another's throats. As for the ſenſible Republicans he knew them to be irreconcilable, and therefore he ſignified to them, that if they would live quietly they might, but that if they diſturbed his government he would make them feel the weight of his power, which he knew by experience was the only way to keep them in order (158).

(154) Examination of Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 153.

(155) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 249.

(156) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 164, 165.

(157) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 257, 258.

(158) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 471—488.

Portugal alſo, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed between him and the Parliament, was obliged to accept of peace upon his terms. But matters were not ſo eaſily adjuſted with France, though, from the very beginning, that Crown paid the Protector great court, from an apprehenſion, it is ſaid, that he meant to marry one of his daughters to the Prince of Conde, which would have engaged him on the ſide of the Spaniards (*d*); but for this, perhaps, there never was any great foundation. By degrees, however, he impreſſed ſuch an opinion of the great importance of his friendſhip, both upon France and Spain, that the two crowns contended for it, with an earneſtneſs that made them both ridiculous [*DD*]. In reference to affairs at home, he filled the Courts of Weſtminſter-Hall with very able Judges; and directed the Lawyers themſelves to make ſuch corrections in the practice of their profeſſion, as might, in ſome meaſure, free them from public odium; which had a good effect. The ſame moderation he practiſed in Church affairs, affecting to carry himſelf equally between the Preſbyterians and Independants, but profeſſing an unalterable reſolution of maintaining liberty of conſcience (*e*). He laboured by degrees to purge the Anabaptiſts out of the army, diſmiſſing from their commands ſuch officers as he could not confide in. He gave the command of all the forces in Scotland to General Monk, and ſent his ſon Henry to govern Ireland (*f*). He by an ordinance, dated April 12th, 1654, united England and Scotland, fixing the number of repreſentatives for the latter at thirty, and ſoon after he did the ſame by Ireland (*g*). He ſhewed great zeal for juſtice, in cauſing the brother of the Ambaſſador from Portugal to be executed for murder, occaſioned by a quarrel that he had with one Colonel Gerrard. Upon pretence of a conſpiracy againſt himſelf, he procured ſeveral perſons to be convicted and condemned by a High Court of Juſtice, of which Major Liſle was preſident; and it is very remarkable, that the Portugueſe Gentleman before-mentioned, who murdered another Gentleman by miſtake, never ſaw his antagoniſt Colonel Gerrard again till they both came to loſe their heads together on a ſcaffold at Tower-Hill, July the 10th, the former for that murder, the latter for this conſpiracy, which he denied with his laſt breath; and ſhewed as much courage upon that melancholy occaſion, as his fellow-ſufferer did the want of it (*h*). The ſame day one Mr. Vowell, a ſchoolmaſter, was executed for the plot at Charing-Croſs; which he likewiſe denied, dying with heroic conſtancy, and reproaching the Guards for being inſtruments of tyranny and injuſtice, by aſſiſting at his execution, which, he aſſerted, was againſt law, becauſe without a crime (*i*). But, notwithſtanding all theſe ſucceſſes, and all the pains the Protector could take to conciliate the affections of the people, he found a great ſpirit ſtirring againſt him in all the three kingdoms, and his government ſo crampt for want of money, that he was under an abſolute neceſſity of calling a Parliament, according to the form which he had preſcribed in the *Inſtrument of Government* (*k*); and which though it put much in his power, and left the deciſion of diſputed elections to his council, yet, as it remained ſtill ſome ſort of repreſentative of the nation, he was not without apprehenſions of their not proving ſo tractable as he could wiſh; and the event proved, that his ſuſpicions were not without grounds (*l*). He fixed upon the third of September for the day on which they were to aſſemble, eſteeming it particularly fortunate to him; and to this he peremptorily adhered, though it happened to fall upon a Sunday. The Parliament was accordingly opened on that day, after hearing a ſermon at Weſtminſter-Abbey, to which the Protector went in very great ſtate (*m*). He received this Houſe

(*d*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 358, 359. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 5—12—31.

(*e*) Coke's Detection, P. ii. p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265.

(*f*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 724. Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. ii. p. 149.

(*g*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 497. Heath's Chron. p. 358.

(*h*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 710. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 179.

(*i*) Heath's Chr. p. 360. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 645.

(*k*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 186.

(*l*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 375.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 363.

[*DD*] *That made them both ridiculous.*] In this note we ſhall give ſome account of the Protector's conduct with reſpect to foreign courts, at his firſt entering on that office. His peace with Holland has been very much magnified by ſome, whereas others affirm, that he was bribed by the Dutch to make it upon the terms he did (159). Theſe facts are certain, that the Parliament ſtood upon higher terms; that the Engliſh fleet beat that of the States twice after the Parliament was turned out; and that the expulſion of King Charles and his followers, with the excluſion of the Prince of Orange, were points particularly inſiſted on by Cromwell (160). The Queen of Sweden paid great reſpect to the Rump, and as great to Oliver, who, to expreſs his regard for her on the other ſide, hung her picture in his bed-chamber, which the laughers in thoſe times ſaid, made the Lady Elizabeth Cromwell, the Protector's conſort, not a little jealous (161); and yet it was not long after, that one of his agents wrote the Protector a very ſerious account of Queen Chriſtina's being inclined to marry Charles Stuart; but that was after her abdication, and no queſtion one ſtory was as true as the other (162). The Kings of Denmark and Portugal the Protector treated very haughtily, and obliged the Ambaſſador of the latter to come and ſign the peace at Whitehall the very morning his brother was executed on Tower-hill. He refuſed the title of couſin from the French King, expecting that of brother; and ſo artfully played the Spaniard againſt him at a very critical conjuncture, when the French were laying the ground-work of that power which has been ſince ſo fatal to Europe, that both Ambaſſadors made ſuch extraordinary advances, with ſo many ſingular acts of ſubmiſſion, that the Dutch ſtruck a medal (163) with the buſt of Cromwell and his titles on one ſide, with Britannia on the other, and Cromwell thruſting his head in her boſom, with his breeches down and his backſide bare, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſtooping to kiſs it, while the French Ambaſſador holds him by the arm with theſe words inſcribed, *Retire toi l'honneur apartient au Roi mon maitre*, i. e. Come back, that honour belongs to the King my maſter. It is true this medal was not ſtruck till two years afterwards; but as the ſtructure of this work obliges us to place together things of a like nature, we choſe to mention it here, the rather, becauſe I find no mention of it in any of the Hiſtories of Cromwell: but there is reaſon to ſuſpect it might occaſion that miſtake, which appears in a private letter intercepted in thoſe times, where it is ſaid, that a print had been handed about beyond the ſea, repreſenting Cromwell ſitting upon a cloſe-ſtool, the King of France on the right-hand, and the King of Spain on the left, offering each a ſupply of paper for his preſent occaſions (164). There have been many curious collections of prints made ſince, but I never heard of any ſuch thing amongſt them, whereas the medal is yet preſerved in ſeveral Dutch cabinets.

(159) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 709.

(160) Coke's Detection, B. iii. p. 44, 45, 46.

(161) As appears by an intercepted letter in Dr. Nalſon's Collection.

(162) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 468.

(163) Catalogue des Medailles qui ſe trouvent dans le Cabinet de Nicholas Chevalier, à Amſterdam, p. 7.

(164) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 658.

of Commons in the Painted Chamber, where he made them a very long and a very ſenſible ſpeech, in which he gave them a large account of the nature of that government which he had thought fit to eſtabliſh, the ends he propoſed, and the means he had uſed to compaſs thoſe ends. He took great pains to ſhew them the folly of extravagant notions about liberty, civil and religious; told them to what purpoſe he had called them together, and promiſed to allow them all imaginable freedom in their debates on public affairs (*n*). When they came to their Houſe, they elected Mr. William Lenthall their Speaker, but did not preſent him; next they fell to debating, whether the ſupreme legiſlative power of the kingdom ſhould be in a ſingle perſon, or a Parliament? This alarmed the Protector, who found himſelf in danger of being depoſed by a vote of this new Parliament; to prevent which, on the twelfth of the ſame month, he cauſed a guard to be ſet at the door, to prevent their going into the Houſe of Commons, then ſent for them into the Painted Chamber, where he gave them a very ſharp reproof; nor were any permitted to go into the Houſe afterwards, before they had taken an oath to be faithful to the Protector, and his government; and though this excluded a great number, yet the new courtiers were ſtill a minority (*o*). While this Parliament was ſitting, an odd accident happened to the Protector. He had received a ſet of Friezland horſes from the Duke of Holſtein as a preſent, and would needs drive his Secretary Thurloe in his coach, drawn by theſe horſes, round Hyde-Park; but the horſes proving as ungovernable as the Parliament, threw his Highneſs out of the box, and, in his fall, one of his pocket-piſtols went off, notwithſtanding which he eſcaped without either wound or broken bones (*p*). By the *Inſtrument of Government* the Parliament was to ſit five months, which the Protector took the liberty of computing by his ſoldiers almanack, in which months conſiſts only of twenty-eight days; and, finding they were about to take away his power, and would give him no money, he, on the 22d of January, ſent for them once more into the Painted Chamber, where, in a very long, ambiguous, and bitter ſpeech, having told them his mind, he diſſolved them (*q*). Theſe were the principal events of the firſt year of his Protectorate, for of the principal events only we can, in this place, take notice [*EE*]. The opening of the year 1655 proved but cloudy. The diſſolution of the Parliament ſtirred all the ill blood in the kingdom, ſo that he found himſelf at once beſet with conſpiracies on all ſides, and by all parties; but he had the good luck to diſcover them before thoſe concerned were ready to put them in execution. His firſt ſtep was to put the city in good humour, by reſtoring to them their militia, under the command of their old officer Major-General Skippon; then, February 13th, he went to Guild-hall, and declared the Republicans and Cavaliers had formed deſigns againſt his perſon (*r*). Of the former Major John Wildman, who had been an intimate friend of his, was ſeized, while penning a paper, intituled, *A Declaration of the Peo-*

(*n*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 186.

(*o*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 500, 501. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 647.

(*p*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 212. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 508.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 638. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365.

(*r*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 200. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 161, 162.

[*EE*] *We can in this place take notice.*] It muſt appear very ſtrange to the reader, that Cromwell and his Council having a power to levy money by virtue of their ordinances, he ſhould, notwithſtanding, be ſo much diſtreſſed for it, as to be under the neceſſity of calling a Parliament; ſtill ſtranger, that with all the powers he had given himſelf in the inſtrument of government, he ſhould not have it in his power to pack one for his purpoſe; and ſtrangeſt of all, that he who formerly purged the Houſes ſo effectually by his army, when it was chiefly for other men's ſervice, ſhould not be able to do it as effectually for his own. We will endeavour to explain all theſe points. His ordinances had indeed the force of laws, and it was under colour of them that he raiſed thoſe monthly aſſeſſments which enabled him to carry on his government; yet theſe were not ſufficient for his expences, and almoſt all the caſual revenue of the public had been granted away by the Rump, or rather ſhared amongſt themſelves (165). He was unwilling to hazard raiſing new taxes without the conſent of Parliament, becauſe he had promiſed the contrary in his inſtrument of government, and he had equal reaſon to doubt whether the people would pay, or the army levy, ſuch taxes; to avoid which he took very extraordinary ways of coming at money, ſuch as ſeizing four hundred thouſand pounds belonging to the King of Spain, though as yet there was no war declared. But the want of money was not the only reaſon which drove him upon this meaſure: he wanted to have his own power and the *Inſtrument* of *Government* confirmed by Parliament, and flattered himſelf with many good turns from them, which could not with any decency be done by his own power (166). In his endeavours to model the Parliament before they ſat, he puſhed every thing to the utmoſt; but an act of cunning that had been very ſerviceable to him before, rendered all his contrivances abortive now, for in the plan of Parliament ſettled by the inſtrument, the counties, inſtead of having two, had moſt of them five, and ſome more, repreſentatives, a thing very right in itſelf, and therefore very wrong with reſpect to him, ſince he could introduce in that quality but very few of his creatures. Scotland and Ireland indeed, ſent for the moſt part officers of the army; and therefore the Patriots in the Parliament treated it as a ſoleciſm, firſt to enſlave countries, and then to enable them to ſend up their jailors and tyrants to ſit amongſt, and become a part of, the repreſentatives of a free nation (167). What was worſt of all, many of his own creatures fell off; for the free ſpeakers in the Houſe unmaſked his policy ſo effectually, that they ſaw they were forging chains for themſelves. His purges, however ſharp, came a little too late, the body of this Houſe of Commons being pretty well ſeaſoned to them; ſo that many of them took the Engagement in order to get into the Houſe, and explained it away as ſoon as they were got in. He was obliged to truſt the management of the Parliament to Lambert, who deſired to have the *Inſtrument* of *Government* confirmed, in hopes of becoming his ſucceſſor; but the true ſecret of their haſty diſſolution was a deſign diſcovered to the Protector by Col. Pride, which many of the inferior officers of the army had formed, of ſeizing and delivering him priſoner to the Parliament (168). In the midſt of theſe public perplexities his domeſtic quiet was interrupted by the death of his mother, Nov. 18, 1654. She lived with him at Whitehall, ſhared in the ſplendor of his Court, but enjoyed it not; for though ſhe troubled him but little with her remonſtrances, yet her fears were ſo ſtrong, that ſhe could not believe he was ſafe if ſhe did not ſee him twice a day, and if by accident ſhe heard a piſtol at any time diſcharged, ſhe could not help crying out, *My ſon is ſhot* (169)! The Protector, contrary to her deſire, who foreſaw they would never reſt there in peace, cauſed her remains to be interred in King Henry VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey (170).

(165) Hiſt. of Independency, the third and fourth parts throughout.

(166) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 423. Ludlow's Mem. vol. ii. p. 498.

(167) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 152, 153. See the Inſtrument of Government in Whitlocke and in Bates.

(168) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 500, 501—503.

(169) Heath's Chron. p. 366.

(170) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 488, 489.

ple of England *againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwell, *Eſq:* ſome other violent men of that party he impriſoned, but was afraid of doing more (*s*). As to the Royaliſts, he ſuffered them to go on a little; for by the help of one Manning (*t*), who was his ſpy in the Court of King Charles II. he was ſo well acquainted with their projects, as to put themſelves upon ſuch meaſures as entirely defeated them; and this is a true account of that inſurrection which broke out at Saliſbury, where the King was proclaimed, and Cromwell's Judges ſeized; which act of open force left no doubt with the public, that there were ſome deſigns againſt the Protector, which, otherwiſe, they were ready enough to diſbelieve (*u*) [*FF*]. For this inſurrection Colonel Penruddock, Mr. Grove, and ſeveral other perſons, ſuffered death; and from hence the Protector, who had hitherto ſhewn an inclination to have governed as a lawful Prince if he could, ſeemed to lay aſide this diſpoſition, and no longer to make any difficulty of ſupporting his authority in any manner, and by any means; ſo that from the time the firſt public diſturbance broke out into a civil war, the people of this kingdom in general never underwent ſo great oppreſſion, either in their properties or perſons; were deprived to ſuch a degree of the benefit of the laws, or had ſo melancholy a proſpect before them, of unrelenting and irreſiſtible dominion, ſupported by an armed force (*w*) [*GG*]. In the Spring of this year was carried into execution that famous expedition, by which the Protector hoped to make himſelf maſter of a great part of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, having ſent thither a powerful fleet, under the command of Admiral Penn, and the greateſt body of land-forces that had been ever ſeen in America, commanded by General Venables; and though, in the main part of their deſign, theſe officers were utterly unſucceſsful, yet they made themſelves maſters of the Iſland of Jamaica, which has remained ever ſince part of the dominions of the Britiſh crown (*x*). We have different accounts of this great tranſaction in our general hiſtories, and many circumſtances there are which have not been hitherto fully explained [*HH*]. He was very deſirous

(*s*) Echard's Hiſt. Eng. p. 713.
(*t*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 368. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 185. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 668—671.
(*u*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 372, 373. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 163.

(*w*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 676. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 519.

(*x*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 206, 207, &c. Heath's Chron. p. 376. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

[*FF*] *They were ready enough to diſtelieve.*] It is very certain that Mr. Thurloe, who, from being Secretary to Oliver St. John in his embaſſy to the States, was raiſed to be Secretary and Prime-Miniſter to Cromwell, had a great deal of the old Walſingham ſpirit, and knew how to manage a great number of buſy intriguing ſpirits ſo dexterouſly, as by the help of ſham plots of his own contriving, to find out and diſappoint the true. Here we muſt obſerve the wiſe diſtinction made by Cromwell for the preſent, between the Republicans and the Royaliſts, who were equally enemies to the Protector, though he did not care to ſhow himſelf equally an enemy to them. He contented himſelf therefore for the preſent, with diſplacing Major-General Harriſon, Col. Rich, Col. Okey, &c. and with the ſeizing Major-General Overton and ſome others, that expreſſed themſelves in terms of dangerous reſentment. Nay, to ſuch a degree was he maſter of his paſſions, though naturally no man was more paſſionate, that when Colonel, the ſame who was formerly Cornet Joyce, reproached him to his face with his ſervices, he only bid him *Be gone* (171). But he did not think himſelf obliged to treat the Royaliſts ſo favourably, and therefore being quite maſter of their projects, he made, or rather his Secretary Thurloe made, ſome of his creatures give out falſe times for a general inſurrection, by which the deſign was effectually defeated, and yet there were ſo many appeared in arms, as to ſhew that there really was ſuch a deſign, and thereby afford a colour for putting ſuch to death, as were unluckily involved in it; and they had the leſs reaſon to hope for mercy, ſince they pleaded in their own defence, that they could not be guilty of any treaſon, becauſe thoſe againſt whom they acted were not a legal government; and indeed the Chief Juſtice Rolle did not care to try them, and Mr. Ludlow very frankly owns, that their defence was well founded (172).

(171) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 161.

(172) Heath's Chron. p. 367, 368. Ludlow's Mem. vol. ii. p. 518, 519.

[*GG*] *Supported by an armed force.*] To lay a foundation for all this violence, the Protector, with the advice of his Council, publiſhed an Ordinance, importing, that all who had borne arms for the King, or who at any time had declared themſelves of his party, ſhould be decimated, or pay a tenth part of the income of their eſtates for the expence of thoſe extraordinary forces that they obliged his Highneſs to keep up. Commiſſioners were appointed in every county to receive the money ariſing from this new eſtabliſhment, which brought in a prodigious ſum of money, as the Commiſſioners had power to compound all demands for three years purchaſe (173). This ordinance was ſo penned, that it took in all that ſhould diſturb his government, or rather be ſuſpected of diſturbing it, upon any principle whatever. At this time county troops were eſtabliſhed, every private man having eight pounds a year given him, not for military ſervice, but for informing: a Captain had a hundred pounds a year, and other officers in proportion. And finally to provide for all inconveniences, as well amongſt the people as in the army, he divided England as it were into ſo many cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of Major-General, which Major-Generals were in the nature of Prefects, or Governors of provinces (174). Theſe men were to have the inſpection and government of the inferior Commiſſioners in every county, to commit to priſon all ſuch perſons as they ſuſpected, to levy all monies which were ordered by his Highneſs and his Council to be collected for the public, to ſequeſter all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution ſuch farther directions as they ſhould receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the Protector himſelf (175). For the management of the affairs relating to this commiſſion they had an office at London, where recognizances were entered, and their proceedings filed, by which the Protector hoped to obtain a diſtinct account of the quality of every perſon in the Royal intereſt, and of the value of his eſtate, throughout the kingdom; for as to theſe Chriſtian Baſhaws, they were impowered by their commiſſions to take an account of all ſuſpected perſons of the King's party, and ſuch as were actually ſo to receive ſecurity of them, in which they were to be bound to act nothing againſt the government, and to reveal all plots that ſhould come to their knowledge. They were to ſuppreſs all horſe-races, cock-matches, and other concourſes of people; to ſecure the high-ways; to take Engagement from Cavaliers for their ſervants and children; and thoſe that did not ſo, nor give ſecurity, to commit to priſon, and to rate and receive the money ariſing from this decimation (176). Theſe Major-Generals carried things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleaſed, interrupting the proceedings at law upon petitions of thoſe who thought themſelves aggrieved, and threatening ſuch as would not readily ſubmit to their orders, with tranſportation to the Weſt Indies.

(173) Heath's Chronicle, p. 373.

(174) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 676. Heath's Chron. p. 378.

(175) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 164, 165.

(176) Coke's Detection, B. iv. p. 53.

[*HH*] *Which have not been hitherto fully explained.*] It is not to be expected that in a ſhort note, any competent account ſhould be given of a very long expedition, the preparatives for and proceedings in which might well employ a ſmall volume, without inſerting any thing that could be eſteemed tedious by the reader: all therefore that I propoſe, is, to offer a few hints of circumſtances worthy of being thoroughly examined.

ſirous of bringing moſt of thoſe projects to bear, that he knew had a tendency to pleaſe the people; and therefore thought he could not make a better uſe of his power, than to reſtrain ſome things that were deemed exorbitant in the proceedings of the High Court of Chancery; upon which, however, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Mr. Whitlocke, and Mr. Lenthall, deſired to reſign their offices, who had kept them through ſuch a variety of changes, and when moſt people thought the Conſtitution had received greater injuries than this (*y*). They were permitted to do this without any offence taken, as appears from the Protector's making the two former Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and the regard he ſhewed to Lenthall as long as he lived. As for the Great Seal, it went into ſuch hands as had ſcarcely been intruſted with it before, *viz.* Major Liſle and Colonel Fiennes (*z*). The new King of Sweden ſent over an Ambaſſador, to compliment the Protector, who was moſt graciouſly received, and great pains were taken to make this inſtance of reſpect from a foreign Court as public as it was poſſible; but the viſit that Queen Chriſtina was inclined to have paid him he judged proper to avoid, which was certainly an argument of his great prudence (*a*). That alliance, which had been ſo long in treaty with the Crown of France, was ſigned November 24, 1655, and proclaimed the 28th of the ſame month; by which it was ſtipulated, that Cromwell ſhould ſend over a body of Engliſh troops, to act in conjunction with the French againſt the Spaniards in the Low-Countries, and that, on the other hand, the French King ſhould oblige the Royal Family to quit his dominions (*b*). This treaty has been much magnified by ſome, but certainly without any great cauſe, ſince it was entirely deſtructive of the balance of power, and became, in its conſequences, the real cauſe of moſt of thoſe wars that have coſt us ſo much blood and treaſure [*II*]. The glorious ſucceſſes of the great Admiral Blake in the Mediterranean, and the great ſums that he recovered from ſeveral powers, for depredations committed by their ſubjects on the Engliſh trade, did much honour to the Protector's government; and, to conclude the tranſactions of this year, it muſt be allowed, that, how much ſoever he might be diſliked at home, his reputation, at this time, was very great abroad (*c*) [*KK*]. The loſs he ſuſtained in the diſcovery of Manning, whom King Charles cauſed to be ſhot for correſponding with Thurloe, was moſt effectually repaired by the aſſiſtance he received from a perſon of ſuperior character, who was Chancellor Hyde's great correſpondent, and ſuppoſed to be one of the moſt active and determined Royaliſts in England. The war with Spain, which had hitherto produced only vaſt ex-

(*y*) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 321, 322. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 716.

(*z*) See liſt of honors and officers conferred by O. Lord Protector.

(*a*) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 323.

(*b*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 210.

(*c*) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 326.

examined. The motives to this expedition were none of the moſt honourable, ſince they were plainly avarice and fear. The Protector had juſt taſted the Spaniſh treaſures, and he had a mind to take a full meal; for whoever conſults his inſtructions will find, that it was not the particular Iſland of Hiſpaniola, but the Continent alſo that he had hopes of conquering; and yet the embarkation of the troops was from time to time deferred, ſo that the end of the expedition was no ſecret, even before the ſhips ſailed from England (177). In the next place it was fear, for Venables, who commanded the land forces, had never been well affected to Cromwell, and before this time was reconciled to the King, of which it is not impoſſible the Protector might be informed. The troops too were compoſed of men diſcharged out of all the regiments in his ſervice for diſaffection, and if at laſt they had not been hurried on board at Portſmouth, when they leaſt expected it, Venables had marched up to London, in order to try if it had not been poſſible to dethrone the Protector (178). There was a great deal of miſmanagement on all ſides in the ſetting out; a very high miſunderſtanding between the Commanders in Chief from the very beginning; the additional forces they took on board at Barbadoes were the moſt profligate and worthleſs people in the world; ſo that, upon the whole, it is much more wonderful that ever theſe people became maſters of Jamaica, than that they were diſappointed at Hiſpaniola, for which, however, Cromwell had no body to thank but himſelf; for there were ſuch a narrowneſs and ſelfiſhneſs in his inſtructions as diſpirited the ſoldiers, who found, that after all the hazards they had run, and dangers they had endured, they were to fight, not for themſelves, but to fill the Protector's privy purſe (179).

(177) Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 385—395.

(178) Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 185, 186.

(179) Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 385.

[*II*] *That have coſt us ſo much blood and treaſure.*] The conjuncture of thoſe times, and the high ſtruggle between the Crowns of France and Spain, were very favourable for the Protector, who might, if he had pleaſed, have taken the balance of power in Europe entirely into his own hands, and not only have held it during life, but have fixed it for the reſt of that century at leaſt. But after much deliberation he reſolved, or rather his affairs compelled him, to break with Spain, in hopes of filling his Exchequer by that war; and this made him join with France, as well as for two other reaſons; the firſt, that he might procure the Royal Family to be driven out of that country by treaty, as they had been before out of Holland; the ſecond, that he might have a port upon that Continent; the expediency of which was firſt ſuggeſted to him by the Spaniards, who, if he would have joined with them, promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of Calais (180). It is aſſerted by Dr. Welwood, on the credit of Puffendorff, that in the negotiation of theſe treaties he carried himſelf very haughtily; that in the inſtrument he cauſed his own name to be put before the French King's; that he would not allow him to ſtile himſelf King of France, but of the French, though at the ſame time he ſtiled himſelf Protector of France as well as England. It would be very difficult to make any of theſe points good; for in Milton's Letters it will be found, that Cromwell, writing to Lewis XIV. gave him the title of King of France (181), not in the ſuperſcription only, but in the body of his letter; nor does it any where appear that Cromwell ever took the title of Protector of France at all, but of the republick or commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and therefore this is as much to be relied on as another fact laid down as notoriouſly true, that Cromwell was born on the third of September, though it is notoriouſly otherwiſe (182).

(180) See Thurloe's account of the negotiations of Cromwell with France and Spain, delivered to the Earl of Clarendon, at the end of the firſt vol. of his State Papers.

(181) Milton's Works, vol. ii. p. 455. 457. 469.

(182) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 115.

[*KK*] *Was very great abroad.*] It would be a very eaſy thing to prove this, from what is ſaid of him by a multitude of foreign authors; but it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that at this time there was a print of the Protector on horſeback publicly ſold at Paris, with theſe Latin verſes under it (183).

(183) From the MS. of the late Rev. Mr. Knight, Fellow of Chriſt-Church Oxford.

Cernimus hic omni caput admirabile mundo
Quod Reges, Populi, Barbarieſque ſtupent.
Regibus hic frater; populis pater, hoſtis multum,
Barbariem vera religione domat.
Nullius ille timet quam ſummi numinis arma;
Non timet, et pacem cuilibet eſſe parat.
Quis dubitat ſacro hoc ſi pergat Flamine Victor,
Quin ſubita Meretrix de Babylone cadet?

pectations, began now to bear ſome fruit; for the gallant and fortunate Blake, falling in with the Plate Fleet, almoſt at the mouth of the harbour of Cadiz, attacked and deſtroyed it to the irreparable damage of the Spaniards, and the no ſmall gain of the Protector, who received two millions in ready money out of the prizes that were taken (*d*). The Protector, in the midſt of all that he poſſeſſed, ſtill felt ſome wants, which he judged nothing could ſupply but a Parliament; and, having concerted more effectual methods, as he conceived, for bending them to his will, than had been practiſed before the laſt, he directed writs to iſſue for the meeting of that aſſembly September 17th, 1656, at which time they met accordingly, but with a guard poſted at the door of the Houſe, who ſuffered none to enter till they had ſwallowed the oaths that were ready prepared for them, by which about two hundred were excluded, who ſigned a proteſt againſt this proceeding, and againſt all that ſhould be done by thoſe who ſat without them (*e*). The Parliament, however, choſe Sir Thomas Widdrington their Speaker, paſſed an act for diſannulling the King's title, another for the ſecurity of his Highneſs's perſon, and ſeveral money-bills; for all which the Protector gave them his moſt gracious thanks (*f*). It was apprehended, that ſome difference might have ariſen upon a motion in the Houſe, againſt the exorbitant power of the Majors-General; but, as they began to be formidable now to the Protector himſelf, they were fairly given up by Mr. Claypole, who had married the Protector's daughter, in a ſpeech, which ſet all things right again (*g*). About the cloſe of the year a new plot was either diſcovered, or made, for which one Miles Sindercombe was condemned, and that by the ordinary forms of juſtice; but he diſappointed the Protector, and was found dead on the morning intended for his execution, which gave birth to many conjectures (*b*) [*LL*]. However, a public thankſgiving was appointed for the happy deliverance of his Highneſs's perſon, and the Speaker and Parliament were ſplendidly regaled at Whitehall (*i*). In the Spring of the year 1657 it plainly appeared what the Protector drove at, by all the pains he had taken with his Parliament, in which a kind of legiſlative ſettlement of the Government was brought upon the carpet, under the title of *The Humble Petition and Advice*, in which there was a blank for the ſupreme Governor's title, and a clauſe prepared to countenance the eſtabliſhing ſomething like Peers, under the name of the Other Houſe (*k*). At length the whole came to light: for one Alderman Pack, a forward, time-ſerving, money-getting fellow, and deep in all the jobbs of the Government, moved, that the firſt blank might be filled up with the word King, which was violently oppoſed by the Army Members; but at length, after various debates, it was carried, as well as the clauſe impowering him to make ſomething like Lords; and in this form the petition was preſented to his Highneſs, who deſired ſome time to con-

(*d*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 212. See the article of Blake in this Dictionary.

(*e*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. p. 651. Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 450. Heath's Chron. p. 382.

(*f*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 653. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 213.

(*g*) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 338.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 655. Heath's Chron. 385.

(*i*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, 450.

(*k*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 657.

[*LL*] *Which gave birth to many conjectures.*] The caſe of this Miles Sindercombe was very extraordinary. He was drawn in to conſpire againſt the Protector by Col. Edward Sexby, formerly a famous Agitator, and one in great confidence with Cromwell, afterwards his moſt violent and bitter enemy. That Col. again was an Agent of the Spaniards, and ſo well ſupplied by them, that, as he confeſſed, he furniſhed Sindercombe at ſeveral times with five hundred pounds (184). But as in conſpiracies of this ſort a man cannot act without aſſiſtance, Sindercombe found out one Toope (185), who was of the Protector's guard, and withal one of Mr. Thurloe's ſpies, to whom he communicated his deſign, and three different methods were contrived and attempted: one was, to ſhoot Cromwell in his paſſage through Hammerſmith in his way to Hampton Court; another, to fire Whitehall; and a third, to ſhoot him as he was going to Weſtminſter-abbey. Theſe attempts having miſcarried, he was ſeized, and brought to his trial in the Upper Bench, before the Lord Chief Juſtice Glynn, Feb. 19, 1656 (186): but whereas ſome writers ſay, that he was tried upon a law made by Cromwell's Parliament, that is a miſtake; for he was tried upon the common ſtatute of treaſon, the Chief Juſtice taking upon him to inform the Jury, that by the word King the Supreme Magiſtrate was intended, whether he had that title or not (187). The Jury, upon very full evidence, found him guilty; and Friday the fourteenth of the ſame month was appointed for his execution. He went to bed well; but when they came to call him up he was dead, and as appeared by a paper he left under his cloſe-ſtool, he deſtroyed himſelf by poiſon (188). It was given out however at that time, and believed by many, that Cromwell cauſed him to be poiſoned, being afraid of bringing him to a public execution (189). The reader will underſtand this better from what the Noble Hiſtorian (190) ſays upon this ſubject: 'Sindercombe was a 'very ſtout man, and one who had been much in 'Cromwell's favour, and who had twice or thrice, by 'wonderful and unexpected accidents, been diſappointed in the minute he had made ſure to kill him. 'And when Cromwell had cauſed him to be apprehended, his behaviour was ſo reſolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he ſhould ſtill be 'able to do it; and it was manifeſt that he had more 'aſſociates who were undiſcovered, and as reſolute as 'himſelf; and though he had got him condemned to 'die, the fellow's carriage and words were ſuch, as if 'he knew well how to avoid the judgment, which 'made Cromwell believe that a party in the army 'would attempt his reſcue. Whereupon he gave 'ſtrict charge that he ſhould be carefully looked to in 'the Tower, and three or four of the Guard always 'with him day and night. At the day appointed for 'his execution, thoſe troops Cromwell was moſt confident of were placed upon Tower-hill, where the 'gallows was erected. But when the guard called 'Sindercombe to riſe in the morning, they found him 'dead in his bed, which gave trouble exceedingly to 'Cromwell, for beſides that he hoped that at his 'death, to avoid the utmoſt rigour of it, he would 'have confeſſed many of his confederates; he now 'found himſelf under the reproach of having cauſed 'him to be poiſoned, as not daring to bring him to 'public juſtice, nor could he ſuppreſs that ſcandal. 'It appeared upon examination, that the night before, 'when he was going to bed, in the preſence of his 'guard, his ſiſter came to take her leave of him, and 'upon her going away he put off his cloaths, and 'leaped into his bed, and ſaid, *This was the laſt bed 'he ſhould ever go into.* His body was drawn by a 'horſe to the gallows where he ſhould have been 'hanged, and buried under it with a ſtake driven 'through him, as is uſual in the caſe of ſelf-murder. 'Yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much, 'and though he was without the particular diſcovery 'he expected, he made a general diſcovery by it, that 'he himſelf was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.'

(184) Thurloe's Letters, vol. vi. p. 553.

(185) A further narrative of the paſſages of theſe times in the Commonwealth of Engl. p. 21.

(186) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 372.

(187) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 654.

(188) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 375.

(189) Killing no Murder, p. 22.

(190) Clarendon's Hiſt. of Rebellion, p. 696.

ſider before he gave his anſwer. The Parliament appointed a Committee, with their Speaker at the head of it, to confer with and ſatisfy the Protector; and, in this conference, they, with great learning and eloquence, proved, that, notwithſtanding all the faults they had formerly found with the office of a King, yet, after all, they were now perfectly ſatisfied, the four letters, of which that word was compoſed, were as harmleſs and inoffenſive as any in the whole alphabet (*l*). The Protector, who was not of a narrow way of thinking, but had as comprehenſive ſentiments as they upon this point, would have been content to have had the Kingſhip forced upon him, but that he found, that ſome of his beſt friends and neareſt relations, ſuch as his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, his brother-in-law Deſborough, and many others, were utterly againſt it, and carried their oppoſition ſo far, as to promote a petition from the Army to the Parliament againſt this meaſure (*m*); which though, to countenance parliamentary authority, laid aſide, yet chiefly determined Cromwell to refuſe that honour which he had been ſo long ſeeking; and accordingly, May 8th, 1657, he told them, in the Banquetting-houſe, that he could not, with a good conſcience, accept the government, under the title of King (*n*). The Parliament then thought proper to fill up the blank with his former title of Protector; and his Highneſs himſelf, that all the pains he had taken might not be abſolutely thrown away, reſolved upon a new inauguration; which was accordingly, with great ſolemnity, performed on the 26th of June, 1657, in Weſtminſter-Hall, with all the pomp and ſplendor of a Coronation (*o*). After this the Houſe of Commons adjourned to the 20th of January following, in order to give the Protector time to regulate all things according to the new ſyſtem; with a view to which he ſummoned his two ſons, and many other perſons, to take their ſeats in the other Houſe (*p*). About this time it was, that Major-General Lambert loſt his favour; which, however, does not ſeem to have been an act ſo much of the Protector's will, as a ſcheme of his own; for he utterly diſliked the deſign that Oliver had formed of making himſelf King; and told him plainly, that, if he perſiſted in it, he could give him no aſſurance of the fidelity of the army. The neceſſary and immediate cauſe of his diſgrace was, refuſing to take the oath appointed by *The Humble Petition and Advice*; upon which the Protector removed him from all his commands, but, at the ſame time, granted him a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year, to keep him quiet (*q*). The ſenſe of this, and ſome other untoward accidents, was, in ſome meaſure, qualified by the news of Admiral Blake's great ſucceſſes at the Canaries, and in the Mediterranean, by which Spain felt very ſeverely the weight of the Engliſh arms, and the Protector's coffers drew conſiderable ſupplies, but the honour and intereſt of the nation ſuffered extremely (*r*) [*MM*]. That gallant ſeaman, no way anſwerable for the cauſe or conduct

(*l*) Heath's Chron. p. 386, 387. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 214, 215, 216.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 587. Flagellum, &c. p. 175, 176.

(*n*) Heath's Chron. p. 389. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 312.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 661, 662.

(*p*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 594, 595, 596.

(*q*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 185. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 593.

(*r*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 227, 228.

[*MM*] *But the honour and intereſt of the nation ſuffered extremely.*] We will take occaſion in this note to ſet the buſineſs of the Spaniſh war in its true light. The Crown of Spain was very much diſtreſſed in almoſt every part of her dominions, and this induced her Monarch to be very ready in owning the Parliament, and very deſirous, if it had been poſſible, to procure the good will of Cromwell, whom, as is before obſerved, he courted to a degree that was indecent and ridiculous (191). The true motive to this war, on the part of Cromwell, was neceſſity. He wanted money exceedingly; ſome of his troops and many of his officers he could not depend on; therefore a war was requiſite, and that too ſuch a war as he might get by (192). He endeavoured to colour this, by engaging the Merchants to complain againſt Spain, in which he was unſucceſsful; for which he revenged himſelf, by ſuffering their effects to be ſeized in that kingdom (193). He next ſeized a large ſum of money belonging to that Crown, which they offered to lend him for a certain number of years without intereſt, and to have taken his word for the repayment; ſo deſirous they were of maintaining peace if it were poſſible (194). His Weſt India expedition was in itſelf a bad deſign, becauſe no war declared, ill concerted, worſe executed, and yet in ſome meaſure luckily concluded. Capt. Stayner's taking two galleons at Cadiz, with two millions of ſilver on board, and deſtroying twice as much more, was a dreadful blow to the Spaniards; and yet this loſs was inconſiderable in reſpect to the burning the Plate Fleet at Santa Cruz, by which however Cromwell got nothing (195). When Captain Richard Stayner came home with his prizes, all imaginable pains were taken to magnify the exploit in the eyes of the people: the money was carried with great parade through London, the Captain knighted and handſomely rewarded; there was a ſolemn thankſgiving alſo for this mighty ſucceſs, which Mr. Waller celebrated in a poem that will render it immortal, though the deſign with which it was written failed; for it plainly appears that the Poet meant to have recommended his hero to the regal dignity, as the only adequate return the nation could make for the benefit they had received (196). But in thoſe times men were more quick-ſighted; and all this pomp and art could not hinder the expreſſions of high diſcontent, ariſing from the general knowledge that this affected triumph was a downright impoſition calculated to amuſe and deceive the populace, without making the leaſt impreſſion upon men of ſenſe and property. The Merchants exclaimed bitterly, and with very good reaſon, as fully appeared from a report made to Richard's Parliament, that fifteen hundred Engliſh ſhips were taken in the courſe of this war (197). Beſides, this threw the Spaniſh trade firſt into the hands of the Dutch, to whom they were naturally averſe, and could hardly have been reconciled any other way (198). We may add to this, the irreparable loſs to all Europe of ten times as much ſilver as Cromwell gained, and of which this nation, in a fair courſe of trade, would have obtained much more than ever the war brought into the Protector's coffers (199). Yet muſt we not imagine that even he was at all the better for it upon a balance: on the contrary, the expence of the American expedition exceeded all that he acquired. This does not at all leſſen the reputation of Blake and the reſt of the Commanders. They obeyed orders, did what they took to be their duty, and carried the glory of the Engliſh Flag to an amazing height. Some have very improperly intereſted religion in this quarrel, and becauſe Cromwell made war upon a Catholic power, and threatened the Pope with burning Civita Vecchia, which no doubt might have been eaſily done, would thence magnify his zeal to the Proteſtant faith (200). At the bottom, however, this will be found but a very untoward compliment to the Proteſtant cauſe, which moſt certainly never inclines thoſe who eſpouſe it to unjuſt proceedings, and to the avowed breach of the law of nature and nations; and therefore to wipe off this aſperſion it was neceſſary to ſhew, that this war really took its

(191) See Mr. Secretary Thurloe's account, publiſhed in the firſt vol. of his State Papers.

(192) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

(193) The World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwell.

(194) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, vol. i. p. 71. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 113. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 51, 52, 53.

(195) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 323.

(196) Waller's Poems, p. 274. The propoſition is contained in the four laſt lines.

(197) The World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwell, p. 16.

(198) Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 51, 52, 53.

(199) Happy future State of England, p. 18.

(200) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 80, 81.

conduct of that war, but juſtly famous for his generous courage, and conſtant zeal for his country's ſervice, dying in his return home, within ſight of his native ſhore, in the arms of victory, his corps, by the Protector's orders, was, with great ſolemnity, tranſported to Weſtminſter-Abbey, and there interred with all the honours due to ſo great an officer, and to ſo good a man (*s*). The forces which had been ſent over to Flanders, for the aſſiſtance of the French againſt the Spaniards, gained very great reputation, and made the French Court more and more attentive to the preſervation of Cromwell's friendſhip; but, at the ſame time, it induced his Catholic Majeſty to afford ſome countenance and aſſiſtance to King Charles, then in the Low-Countries, and meditating an attempt upon England. To facilitate this great deſign, the Marquis of Ormond was ſent over, and remained ſome time in London, where he very narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the Protector, who received from his ſpies an exact information of all the meaſures taken by the Royaliſts, which, therefore, he eaſily diſappointed. Only Captain Titus contrived to wound him deeply, not in his body indeed, but in his mind, by publiſhing a ſmall treatiſe, under the name of William Allen, intituled, *Killing no Murder*; in which he argued ſo ſtrongly, that one, who had violated all laws could derive protection from no law, that Oliver thenceforward believed himſelf in continual danger (*t*). In the beginning of the year 1658, he pleaſed himſelf with the hopes of being once at the head of an aſſembly, ſomewhat reſembling the antient Parliaments of England; and accordingly, purſuant to their own adjournment, the Commons met on the 20th of January, as the other Houſe alſo did, agreeably to the writs of ſummons iſſued by the Lord Protector. He ſent for them by the Black Rod, and began his ſpeech with the pompous words, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons*; and, after he had done ſpeaking, ſuffered them to retire to their reſpective Houſes, where, to give the greater credit to his government, all ſhew of force or reſtraint was now withdrawn. This ſerved only to diſcover, that therein lay his whole ſupport; for the antient nobility would not reſume their ſeats in ſuch company as he had aſſigned them, ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons choſe to keep their writs requiring their attendance in the other Houſe, and ſit where they were; and not a few, who had been before excluded, took advantage of the doors being open, and boldly came to the Houſe (*u*). In leſs than a fortnight the new ſyſtem was in a fair way of being pulled to pieces. The Houſe of Commons would have nothing to do with the new nobles in the other Houſe; and they, on the other hand, were at a loſs to know what to do by themſelves; of all which the Protector being informed, he came on the 4th of February, and diſſolved them with great bitterneſs of ſpeech, and deep ſorrow of heart; for now he ſaw plainly, that a regular eſtabliſhment was a thing impracticable (*w*). Some farther deſigns were ſoon after diſcovered, not of the Cavaliers only, but of the Fifth Monarchy-men alſo; which diſcoveries were chiefly owing to the dexterity of Secretary Thurloe, whoſe implements, in the ſhape of Cavaliers and Fanaticks, mixed in all companies, and thruſt themſelves into all ſecrets, that they might acquire a ſubſiſtence by betraying them (*x*). With the latter, the Protector was obliged to obſerve ſome meaſures, and, though he took care to ſecure himſelf, yet he durſt not act with ſeverity towards them; which, perhaps, heightened his reſentment againſt the former, whom, contrary to Whitlocke's advice, he delivered over to a High Court of Juſtice (*y*). By the ſentence of that Court Dr. Hewett, a Reverend Divine of the Church of England, who had married one of Cromwell's daughters to the Lord Fauconbridge, ſuffered death for contumacy, having refuſed to plead, or to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the Court, June 8th, 1658; as did alſo Sir Henry Slingſby by the like ſentence. Several others were condemned by the ordinary forms of law, which, at length, the Protector was perſwaded to uſe, which ſtruck the nation with as much horror as fear (*z*). The gloomineſs of this ſcene was a little diſperſed by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms abroad, and the delivery of Dunkirk, taken chiefly by their valour, into the hands of Lockhart, his Ambaſſador; concerning which we have a very remarkable ſtory, if it be well founded [*NN*]. The great ſatisfaction the Protector expreſſed at this, and at the French

(*s*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 725.

(*t*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 185.

(*u*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 595—597.

(*w*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 730. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 672.

(*x*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 184, 185.

(*y*) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 673. Ludlow's Mem. vol. ii. p. 604, 605.

(*z*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

its riſe from Cromwell's miſtaking his own intereſt, and preferring that miſtaken intereſt to the welfare of the nation, which manifeſtly appeared, not only from his attacking the Spaniards without cauſe and without warning, but, that he might do this, barbarouſly ſacrificing the Britiſh Merchants, whoſe effects were juſtly ſeized by way of repriſal for his injuſtice (201).

(201) Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 52. The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell, p. 13, 14, 15.

[*NN*] *Concerning which we have a very remarkable ſtory, if it be well founded.*] This is to be met with in Welwood's Memoirs, and very well deſerves the place it holds there, if it could be ſupported by any clear authority. His relations runs thus (202):

(202) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 107, 108, 109.

'There was an article in the Treaty between France 'and the Protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, 'it ſhould be immediately delivered up to the Engliſh, and his Ambaſſador Lockhart had orders to 'take poſſeſſion of it accordingly. When the French 'army, being joined with the Engliſh auxiliaries, 'was in its march to inveſt the town, Cromwell ſent 'one morning for the French Ambaſſador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publicly for his maſter's 'deſigned breach of promiſe, in giving ſecret orders 'to the French General to keep poſſeſſion of Dunkirk in caſe it was taken, contrary to the Treaty 'between them. The Ambaſſador proteſted he 'knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did 'not, and begged leave to aſſure him there was no 'ſuch thing thought of; upon which Cromwell, 'pulling a paper out of his pocket, *Here*, ſays he, *is 'the copy of the Cardinal's order*; *and I deſire you to*

'*diſpatch*

French King's ſending over the Duke de Crequi to compliment him upon the occaſion, in return to a civility of the ſame kind paid by the Protector, in ſending over his ſon-in-law Lord Fauconbridge (*a*), laſted not long; for his favourite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, falling ſick of a diſtemper, which, by the excruciating pains it brought upon her body, not a little diſtempered her mind, ſo wounded him by her vehement exclamations againſt his cruelties, and more eſpecially for the death of Dr. Hewett, on whoſe behalf ſhe had made the moſt importunate interceſſions, that he was no leſs affected thereby than from her death, which happened on the 6th of Auguſt following (*b*). He was, from that time, wholly altered, grew daily more reſerved and ſuſpicious, not indeed without great reaſon; for he found a general diſcontent prevailed through the nation, a ſignal diſaffection in the Army, and a great increaſe of the influence of the Republicans, to whom his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, and even his wife, were very much inclined; and beſides them, his Privy-Counſellors Pickering and Sydenham, upon whom he had principally depended, and even Deſborough, his near relation and great confident, caballed with Lambert, ſo that he knew not which way to turn, or what to expect (*c*). Theſe cares having long tormented his thoughts, at laſt affected his body, ſo that, while at Hampton-Court, he fell into a kind of ſlow fever, which ſoon degenerated into a tertian ague. For about a week his diſeaſe continued without any dangerous ſymptoms, inſomuch that every other day he walked abroad; but one day, after dinner, his five Phyſicians coming to wait upon him, one of them having felt his pulſe, ſaid, that it intermitted, at which, being ſomewhat ſurprized, he turned pale, fell into a cold ſweat, and, when he was almoſt fainting, ordered himſelf to be carried to bed, where, by the aſſiſtance of cordials, being brought a little to himſelf, he made his will with reſpect to his private affairs (*d*). As to the remaining part of the hiſtory of his diſtemper, which, on many accounts, is very remarkable, the reader will find

(*a*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 674.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 196. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 734. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 607.

(*c*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 233, 234.

(*d*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 734.

'*diſpatch immediately an expreſs, to let him know, that I am not to be impoſed upon, and that, if he deliver not up the keys of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him, I'll come in perſon, and demand them at the gates of Paris.* There were but four perſons ſaid to be privy to this order, the Queen-mother, the Cardinal, the Marſhal de Turenne, and a Secretary, whoſe name it is not fit at this time to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have blabbed it out to ſome of her women; whereas it was found, after the Secretary's death, that he had kept a ſecret correſpondence with Cromwell for ſeveral years, and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the copy of the order beforementioned. The meſſage had its effect, for Dunkirk was put into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. And to palliate the matter, the Duke and Marſhal Crequi was diſpatched into England Ambaſſador Extraordinary to compliment Cromwell, attended by a numerous and ſplendid train of perſons of quality, among whom was a Prince of the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector, full of the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect, and aſſuring his Highneſs, that being within view of the Engliſh ſhore, nothing but the King's indiſpoſition, (who lay then ill of the ſmall-pox at Calais) could have hindered him to come over to England, that he might enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt men that ever was, and whom, next to his maſter, his greateſt ambition was to ſerve. But being deprived of ſo great a happineſs, he had ſent the perſon that was neareſt to him in blood, to aſſure him of the profound veneration he had for his perſon, and how much he was reſolved, to the utmoſt of his power, to cultivate a particular amity and friendſhip betwixt his maſter and him.' This narrative has a very fair appearance, and has ſo long paſſed for an indiſputable truth that I ſhould not eaſily have inclined to queſtion it: but thus much is certain, that, if there be any truth in it, it would be a very difficult matter to find it out, becauſe almoſt every circumſtance of it may be ſhewn to be falſe. It appears from Lockhart's letters, who was not only the Protector's Ambaſſador in France, but alſo Commander in Chief of his forces, that the difficulty at the opening of the campaign lay in bringing the Cardinal to reſolve upon beſieging Dunkirk early, becauſe the Spaniards were poſſeſſed of Heſdin, and were thereby in a condition to have made a diverſion by an excurſion into France; and the people clamoured that the Cardinal was leaving them at the mercy of the Spaniards, while the army of France was to be employed in taking of towns, which were to be given up to the Engliſh, their antient and inveterate enemy (203). It appears farther, that it was impoſſible for the French to have broken their treaty with Cromwell in this reſpect, for three reaſons: the firſt, becauſe without the aſſiſtance of an additional aſſiſtance from him, they were not able to inveſt the place; ſecondly, becauſe he had a pawn in his hand, which was Mardyke, and which was to be given up to France, upon putting Dunkirk into his hands; thirdly, becauſe after taking the place, the preſervation of their own conqueſts, and even of their army, depended abſolutely upon the continuance of his friendſhip; ſo that if they had deceived him, not only the forces of France, and the fortune of the war would have been in the utmoſt danger, but the perſons alſo of the King and Cardinal, who were at that time in the army (204). We may add to all this, that there is not the leaſt notice of ſuch a tranſaction in Whitlocke, or in any of the Hiſtorians of thoſe times, and, which is the more remarkable, Whitlocke informs us, that Cromwell might have had the place betrayed to him by the Spaniſh Governor, which he refuſed (205) as leſs honourable than receiving it from France, a thing altogether incredible if he had entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of their ſincerity. Add to all this, that from ſeveral of Lockhart's letters it appears, he never had the leaſt jealouſy of the Cardinal in that point (206), and that if there had been any ſuch tranſaction as this between the Protector and the French Ambaſſador, it could not have eſcaped the Miniſter's notice. In reference to Marſhal Crequi and Mr. Mancini, they came over in conſequence of Cromwell's ſending his ſon-in-law Fauconbridge to compliment the King and Cardinal, who carried letters from the Protector to both, and was received with unprecedented marks of reſpect. Beſides, the French Marſhal and the Cardinal's nephew had their audience of Cromwell before Dunkirk was taken, which within one hour after its being taken was put into the Engliſh hands. The truth of the matter was, what does infinitely more honour to Cromwell than this ſtory, that the French durſt not deceive him, nay, durſt not take any ſtep that could give him the leaſt jealouſy or ſuſpicion; for it was his fleet and army that enabled them to do all they did, and there is nothing more certain, than that he was the true author of all their future greatneſs, as well as of that lamentable depreſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, which it could never recover, and which has been ſo fatal to the balance of power in Europe.

(203) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 60. 160. 169. 173.

(204) Quincy, tom. i. p. 238. Riencourt, tom. ii. p. 119. Buſſy, tom. ii. p. 129.

(205) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 674.

(206) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 174.

it in the notes [*OO*]. Being removed to London he became much worſe, grew firſt lethargick, then delirious; whence recovering a little, but not enough to give any diſtinct directions as to the management of public affairs; he died on Friday, September the 3d, 1658, aged ſomewhat more than fifty-nine years and four months. Some have intimated a ſuſpicion, that he died of poiſon (*e*); but the nature and length of his diſeaſe, together with his body's being publicly opened, ſeems to deſtroy all probability in ſuch a ſuppo-

(*e*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 674. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 424. Echard's Hiſt. of Eng. p. 734.

[*OO*] *The reader will find it in the notes.*] It is impoſſible to have a better account of his laſt ſickneſs, than that given by Dr. Bates, who was his Phyſician. After mentioning the circumſtance of making his private Will, as related in the text, he proceeds thus: 'Next morning early, when one of his Phyſicians came to viſit him, he aſked him (207), Why he looked ſo ſad?' and when he made anſwer, 'That ſo it became any one, who had the weighty care of his life 'and health upon him;' 'Ye Phyſicians, ſaid he, 'think I ſhall die.' Then the company being removed, holding his wife by the hand, he ſpoke to him to this purpoſe: 'I tell you I ſhall not die this 'bout, I am ſure on it.' And becauſe he obſerved him to look more attentively upon him at theſe words, 'Don't think, ſaid he, that I am mad; I ſpeak the 'words of truth, upon ſurer grounds than Galen or 'your Hippocrates furniſh you with. God Almighty 'himſelf hath given that anſwer, not to my prayers 'alone, but alſo to the prayers of thoſe who entertain a ſtricter commerce and greater intereſt with 'him. Go on chearfully, baniſhing all ſadneſs from 'your looks, and deal with me as you would do with 'a ſerving-man. Ye may have a ſkill in the nature 'of things, yet nature can do more than all Phyſicians put together, and God is far more above nature.' But being ordered to take his reſt, becauſe he had not ſlept the greateſt part of the night; as the Phyſician was coming out of the chamber, he accidentally met another, who had been a long time very familiar with him, to whom 'I am afraid, ſays he, 'our Patient will be light-headed.' 'Then, ſaid 'he, you are certainly a ſtranger in this houſe. 'Don't you know what was done laſt night? the 'Chaplains, and all who are dear to God, being diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the Palace, have prayed 'to God for his health, and all have brought this 'anſwer, *He ſhall recover.*' Nay, to this degree of madneſs they came, that a public faſt being for his ſake kept at Hampton-Court, they did not ſo much pray to God for his health, as thank him for the undoubted pledges of his recovery, and repeated the ſame at Whitehall. Theſe oracles of the ſaints were the cauſe that the Phyſicians ſpake not a word of his danger. In the mean time Cromwell leaving Hampton-Court, where hitherto he had lain ſick, is brought to London, and the Phyſicians meet at a conſultation in the Chamber of the afore-mentioned Doctor, who at that time was troubled with a grievous head-ach, and an impoſthume in his ear. But next morning early, another Phyſician coming, who had watched all night with the patient, and telling the reſt how ill he had been in the laſt fit, they all concluded that he could hardly out-live another. This ſentence of the Phyſicians awaking the Privy-Council, at an appointed time, they come to adviſe him that he would name his ſucceſſor. But when in a drouſy fit he anſwered out of purpoſe, they again aſked him if he did not name Richard his eldeſt ſon for his ſucceſſor, to which he anſwered, Yes. Then being aſked where his Will was which heretofore he had made concerning the heirs of the kingdom, he ſent to look for it in his cloſet and other places, but in vain, for he had either burnt it himſelf, or ſomebody elſe had ſtole it.' All this agrees very well with thoſe authentic accounts written by Lord Fauconbridge and Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell in Ireland. In the letters of the laſt it is ſaid, that the Protector named his ſucceſſor in writing during the ſitting of the laſt Parliament; that he folded up the paper containing this nomination in the form of a letter directed to Thurloe; that when he was ſo ill at Hampton-Court he ſaid this letter lay upon the table in his ſtudy, and directed it ſhould be brought, but ſearch being made for it no ſuch paper could be found (208). It is farther ſaid, that he declared his ſon Richard his ſucceſſor, in the preſence of ſeveral of his Council; but this was generally doubted at the time, and is not confirmed in the Proclamation upon Richard's aſſuming the title of Protector (209). Before I cloſe this note it may not be amiſs to diſcuſs two points, that ſeem to have been but indifferently treated. The firſt is with reſpect to his pretending to have received a revelation that he ſhould not die at that time, not only at the beginning of his ſickneſs, but after he was brought to London, and given over by thoſe of the Faculty that were about him. The fact itſelf is very certain: General Fleetwood mentions it in a letter to Henry Cromwell, but recommends ſecrecy to him till the event ſhould direct him whether to bury it in ſilence or proclaim it to the world (210). One would think it hardly poſſible to aſſign a reaſon for this, excluding fanaticiſm or enthuſiaſm; and yet a foreign writer pretends to relate, upon good authority, ſomewhat on this head that deſerves notice. He obſerves, that the Phyſician who attended the Protector could not help expreſſing great aſtoniſhment at his boldneſs in this reſpect, to whom Cromwell, when they were alone, expreſſed himſelf to this effect: 'You are an honeſt man, Doctor, and 'have good ſenſe; I wonder that you do not ſee that 'I hazard nothing by my prediction; for if, as you 'ſay, I ſhould not ſurvive twenty-four hours, this 'rumour of my recovery which will be diffuſed 'through the whole nation, will keep the minds of 'men in ſuſpenſe, and prevent my enemies from 'coming to any certain reſolutions: on the other 'hand, if I ſhould recover, as you Phyſicians are not 'infallible, it will add new credit to my Government, and the bulk of this people will believe me 'a man ſent from God (211).' It may be objected, that it is very improbable Cromwell ſhould deal ſo very freely with any man, and indeed I lay no great ſtreſs upon this ſtory; but this may be obſerved by the way, that the only vanity he had was boaſting of his power to overreach, of which there is a remarkable inſtance in what he ſaid to Mr. Waller (212), and ſtill a ſtronger inſtance in a matter of greater notoriety; for to his firſt Parliament he magnified the *Inſtrument of Government* as the moſt compleat thing that could be, whereas, in his ſpeech to his laſt Parliament, he ran it down as a weak and inconſiſtent project, which he compared to a rotten plank (213). Beſides, had he lived, the Doctor durſt not have diſcloſed it in prejudice to his ſcheme of paſſing for a Prophet; and his divulging it after his death ſerved only to ſhew, that the Protector was in reality a conſummate Politician to the very laſt. The ſecond point to be explained is as to his being poiſoned, of which Mr. Wood tells us (214) there was a report that it was done by Dr. Bates; but he inſinuates that this was invented by the Doctor's friends, to apologize for his conduct in thoſe times, and that it might be no bar to his preferment; for he was Phyſician to King Charles I. to the Protector Oliver, and to King Charles II. Archdeacon Echard (215) ſets it down as a fact *that he gave* Cromwell *a ſure doſe*; but, in this reſpect, neither of theſe writers deſerve much credit, ſince it appears from Whitlocke (216), that there was a rumour of his being poiſoned at the very time of his death, conſequently it was not a tale invented after the Reſtoration; and that it was not a fact, appears from the ſenſe his family had of it, viſible in the Letters of Fleetwood, Fauconbridge, and Thurloe, and from the hiſtory of his diſtemper in thoſe letters, which appears to have been at firſt a ſlow fever, then a tertian, and at laſt a double tertian, which might well carry off a perſon of his years, without the aſſiſtance of a ſure doſe, and indeed in ſpite of the aſſiſtance of the Faculty: neither can it be believed, that ſuch a thing was practiſed upon ſuch a perſon by one, when, at the ſame time, he was attended by four other Phyſicians.

(207) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 234, 235, 236.

(208) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 364.

(209) See that proclamation in Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 674.

(210) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 355.

(211) Vie de Cromwell, par Raguenet, p. 395.

(212) See the life of Waller, prefixed to his poems.

(213) See that ſpeech in Whitlocke's Memorials.

(214) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 424.

(215) Hiſt. of England, p. 862.

(216) Memorials of Engliſh affairs, p. 674.

ſition. It appears to be more generally agreed, that there was ſomething very myſterious in the manner of diſpoſing of his body, which ſeveral authors, and thoſe too of oppoſite principles, very poſitively aſſert, was never carried to Weſtminſter-Abbey. It would undoubtedly be a very difficult thing to affirm which of the ſtories that are told about it is moſt probable; though there can be nothing clearer, than that none of them ought to be accounted certain (*f*) [*PP*]. A very pompous funeral was ordered at the public expence, and performed from Somerſet-Houſe, with a ſplendor not only equal but ſuperior to any that has been beſtowed upon crowned heads; though it is ſaid, that expence fell heavy upon his family, and upon ſome of the tradeſmen who furniſhed the ornaments of the ſolemnity, of which as there are many particular accounts common to be met with, there is no need that we ſhould inſiſt longer upon it here (*g*).

(*f*) See that point explained at large in the notes.

There were other, and thoſe ſtill more extraordinary, marks of public approbation beſtowed upon his memory, ſuch as the celebrated poems of Waller, Sprat, and Dryden, which are likely to laſt as long as our language (*h*); and which, though the authors lived all of them to change their ſentiments, will not fail of giving poſterity a very high idea of thoſe great actions, which were capable of exciting ſuch elevated deſcriptions by thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of them. Beſides theſe, there are multitudes of Latin verſes, ſome of them very fine, which ſpeak the ſame language with the ſame warmth (*i*). In his life-time his actions had been celebrated by two very learned foreigners, as well as by his own Secretary Milton (*k*), with which, very probably, he was not diſpleaſed. Yet, after all, Poets are not the moſt credible witneſſes; and we are, for very good reaſons, apt to ſuſpect whether truth be the ground-work of panegyricks. It was for this reaſon that Cromwell was mightily deſirous of engaging a very learned man to write his hiſtory, in which nevertheleſs he failed; for though conſiderable rewards were offered, that very able perſon declined the taſk (*l*). We have indeed various characters from various perſons, and thoſe too of various ſentiments; yet in moſt of theſe there ſeems to be a mixture either of flattery or of prejudice. Such as approved his actions, knew not where to ſtop their praiſes; and ſuch as deteſted his proceedings, gave a looſe to their reſentments, that, in ſome reſpects perhaps, carried them beyond the bounds of truth. Thoſe who hated his perſon went farther ſtill. Lord Hollis will hardly allow him either great or good qualities (*m*); and as for Lieutenant-General Ludlow (*n*), one principal deſign of his book is to repreſent Cromwell as the vileſt and wickedeſt of men. Againſt this laſt writer he has been very well defended by one, who, with great force of argument, and in very elegant language, has

(*g*) Cowley's Works, vol. p. 631, &c.

(*h*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 737. Heath's Chron. p. 410, 411. Perfect Politician, p. 266, 267.

(*i*) See theſe and others all collected in the 3d vol. of State-poems.

(*k*) See all theſe panegyricks collected and tranſlated by the Rev. Mr. Francis Peck, in his Memoirs of the life and actions of O. Cromwell, Lond. 1740, 4*to*.

(*l*) Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 485.

(*m*) See the inſtances already given from Hollis's Memoirs.

(*n*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 480.

[*PP*] *Than that none of them ought to be accounted certain.*] In the firſt place it is proper to produce an authentic proof of the only fact that is aſſerted in the text, that his body was really buried before his pompous funeral. Dr. Bates gives us this account in the following words (217): 'His body being opened; in 'the animal parts, the veſſels of the brain ſeemed to 'be over-charged; in the vitals, the lungs a little in'flamed; but, in the natural, the ſource of the di'ſtemper appeared, the ſpleen, though ſound to the 'eye, being within filled with matter like to the lees 'of oil. Nor was that incongruous to the diſeaſe that 'for a long time he had been ſubject unto, ſince, for 'at leaſt thirty years, he had at times heavily com'plained of hypochondriacal indiſpoſitions. Though 'his bowels were taken out, and his body filled with 'ſpices, wrapped in a four-fold ſear-cloth, but put firſt 'into a coffin of lead and then into a wooden one, yet 'it purged and wrought through all, ſo that there was 'a neceſſity of interring it before the ſolemnity of his 'funeral.' Echard aſſerts preciſely the ſame thing, and, in all probability, from the ſame authority. We have another ſtory, ſaid to be founded on the teſtimony of Mr. Barkſtead, ſon to the famous Barkſtead, who was Lieutenant of the Tower in Cromwell's lifetime, to this effect (218): 'That Barkſtead, the fa'ther, among other confidents of Cromwell's, deſiring 'in his illneſs to know where he would be buried, the 'Protector anſwered, where he had obtained the 'greateſt victory and glory, and as nigh the ſpot as 'could be gueſſed where the heat of the action was, '*viz.* in the field at Naſeby in Northamptonſhire: 'which accordingly was thus performed. At mid'night, ſoon after his death, the body, being firſt 'embalmed and wrapped in a leaden coffin, was in a 'hearſe conveyed to the ſaid field, Mr. Barkſtead 'himſelf attending, by order of his father, cloſe to 'the hearſe. Being come to the field, they found 'about the midſt of it a grave dug about nine feet 'deep, with the green ſod carefully laid on one ſide, 'and the mould on the other, in which the coffin 'being put, the grave was inſtantly filled up, and the 'green ſod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken 'that the ſurplus ſhould be clear removed. Soon 'after, the like care was taken that the field ſhould 'be entirely ploughed up, and it was ſown three or 'four years ſucceſſively with corn.' We have a very different account from Mr. Oldmixon, who aſſures us that he had it from a gentlewoman who attended the Protector in his laſt ſickneſs (219): 'She told me, 'ſays he, that the day after Cromwell's death, it was 'conſulted how to diſpoſe of his corpſe; they could 'not pretend to keep it for the pomp of a public 'burial. Amongſt other propoſals this was one, 'that, conſidering the malice, rage, and cruelty of 'the Cavaliers, it was moſt certain, they, who never 'ſpared either living or dead, in the luſt of their re'venge, would inſult the body of this their moſt 'dreadful enemy, if ever it was in their power; and, 'to prevent its falling into ſuch barbarous hands, it 'was reſolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it aboard 'a barge, and to ſink it in the deepeſt part of the 'Thames, which was done the night following, two 'of his near relations, with ſome truſty ſoldiers, un'dertaking to do it.' That the Protector's body was buried before the public and pompous ceremony of the funeral ſeems to be out of all doubt; but that there was a body interred at Weſtminſter, and that this body was really the Protector's body, ſeems to be very clear, from the following account of what paſſed upon the order to diſ-inter him after the Reſtoration (220). 'In the middle iſle of Henry VIIth's chapel, *ſays my* '*authority*, at the eaſt end, in a vault, was found his 'corps. In the inſide of whoſe coffin, and upon the 'breaſt of the corps, was laid a copper-plate finely gilt, 'incloſed in a thin caſe of lead; on the one ſide 'whereof were engraved the arms of England, im'paled with the arms of Oliver; and, on the reverſe, 'this following legenda: *Oliverius Protector Reipub'licæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, natus* 25 *April*, '1599, *inauguratus* 16 *Decembris* 1553, *Mortuus* '3 *Septembris ann.* 1658. *Hic ſitus eſt.* Mr. Gifford 'of Colcheſter, who married the Serjeant's daughter '(who by order of the Houſe took up the body) had, 'in 1719, the plate.'

(217) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 236.

(218) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 228. in the notes.

(219) Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 426.

(220) Compleat Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 229.

ſhewn

ſhewn, that Cromwell had juſt as much right to erect a new Monarchy, as the long Parliament had to eſtabliſh a new Commonwealth upon the ruins of our old Conſtitution (*o*). Another writer has laboured to vindicate the long Parliament, by ſhewing that they had the welfare and reputation of their country more at heart than Cromwell (*p*). The learned and ingenious Abraham Cowley has excelled all others, as well in reſpect to the matter as the manner of repreſenting his actions and adminiſtration in the different lights of praiſe and cenſure, ſo that his performance may be juſtly eſteemed the moſt perfect of any, as it is indeed, beyond compariſon, the moſt beautiful of all that have been written upon this ſubject (*q*). It is ſaid, that Cardinal Mazarine ſtiled him a fortunate madman (*r*). Father Orleans diſlikes that character, and would ſubſtitute in its ſtead that of a judicious villain. The noble Hiſtorian, with better ſenſe and better language, ſtiles him, a brave wicked man (*s*). A certain writer, very converſant in the hiſtory of thoſe times, would perſwade us, that a foreign author has given us the juſteſt idea of Cromwell in theſe few words: He was a Tyrant without vices, and a Prince without virtues (*t*). This, perhaps, is a character not eaſy to be underſtood. A certain Prelate of our own nation, has a very judicious reflection upon his death: he ſays, His life and his arts were exhauſted together, and that, if he had ſurvived longer, he would have ſcarcely been able to preſerve his power (*u*). But it is not in general characters, or from the many lives that have been written of Oliver Cromwell, that we may hope to find what it imports us moſt to know, with reſpect either to his public or to his private character; and there is ſtill wanting, though there ſeems to be now ſufficient materials, a candid, circumſtantial, and ſenſible account of both. As to the firſt, the world may juſtly expect to be ſatisfied how his domeſtic adminiſtration was conducted, what meaſures he purſued for the general benefit and advantage of the people, what ſuperior and extraordinary bleſſings he procured, what oppreſſions he removed, what grievances he detected and took away, what reſpect he paid to the laws, and with what revenue he was pleaſed to be contented. Theſe are things that would give us a true and rational notion of his title to fame, conſidered as the poſſeſſor of ſupreme power, by what means ſoever attained, or held by whatever title [22]. As to

(*o*) Modeſt Vindication of O. Cromwell.

(*p*) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(*q*) Cowley's Works, vol. ii. p. 631, &c.

(*r*) Father Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 185.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697.

(*t*) Vie de Cromwell, par Gregorie Leti, vol. ii. p. 452, 453.

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, vol. i. p. 70.

[22] *Or held by whatever title.*] It has been ſaid, by ſuch as were deſirous of raiſing the character of Cromwell, that the nation was much benefited by his Government; that there was nothing of pomp or needleſs magnificence in his dreſs, his equipage, his houſhold, or in his way of living (221); that his ears were open to complaints and to informations of every kind; that he was familiar with his old friends, and with the officers and ſoldiers of the army, after his advancement to the ſupreme power, which ſhewed that he had not either pride or vanity (222); that he ſhewed much juſtice in all private affairs, adminiſtered thoſe of the public with frugality, and paid both his civil and military officers punctually (223); that he kept up a great face of religion in his own Court, and through the nation; that he always profeſſed himſelf for liberty of conſcience, and ſhewed a very high zeal for the Proteſtant religion (224); that Weſtminſter-hall was never filled with Judges of greater learning and worth, than in his time (225); that his army obſerved the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and were not troubleſome in their quarters (226); that he was beneficent to learned men; that trade flouriſhed in his time (227); and that in ſpite of the badneſs of his title to, and the means by which he acquired power, he was univerſally reſpected at home and abroad (228). Now there are alſo ſome few particulars that deſerve notice on the other ſide. It is obſerved that Cromwell's motion to the ſupreme power was progreſſive, and that his ſtate augmented as it went: he took poſſeſſion of the King's lodgings at Whitehall, when he was only General; he prevented ſeveral Palaces from being ſold while a private man, that he might poſſeſs them in a princely character (229); he gradually increaſed his great officers, to the very end of his life; and, by a ſtroke of prerogative for which none of our Kings ſet him a precedent, would have made a houſe full of new Peers at once (230). Our former Kings ſwore to maintain the laws and liberties of their people, the meaning of which was very well known and aſcertained; but Cromwell's *Inſtrument of Government* was of his own making, ſo that his oath to maintain it was only ſwearing he would govern by his own will (231). Yet this was not kept, for *the humble Petition and Advice* was a new model of Government, which, as perfect as it was, needed a *Supplement*, and had it; ſo that a Government frequently changed, and changed by the will of him who adminiſtered it, was moſt certainly an arbitrary Government, if there ever was one in the world (232). He might be familiar with his creatures, and it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſo with his officers; yet not only Hollis and Ludlow, but even Whitlocke (233) ſays, he took upon him great ſtate; and Sir Philip Warwick (234), without intending him any hurt, confirms the ſame thing. There was a ſtrange kind of ſplendor in his time at Whitehall; for ſometimes his Court wore an air of ſtately ſeverity, at other times he would unbend himſelf and drink freely, though not to exceſs, that he might have an opportunity of ſounding then mens thoughts, in their unguarded moments, of fiſhing for ſecrets in a free converſation, and of raviſhing opinions by unexpected queſtions, for all which he was admirably qualified by nature, having two qualities that ſeldom meet in the ſame perſon, a memory retentive as marble, and a judgment that pierced like lightning (235). Sometimes, even in the midſt of ſerious conſultations, he ſtarted into buffoonry; ſometimes, the feaſts that were prepared for perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were, by a ſignal of drums and trumpets, made the prey of his Guards (236); there was a kind of madneſs in his mirth, as well as of humour in his gravity, and much of deſign in all. His juſtice, when not at his own expence, was his intereſt; but the caſes of Lilburn, Coney, and Sir Henry Vane, afford no great proofs of his ſacrificing intereſt to juſtice when he could not comply with both (237). As to frugality, there are ſome facts that will not allow us to believe their aſſertions. When he turned out the Long Parliament there were five hundred thouſand pounds in their coffers, the value of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds in their magazines, the army three or four months pay in advance, the fleet in an excellent condition, and nine hunderd thouſand pounds *per annum* had been refuſed for the cuſtoms and exciſe: when he died, the ſtate was much in debt; while he lived, it was always embarraſſed; his army was often in arrear, and the fleet in great decay (238). When he firſt ſeized the government he levied money by his own authority; afterwards very large ſums were given by aſſemblies that had no title to be called Parliaments; yet all could not ſuffice, even the addition of the vaſt ſums raiſed by decimating the Cavaliers; which was a di-

(221) Hiſtory and Policy reviewed, p. 112, 113.

(222) See Whitlocke, Coke, and Heath in his Flagellum.

(223) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 111.

(224) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, vol. i. p. 77.

(225) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 95.

(226) Winſtanley's true Character of Cromwell, p. 2.

(227) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 410.

(228) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 19.

(229) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 479.

(230) See the fourth part of the Hiſt. of Independency, p. 95.

(231) Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 65.

(232) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 591, 592, 593.

(233) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 661, 662.

(234) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 248.

(235) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 158, 159. True Character of O. Cromwell.

(236) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 240.

(237) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 697. The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(238) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 488. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 65, 66, 67.

to foreign affairs likewiſe, though very much has been ſaid about them, we are nevertheleſs greatly in the dark. It is to be examined, not only whether the Britiſh nation was reſpected and revered by her neighbours, but whether her intereſts were thoroughly underſtood, and ſteadily proſecuted. We ought to know what meaſures were taken to protect, to improve, and to extend our commerce. We ought to be ſatisfied whether ſhe retained that weight, as well as that rank, which ſhe held before amongſt the powers of Europe, and whether more reſpect was not had to the deference paid to the Government, than to the advantages yielded to the Nation. We ſhould be particularly careful to learn whether a due attention was preſerved to the balance of power, and whether the unqueſtionable rights of the Engliſh flag were maintained in as high and ample a manner as they might have been; and, in ſhort, whether, without the bounds of our own dominions, the nation was the better or the worſe for his directing her affairs [*RR*]. Laſtly, as to his

rect breach of the public faith, ſo much the more groſs, as he valued himſelf upon obliging the Parliament to paſs the Ordinance of Oblivion, and, when they came into power again, the Long Parliament declared their abhorrence of it (239). It is not eaſy to know what is meant by the face of religion; but this is certain, that religion never wore ſo many faces as in his time, nor was he pleaſed to diſcover which face he liked beſt. The Preſbyterians he hated, the Church of England he perſecuted, againſt the Papiſts he made laws, but the Sectaries he indulged; yet ſome of the Preſbyterian Divines he courted, affected kindneſs to a few of the Miniſters of the Church of England (240), and entered into ſome very deep intrigues with the Papiſts; which made Sir Kenelm Digby his favourite, Father White write in defence of his Government, and, which was more, of his conduct; and the Popiſh Primate of Ireland, Reily, who boaſted that he hated King Charles II. the two Dukes his brothers, and the Duke of Ormond, ſent precepts through all his province, under his ſeal, to pray for the health, eſtabliſhment, and proſperity, of the Protector Cromwell and his Government (241). He is charged with exciting a great charitable collection for the diſtreſſed Proteſtants abroad, ſending them a part, and making free with the reſt (242). As for the Judges in Weſtminſter-hall, he differed with St. John; he was ſometimes out of humour with Hale; he ſet up High Courts of Juſtice, unknown to the law, and put Dr. Hewett to death for not pleading before one of them, though he offered to plead, if any one that ſat there and was a Lawyer, would give it under his hand, that it was a legal juriſdiction (243); and Whitlocke himſelf owns, that though he was named in the Commiſſion he would never ſit, becauſe he knew it was not (244). His Majors-General, while they acted, ſuperſeded all law; and the Protector himſelf derided *Magna Charta*, ſo much reſpected by our Kings (245). The diſcipline of his army was neceſſary to his own ſecurity, and he taxed this nation to maintain twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; whereas the King that he brought to the block had not a Troop of Guards (246). Yet, after all, he had not much to boaſt in this reſpect, if we may credit Mr. Coke (247), whoſe words are theſe: 'he had nothing to truſt to 'but a mercenary army, which he could not pay, 'and above half of thoſe would have been content to 'have cut his throat.' He was kind to ſome learned men indeed: Milton and Marvell were his Secretaries, and though he baniſhed Biddle the Socinian, he allowed him a penſion (248); would have hired Meric Caſaubon to have written his Hiſtory (249); and would have entertained Thomas Hobbes in his ſervice for writing the *Leviathan*, in which power is made the ſource of right and the baſis of religion (250). He gave the body of Archbiſhop Uſher a public funeral in Weſtminſter-abbey; yet he paid but half the expence, and the other half proved a heavy burthen upon that Prelate's poor family (251). As to the reverence of the nation, a certain writer, ſpeaking of the laſt days of his life, deſcribes his ſituation thus (252): 'His means would not pay for the intelligence he 'was forced to buy at home and abroad, to diſcover 'the practices which were every day hatching againſt 'him; ſo as he had no ſecurity but in the general 'fear, which all the factions as well as he had, that 'their diſcords might give an occaſion of reſtoring 'the King, to the ruin of them all.' Biſhop Burnet (253) alſo confirms this, as we have hinted in the text, and the reader will obſerve, that through this whole note there is nothing delivered but from authorities; and though it is a long one, much more is omitted than inſerted. Thoſe who would ſee things as they were, will truſt to ſuch accounts as are ſupported by facts, and not to florid characters, which are frequently but beautiful fictions.

[*RR*] *For his directing her affairs.*] All who are tolerably verſed in the hiſtory of thoſe times know, that ſuch as labour to magnify the Protector's Government, inſiſt principally upon the advantages he gained over foreign ſtates, and the terror which he imprinted throughout all Europe, of the Engliſh fleets and forces. He is repreſented as the conqueror of the Dutch, as the great author of their ſubmiſſion to, and acquieſcing in, an inferior character of maritime power. With reſpect to this nation, he is ſaid to have atchieved what Queen Elizabeth had left imperfect, and what the two laſt Kings had meditated indeed, but never could bring about. He is reported to have retrieved the honour of the nation with reſpect to the buſineſs of Amboyna; and, in ſhort, to have given, or rather, to have preſcribed, a peace to the Dutch upon his own terms (254). In reference to the Mediterranean, he is called the ſcourge of the pyratical ſtates, whom he did not barely reduce to reaſon, but taught humility (255). The Portugueſe not only ſought his friendſhip of their own accord, but beſought it upon ſuch conditions as he ſhould be pleaſed to grant (256). Spain too courted his alliance, and would have purchaſed it at a very high price, if his amity might have been ſet to ſale: but his hatred to a power that durſt not give up the Inquiſition, his ſenſe of the Merchants wrongs, and innate abhorrence of a bigotted Popiſh people, withheld him from cloſing with their propoſitions, and induced him to ſignalize his power by reducing them to the loweſt diſtreſs, and that by entering into a treaty and alliance with France (257). This alliance was at the humble and earneſt ſuit of that power, willing to make any conceſſions which might procure his good-will, and ready to ſubſcribe ſuch propoſitions as he judged reaſonable for the grounds of their new friendſhip (258). By this means it is ſaid he obtained a better treaty of commerce than had been ſettled with that nation in former times: by this he ſignalized his credit with the firſt power in Europe, and was treated with deference, not to ſay ſubmiſſion, by that Crown that to others was often wanting in reſpect (259). By this means he reached over to, and gained footing upon, the Continent, repaired to England the loſs of Calais, and laid a foundation for deſigns wonderfully great in themſelves, which he did not live to execute (260). But, as if bringing the Dutch to ſubmit, giving law in the Mediterranean, and being courted by France, was not ſufficient, he made himſelf alſo the umpire of the North, and ſecured, in the higheſt degree, the attachment of the Swediſh Monarch, who owed to his friendſhip his making ſo formidable an appearance, as hardly yielded to that of his glorious predeceſſor Guſtavus Adolphus, the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion, and the ſcourge of the Houſe of Auſtria (261). Theſe, ſay they, were the great acts of Cromwell, by which he made himſelf, and the nation he ruled, awful in the eyes of their neighbours, ſecured

(239) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(240) Dr. Parr's life of Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 75, 76.

(241) Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, p. 58.

(242) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 173.

(243) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 606. Mr. Emlyn's Preface to Hale's Hiſt. of the Pleas of the Crown.

(244) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673.

(245) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 697.

(246) Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 65. The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(247) Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 67.

(248) Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, Lond. 1698, 8vo. p. 10.

(249) Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 485.

(250) The Leviathan heretical, Oxford, 1683, 12mo. p. 137.

(251) Dr. Parr's life of Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 78.

(252) Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 67. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 385.

(253) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, p. 70.

(254) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 265.

(255) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 172.

(256) See the three panegyricks publiſhed by Peck.

(257) See Secretary Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(258) See the account before cited, as alſo Milton, Welwood, and Oldmixon.

(259) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 130.

(260) Sir William Temple's Works, vol. i. p. 356.

(261) Milton's Works, vol. ii. p. 211, 218, 226.

his private life, it certainly merits our notice in all its ſeveral branches and relations, ſince it is thence only that we can be inſtructed to decide, with probability, as to the principles even of his public actions; for men of different diſpoſitions, act in the ſame manner, upon certain occaſions, from very different motives; and of theſe there is no judging, but from an acquaintance with their tempers; which can be no other way ſo well known, as from the relation of their private and domeſtic behaviour. Beſides, there is a natural curioſity to enter, as it were, into the privacies of extraordinary perſons; which is a kind of ſlipping behind the ſcenes, and taking a more nice and certain view of their conduct, by getting on the wrong ſide of the theatre. Men, called into high ſpheres of life, naturally become actors, and wear the robe and buſkin thence forward in public, ſo that we can judge but little of their real diſpoſition from their actions, unleſs we obtain a kind of key from the knowledge of their private life; ſo that circumſtances which, with reſpect to others, would be frivolous and impertinent in regard to them, are very uſeful

ed them the full enjoyment of all that they could juſtly claim, and gave them a great facility in acquiring whatever more they wiſhed. Such, if we look into certain books, were the deeds, and ſuch the honours due to the Protector. But, on the other hand, it is obſervable, that theſe high eulogies were very boldly queſtioned in his own times, and that too not by envious declaimers, who meant to ſhew their eloquence in ſatire, or their ſkill in cavilling, but by men of the firſt rank, who undertook to contradict the facts, and to ſhew that the whole ſcheme of his foreign politics was either falſe in its principles, or narrow in its foundation. They bid us remember it was the long Parliament, not he, that beat the Dutch; and though we ſhould give no credit to what has been inſinuated, that he was encouraged by them to revolt from and turn out his maſters, yet moſt evident it is, that he relaxed in his demands, and made a peace upon lower terms, not that had been demanded only by, but had been ſubmitted to in reſpect to, the Parliament. He remitted the three hundred thouſand pounds, which the Dutch had offered that Aſſembly for the damages ſuſtained during the war; he did not inſiſt upon an annual revenue for the liberty of fiſhing in our ſeas; he inſiſted upon no other proof of our ſovereignty at ſea than the ceremony of the flag; and even in reſpect to the buſineſs of Amboyna, the ſatisfaction obtained was not ſubſtance but ſhew; for, though ſtrongly worded in the treaty, yet being referred to Commiſſioners, it came to nothing, any more than the reſtitution of the Iſland of Poleron, which was ſtipulated indeed, but never complied with (262). Not that Cromwell wanted force ſufficient to have compelled what he pleaſed; but the expulſion of the King out of the dominions of the State, and the excluſion of the Prince of Orange from the dignities due to his family; the conſenting to which was a violation of the Dutch Conſtitution, were, though private advantages only, accepted as equivalents for the benefits that might have been obtained for the nation (263). What there was therefore of honour in the Dutch peace, belonged of right to the Parliament, under whoſe auſpice all the victories, ſave one gained by Monk, were obtained that procured it; and moſt of thoſe great points they inſiſted upon had been claimed by King Charles and King James, as one of their own advocates acknowledges, in a piece dedicated to themſelves (264). With all the reſt of Europe the Engliſh Commonwealth was at peace: the King of Portugal's addreſſes were in conſequence of the Parliament's reſenting his protection of Prince Rupert, and, beſides, in the ſituation of that Crown, it was no wonder they made any advances to the firſt maritime power in Europe (265). The glory of the Engliſh flag in the Mediterranean has been juſtly aſcribed to Blake, who was truly an honour to his country, but not mighty well ſatisfied with Cromwell's Government any more than Monk was with the Dutch Treaty, which he was not afraid to declare was a baſe piece of treachery (266). In his quarrel with Spain, he acted as imprudently as unjuſtly; for the Spaniards had courted the Commonwealth earlier than any other power in Europe, and, with reſpect to Cromwell, had declared their willingneſs to guaranty his own and his ſucceſſors government, as profeſſing an implacable averſion to the Royal Family, and a reſolution to exclude that line from the Throne, from motives of intereſt (267). They were willing to have carried on a war againſt France in conjunction with Cromwell, upon very eaſy terms, or would have cloſed with him without inſiſting upon his taking part in that war at all. The Protector entertained a treaty which he never deſigned ſhould come to any thing, while he provided for a war, which, from a proſpect of advantage, he had been bent upon from the beginning, and began without publiſhing any declaration (268); all this in the very teeth of the Engliſh intereſt, at that time in the ſole poſſeſſion of the whole Spaniſh trade, which was the great ſource of our riches (269). It was this that induced him to enter into a league with France; and the reaſon that led him to prefer the friendſhip of that power was, the excluding the Royal Family out of it's dominions, which, joined to the excluſion already obtained out of the territories of the States, and his project of getting the ports in the Spaniſh Low-Countries into his own hands, ſhews *what* was the ruling maxim in his politics; which is very ingeniouſly acknowledged, and all the particulars clearly ſet forth, in a paper of Thurloe's (270). As to his management in the North, it was of a piece with the reſt; that is, he did all that lay in his power to deſtroy the balance (271), by making the King of Sweden maſter of Denmark and the North, which had been effected, if it had not been for the Dutch, who underſtood and purſued their own intereſts better. For, had his ſcheme been brought about, he muſt have laid himſelf at the mercy of Sweden and France, who, being old allies, would have had it in their power to give law to all Europe (272). This being ſo viſibly the aim of France, it ſhews plainly why Cardinal Mazarine paid ſuch exceſſive court to Cromwell, and perhaps it may give ſome light, why he ſtiled him "a fortunate madman;" *fortunate*, becauſe, by the bravery of Engliſh ſeamen and ſoldiers, he obtained all he ſought; and *madman*, becauſe, to the temporary ſecurity of his own eſtabliſhment (273), he ſacrificed the intereſts of his country, the balance of power, and the tranquility of Europe, which former Kings had always maintained; and the very laſt King, Charles the Firſt, had prevented the French and Dutch from diſpoſſeſſing the Spaniards of the Low-Countries, and dividing them between them (274); which plan Cromwell not only accepted but executed. What influence theſe errors in policy had upon the ſtate of this nation, at home and abroad, may be ſhewn from facts that admit of no diſpute; ſuch as the ſinking of our coinage (275), the declenſion of the city of London in the number of its inhabitants (276), the loſs of countries in America, where the Dutch were permitted to keep the New Netherlands, now ſtiled New York and the Jerſeys, though our right to them was inconteſtible (277); from the decay of the navy, and from the loſs of a great part of the Spaniſh trade; to which may be added, the laying the foundation of all the ſubſequent wars for reducing the exorbitant growth of France, which he aſſiſted, and which without his aſſiſtance, and his weakening the Spaniſh monarchy as he did, could not have been attained (278). Theſe are to be conſidered as brief heads for that examination, the neceſſity of which is ſuggeſted in the text, in order to the forming a true and impartial judgment of his adminiſtration as to foreign affairs.

(262) Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 36, 47.

(263) Warwick's Memoirs p. 372.

(264) See this dedication prefixed by Marchmont Needham to his tranſlation of Selden's *Mare Clauſum*.

(265) Milton's Works, vol. ii. p. 193.

(266) Dr. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 74.

(267) See Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(268) Coke's Detection of the four laſt reigns, vol. ii. p. 51, 52, 53.

(269) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 615, 616.

(270) Inſerted in the firſt vol. of his State Papers, p. 759.

(271) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 373.

(272) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

(273) Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xx. p. 793.

(274) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 53, 54.

(275) Happy future State of England, p. 78.

(276) See the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

(277) Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i. p. 236–238.

(278) The World's Miſtake in O. Cromwell.

as well as entertaining [*SS*]. The Protector Oliver Cromwell had many children, of whom ſix ſurvived to be men and women, *viz.* two ſons and four daughters. 1. Richard. Cromwell

[*SS*] *Are very uſeful as well as entertaining.*] It is really not a little ſtrange, that, conſidering Cromwell was towards forty when he firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in oppoſing the project for draining of fens, that we ſhould know ſo little of his private life; and how little this is, the reader has already ſeen, moſt of the circumſtances that deſerve credit being mentioned either in the text or in the notes (279). Yet ſome few there were who knew and underſtood him thoroughly, before his extraordinary talents were made known to the world, and in particular his couſin Hampden, of which this was a remarkable inſtance (280). When things ran high in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Hampden and the Lord Digby were going down the Parliament ſtairs, and Cromwell juſt before them, who was known to the latter only by ſight: *Pray*, ſaid his Lordſhip to Mr. Hampden, *who is that man, for I ſee he is on our ſide by his ſpeaking ſo warmly to-day? That ſloven*, returned Mr. Hampden, *whom you ſee before us, who hath no ornament in his ſpeech, that ſloven, I ſay, if we ſhould ever come to a breach with the King, which God forbid! in ſuch a caſe, I ſay, that ſloven will be the greateſt man in England.* This prophecy, which was ſo fully accompliſhed, roſe chiefly from the ſenſe that great man had of Cromwell's indefatigable diligence in purſuing whatever he undertook: and, in truth, he had this remarkable quality in a very high degree, for whatever he had in view, remained ever in his thoughts, and every thing he ſaid or did was ſome way calculated to promote it; ſo that if ſteadineſs, vigilance, and addreſs, could attain any point, as indeed what point is there they will not attain, he was ſure to accompliſh whatever he thought worthy of undertaking (281). He had another quality, which was equally uſeful to him, and that was, diſcerning the temper of thoſe he had to deal with, and dealing with them accordingly. Before he became Commander in Chief, he kept up a very high intimacy with the private men, taking great pains to learn their names, by which he was ſure to call them, ſhaking them by the hand, clapping them on the ſhoulder, or, which was peculiar to him, giving them a ſlight box on the ear, which condeſcending familiarities, with the paſſion he expreſſed for their intereſts, gave him a power eaſier conceived than deſcribed (282). He tried to inveigle the Earl of Manchеſter; but finding his ſentiments of another kind, he fell upon him in the Houſe of Commons, and procured his removal. He carried himſelf with ſo much reſpect to Fairfax, that he knew not how to break with him, though he knew that he betrayed him (283). He not only deceived Harriſon, Bradſhaw, and Ludlow, but outwitted Oliver St. John, who had more parts than them all, and foiled Sir Henry Vane with his own weapons. In ſhort, he knew men perfectly, worked them to his purpoſes, as if they had been cattle, and, which is ſtill more wonderful, did that often while they conceived that they were making a tool of him (284). His ſtrength of mind, or ſtrength of head, call it which you will, enabled him to impoſe even upon the greateſt bodies of men. He led the reſentment of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Army, till the latter were in a flame, and very angry with him: when he came to them, it was upon a flea-bitten nag, all of a foam, as if he had made his eſcape; and, in this trim, he ſigned the engagement at Triploe-Heath, throwing himſelf from his horſe upon the graſs, and writing his name as he lay upon his belly (285). He had yet another faculty beyond theſe, and that was, the art of concealing his arts. He dictated a paper once to Ireton, which was impoſed upon the Agitators as if founded upon their inſtructions, who ſent it expreſs by two of their number, Sexby (who conſpired againſt him when Protector) and Laſinby, to Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General, at his quarters at Colcheſter. He was in bed when they came, but they demanded and had admittance. When they told him their commiſſion, he aſked them, with the greateſt rage and reſentment in his looks, how they durſt bring him papers from the Army? they ſaid, That paper contained the ſenſe of the Army, and they were directed to do it. Are you ſure of that? ſaid he, with the ſame ſtern countenance, Let me ſee it. He ſpent a long time in reading it, and, as it ſeemed to them, in reflecting upon it: then, with a mild and devout look, he told them it was a moſt juſt thing, he hoped that God would proſper it, adding, *I will ſtand by the Army in theſe deſires with my life and fortune* (286). In the courſe of his life he was temperate and ſober, and deſpiſed thoſe that were otherwiſe. He knew perfectly well the means of conciliating friendſhip, in which he was very conſtant to thoſe who went all his lengths, as the Earl of Warwick, and ſome others, did (287): and could be very civil to ſuch as diſapproved his meaſures, provided they did not oppoſe them, which was the caſe of St. John, Whitlocke, and others (288): but if they differed with him, he forgot all former ties, as appeared by his impriſoning Sir Henry Vane, removing Major-General Harriſon, and obliging the Lord Viſcount Say and the Lord Grey of Groby to live in a kind of voluntary exile (289). In his family he ſhewed great kindneſs, but without any diminution of his authority. He was very reſpectful to his mother, and very tender towards his wife (290); yet neither had any influence over him: he expreſſed a deep ſenſe of the concern which the former expreſſed for his danger, heard whatever ſhe ſaid to him patiently, but acted as he thought proper, and, in reſpect to her burial, directly againſt her dying requeſt (291). The latter is ſaid to have made a propoſition, tending towards reſtoring the King, but he rejected it (292), as he had before ſhewn himſelf unmoved, when his ſon Richard threw himſelf at his feet, to diſſwade him from taking King Charles's life (293). He did not ſeem to take amiſs applications of the like kind from other perſons, as from Whitlocke (294); but that Gentleman thought he loſt his confidence by it; from the Marquis of Hertford, whom he treated very reſpectfully (295); and from Dr. Brownrig, Biſhop of Exeter, to whom he ſhewed more kindneſs than to any other man of his rank and profeſſion, and of whom, with ſome earneſtneſs, he aſked advice (296): *My advice*, ſaid the good Prelate, *muſt be in the words of the goſpel*; *Render to* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſar's, *and to* God *the things that are* God's: to which he made no reply. All this ſhews a very great, a very unuſual calmneſs of mind; yet he was naturally haſty and paſſionate, which thoſe who were about him ſometimes felt (297); but he knew how to compoſe matters again by a proper and an immediate condeſcenſion, of which he gave a ſtrong inſtance to Lord Broghill, and another to Secretary Thurloe. He knew the force of family connections, and employed them very ſucceſsfully. It was by this that he managed Ireton, and afterwards Fleetwood (298). The dealers in ſecret, or rather, ſcandalous hiſtory, ſay, he found another method of managing Lambert; which there is no need to believe, ſince it is viſible that he cajoled him for a long time with the hopes of the ſucceſſion (299). He married all his daughters well, and was kind to their huſbands; but it is ſaid he gave them no fortunes, which, if true, muſt have been becauſe it was not in his power. Some have wondered that he did not court the alliance of ſome foreign houſe; and ſomething of this kind was once ſpoken of for the Prince of Conde, for whom he had a particular kindneſs, and aimed at making him great in the ſame way as himſelf: he ſerved in the Spaniſh army againſt his natural Prince; the Protector was for making him a Sovereign at the expence of the Spaniards he ſerved, by giving him the beſt part of their Low-Countries; but the French would not agree to this, and ſo it came to nothing, as the buſineſs of the match had done long before. He is cenſured for keeping his eldeſt ſon at a diſtance from buſineſs, and for giving him no employments (300); but for this, perhaps, there is not any juſt ground. He married him to a Lady who brought him a good fortune: he ſuffered him to purſue the bent of his inclinations, and to lead the life of a plain, honeſt, country Gentleman; which, for a time, was highly ſuitable to his

(279) In the Perfect Politician all his private hiſtory takes up but three pages.
(280) Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 193.
(281) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 1.
(282) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 77.
(283) This appears from reading the whole of Fairfax's ſhort Memoirs.
(284) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 85.
(285) Account of the engagements at Triploe-Heath and at Dunbar, p. 31.
(286) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 56.
(287) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 9.
(288) See Whitlocke's Memorials throughout.
(289) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 530, 563, 577.
(290) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 14.
(291) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.
(292) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 726.
(293) Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons that died in 1712. p. 296.
(294) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 516.
(295) Hearne's Chronicon de Dunſtable, vol. ii. p. 832.
(296) Memorials of Biſhop Brownrigg, p. 186, 187.
(297) Mr. Maidſtone's account of the Protector, to whom he was Steward, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 766.
(298) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 419. 425.
(299) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 183, 184.
(300) Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, p. 426.

5 own

Cromwell was born the 4th, and baptized the 19th of October, 1626, and died July 13th, 1712, at Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire (*w*). 2. Henry Cromwell, born January the 20th, 1627, chriſtened the next day, died March 25th, 1674 (*x*). (1.) Bridget, who firſt married Commiſſary-General Ireton, and, after his deceaſe, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood. As both her huſbands were zealous Republicans, ſhe had no ſmall tincture of the ſame ſpirit, which was very diſpleaſing to her father. In other reſpects ſhe was a woman of very good ſenſe, regular in her behaviour, and was highly inſtrumental in promoting the intereſts of her ſecond huſband, who was very much guided by her advice (*y*). (2.) Elizabeth, born *Anno Domini* 1630; ſhe married John Claypole, Eſq; a Northamptonſhire Gentleman, whom the Protector made Maſter of the Horſe, created him a Baronet July 16th, 1657, and appointed him one of his Lords (*z*). (3.) Mary, who was married, with great ſolemnity, to the Lord Viſcount Fauconberg, November 13th, 1657, but the ſame day more privately, according to the office in the Common-Prayer Book. She was a Lady of great beauty, and of a very high ſpirit; one who, after her brother Richard was depoſed, is thought to have promoted very ſucceſsfully the reſtoration of King Charles. Her huſband was ſent to the Tower by the Committee of Safety, and was in very high favour with King Charles the Second. He was raiſed to the dignity of an Earl by King William, and died on the laſt day of the year 1700. His lady ſurvived him to March 14th, 1712, and diſtinguiſhed herſelf to her death, by the quickneſs of her wit and the ſolidity of her judgment (*a*). (4.) Frances, his youngeſt daughter, was twice married; firſt to Mr. Robert Rich, grandſon to the Earl of Warwick, November 11th, 1657, who died the 16th of February following; and afterwards to Sir John Ruſſell, of Chippenham in Cambridgeſhire, by whom ſhe left ſeveral children, and lived to a great age (*b*). One, who pretends to a great acquaintance with the family, gives us an extraordinary ſtory of this Lady in the earlier part of her life (*c*) [*TT*].

(*w*) From the parish-regiſter of St. John's Huntington.

(*x*) From the ſame regiſter.

(*y*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts.

(*z*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

(*a*) Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana*, vol. iv. p. 2. 250.

(*b*) Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons, who died in the year 1712, p. 285.

(*c*) See this at large in the note.

own intereſts, as it ſeemed to correſpond with the terms of the *Inſtrument of Government*, and the diſlike which the Protector, when firſt ſo called, expreſſed of hereditary right (301). When he had afterwards brought about a change in affairs, he altered, at the ſame time, his conduct towards his ſon, named him the firſt Lord in his other Houſe, reſigned to him the Chancellorſhip of Oxford (302), and went as far as he could go, for fear of diſobliging Fleetwood. His ſecond ſon, Henry, he ſent over into Ireland, where he raiſed him gradually to the poſt of Lord Lieutenant (303). Though in this he ſeemed to give him the preference, yet in reality he uſed him more harſhly than the other; for, though his abilities were good, his manners irreproachable, and his ſubmiſſion exemplary, yet he paid no great deference to his recommendations, and allowed him far leſs power than could well be imagined (304). His daughter Claypole was his favourite, and her huſband had much of his confidence: he was maſter of his horſe, and had the Court ſecret in the Houſe of Commons (305). It is however to be obſerved, that as his government was diſtracted and diſturbed, ſo he was unhappy alſo in his family. Neither of his ſons thought his eſtabliſhment ſecure or well founded. His daughter Fleetwood was a Republican, and ſo were many others of his neareſt relations: all the reſt of his daughters had a ſecret kindneſs for the Royal Family, of which however he was not ignorant (306). He ſhewed a great reſpect for learning and learned men, without affecting to be learned himſelf. His letters are however the beſt teſtimonies of his parts, for they are varied in their ſtile in a very wonderful manner, exactly adapted to the purpoſes for which they were written, and the perſons to whom they were addreſſed (307). His public ſpeeches were long, dark, and perplexed; and though mixed with the language of the times, which was cant, yet have ſentiments in them that ſhew very clearly the ſuperiority of his underſtanding (308). In his converſation he was eaſy and pleaſant, and could unbend himſelf without loſing his dignity. He made an excellent choice in thoſe he employed, but truſted none of them farther than was neceſſary (309). It may ſeem ſtrange, that in drawing together his character, there ſhould be nothing ſaid of his principles as to government or religion; but the plain truth is, neither can be diſcovered with certainty. We know that he hated a Commonwealth and the Preſbyterians, but what his ſentiments were in other reſpects it is hardly poſſible to ſay. When he recollected himſelf, after the follies of his youth, there ſeems to be no doubt that he had ſerious impreſſions of religion; and there ſeem to be very ſtrong proofs, that he was afterwards tinctured with enthuſiaſm (310). In the time of his greateſt elevation, to ſuppoſe him a Fanatick, ſeems injuſtice to his parts; to affirm, as ſome have done, that he loſt all ſenſe of religion, is more, than, at this diſtance of time, any authorities will warrant. Such as entertain the beſt opinion of him allow, that he fell into deep and dangerous errors, particularly in believing that ſucceſs was a mark of the divine approbation (311). Thoſe who ſpeak worſt of him, charge him with a contempt of all things ſacred (312). But, in a matter of this obſcurity, let us call in the aſſiſtance of one, who knew him well, and could judge of him in that reſpect much better than we (313). This is the famous Mr. Baxter, who ſpeaks very ſenſibly and clearly to the point. 'His name ſtandeth as a 'monitory monument, or pillar to poſterity, to tell 'them the inſtability of man in ſtrong temptations, 'if God leave him to himſelf: What great ſucceſs 'and victories can do, to lift up a mind that once 'ſeemed humble: What pride can do, to make men 'ſelfiſh, and corrupt the heart with ill deſigns: What 'ſelfiſhneſs and ill deſigns can do, to bribe the con'ſcience, and corrupt the judgment, and make men 'juſtify the greateſt errors and ſins, and ſet againſt 'the cleareſt truth and duty: What bloodſhed and 'great enormities of life an erring deluded judgment 'may draw men to and patronize; and that when 'God hath dreadful judgments, an erroneous ſectary, 'or a proud ſelf-ſeeker, is oftener his inſtrument, 'than an humble lamb-like innocent ſaint.' It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſo great a man as the Earl of Clarendon (314), ſhould mention the Protector's ſpeaking kindly of Biſhops, and as if there was ſomething good in that order if the droſs was ſcoured off; ſo as to ſhew he took him to be really in earneſt. The whole courſe of Cromwell's life proves, that he was not at all ſteady to the form of religion, ſuppoſing that he retained any principles at the bottom; and there ſeems to be very little doubt, that the true meaning of theſe flattering expreſſions was, his deſire to return to the old form of government; for, whatever he pretended, that was his great aim. He did not overturn the conſtitution to leave it in ruins, but to ſet it up again, and himſelf at the head of it (315); and though he compared his own government at firſt to that of a High-Conſtable, yet there is nothing clearer, than that all he laboured for afterwards was to get the chaos new moulded, and his own authority ſanctified by the regal title, and the appearance of a legal Parliament (316).

(301) See his ſpeech to his firſt Parliament in Whitlocke.

(302) Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons who died in 1712. p. 287.

(303) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 534.

(304) See his letters to Thurloe amongſt the State Papers, which are a ſeries of complaints.

(305) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

(306) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 233, 234.

(307) See a great number of theſe letters in Thurloe's and in Nicholls's Collections, as well as in Ruſhworth and Whitlocke.

(308) Several of theſe are to be found in Whitlocke's Memorials.

(309) True Character of O. Cromwell.

(310) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(311) Neale's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 203.

(312) As Hollis, Ludlow, and Coke.

(313) In the account of his own life, P. i. p. 100.

(314) Clarendon's Hiſt. of bellion, p. 697.

(315) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 70.

(316) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 17.

[*TT*] *Gives us an extraordinary ſtory of this Lady in the earlier part of her life.*] We have this ſtory in ſeveral books; but the beſt account of it that I have met

met with is in the Hiſtory of the Stuarts, written by Mr. Oldmixon, which therefore I ſhall give the reader in his own words (317): 'One of his domeſtic Chaplains, Mr. Jeremy White, a ſprightly man, and a top wit of his Court, was ſo ambitious as to make his addreſſes to Lady Frances, the Protector's youngeſt daughter. The young Lady did not diſencourage him, and this piece of innocent gallantry, in ſo religious a Court, could not be carried on without ſpies. Oliver was told of it, and he was much concerned at it, obliging the perſon who told him to be on the watch, and told him if he could give him any ſubſtantial proof he ſhould be very well rewarded, and White ſeverely puniſhed. The ſpy followed the matter ſo cloſe, that he hunted Jerry White, as he was generally termed, to the Lady's chamber, and ran immediately to the Protector with this news. Oliver, in a rage, haſtened thither himſelf, and going in haſtily, found Jerry on his knees, kiſſing the Lady's hand, or having juſt kiſſed it. Cromwell, in a fury, aſked, What was the meaning of that poſture before his daughter Frank? White, with a great deal of preſence of mind, ſaid, May it pleaſe your Highneſs, I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my Lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her Ladyſhip to intercede for me. The Protector, turning to the young woman, cried, What's the meaning of this, huſſy? Why do you refuſe the honour Mr. White would do you? he is my friend, and I expect you ſhould treat him as ſuch. My Lady's woman, who deſired nothing more, with a very low curteſy, replied, If Mr. White intends me that honour, I ſhall not be againſt him. Sayſt thou ſo, my laſs? cried Cromwell, Call Godwyn. This buſineſs ſhall be done preſently, before I go out of the room. Mr. White was gone too far to go back: the Parſon came; Jerry and my Lady's woman were married in the preſence of the Protector, who gave her five hundred pounds for her portion; and that, with the money ſhe had ſaved before, made Mr. White eaſy in his circumſtances, except in one thing, which was, that he never loved his wife nor ſhe him, though they lived together near fifty years afterwards. I knew them both, and heard this ſtory told when Mrs. White was preſent, who did not contradict it.' This ſingular ſtory I was induced to inſert for ſeveral reaſons, being well aſſured, that, independently of Mr. Oldmixon's credit, who, in matters of this nature, was however a perſon very well informed, the facts upon which it depends are abſolutely true, and were often related by Mr. White himſelf; and, if I have not been miſinformed, to his Majeſty King Charles II. It is an admirable inſtance of the Protector's ſagacity in keeping ſpies within doors and without, as well as a moſt pregnant proof of his preſence of mind, and great dexterity in finding and applying the proper remedy at once, and upon the firſt diſcovery of the diſeaſe, however ſudden or unexpected. That theſe notes have not been loaded with many particularities in relation to the wonderful nicety and amazing extent of Cromwell's intelligence, is owing to more cauſes than one. The relations themſelves are common enough, and almoſt in every body's mouth: in the next place, they are not ſo wonderful as is commonly imagined; for all governments have their ſpies and ſecret intelligence, though they are not deſirous of making this known to the world. Yet we muſt not imagine that it was ignorance in Cromwell, or in his Miniſter Thurloe, to publiſh ſo much upon this head: for whereas in other governments the great point is, to gain intelligence without its being known; in reſpect to his it was quite contrary, for his intereſt conſiſted in being thought to have better and quicker intelligence than he really had. Laſtly, though this did infinite honour to his adminiſtration, yet in reality it ſhewed the weakneſs of his government; and therefore it is a right remark of Mr. Coke, that it kept him always neceſſitous, and was in reality that gaping gulph, through which all the money that he could amaſs ſlipped away; ſo that it might be truly ſaid, that if he was preſerved by it in one ſenſe, he was undone by it in another; and therefore, when the public accounts came to be examined in Richard's Parliament, what was iſſued for ſecret ſervice was not only thought extravagant but impoſſible: and indeed, how much ſoever it may aſtoniſh vulgar Politicians, refined Stateſmen will very hardly allow, that a government which cannot ſubſiſt but by the diſtribution of vaſt ſums in this way, is to be either admired or applauded; becauſe the excellence of government conſiſts in managing public affairs well, and without exorbitant expence; ſo that the beſt government is that which is at the leaſt charge. Theſe reflections detract nothing from the Protector's ſkill or abilities. It is a misfortune to meet with continual ſtorms in a voyage; but the Pilot nevertheleſs deſerves praiſe, who ſecures his veſſel from periſhing in thoſe ſtorms, and ſtill more praiſe, if the veſſel itſelf be rotten and leaky. C.

(317) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 426.

*** [In the copious and candid account which our ingenious predeceſſor, Dr. Campbell, has given of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, there are but few things to which any juſt exceptions can be made. The Doctor is probably wrong in his aſſertion, p. 478, that Cromwell was ſo far from having any intereſt at Cambridge, that in reality he was not ſo much as known there, and that if he had been known he would never have been elected Member of Parliament for that town. Not to mention his having been educated at Sidney College in that Univerſity, it was not likely that a Gentleman who lived ſo near as Huntingdon, and who was of ſo active a ſpirit, ſhould have been totally a ſtranger at Cambridge. Beſides, it is certain, that his zeal in oppoſing the drainage of the Bedford Level, muſt have already acquired him ſome degree of popularity.

There is another circumſtance in which we cannot agree with our able Predeceſſor, or with Lord Clarendon, on whom the remark is founded. Speaking of the Remonſtrance which was carried on the 14th of November, 1641, Dr. Campbell ſays, that "if Zeal "for the Church, or Duty to the King, could have "kept ten more of thoſe, who made ſuch ſtrong pro-"feſſions of both, from their ſuppers and their beds "for a few hours, all the conſequences of that fatal "night had been prevented." p. 479. But we can ſcarcely think that the whole future fate of the nation depended on the failure of ſo ſmall a number of perſons, on a ſingle occaſion. If the remonſtrance had at that time chanced to have been loſt by one or two votes, the ſpirit of the party in oppoſition to the meaſures of the Court was too high, and they were too ſtrongly ſupported by a powerful body in the nation, to be eaſily diſcouraged. They would probably have ſeized every opportunity of renewing and urging the buſineſs, till it was crowned with ſucceſs.

It is a miſtake to aſſert, as is done in note [*CC*], that Barebone's Parliament had voted that the common law was a badge of ſlavery. No ſuch reſolution occurs in the proceedings of that Aſſembly, as ſtated in the Parliamentary Hiſtory. They did, indeed, revive the conſideration of a bill which had been propoſed in the laſt Parliament, for correcting the grievances and inconveniences of legal proceedings, and a Committee was appointed for forming a new body or model of the law. But the deſign of this appointment was not to deſtroy the law or put it down, as was falſely reported, but to ſeparate laws that were uſeleſs and out of date from the wholeſome, juſt, and good ones, and to reduce the laſt into a deſirable ſyſtem. It is true that the ſame Parliament voted the aboliſhment of the Court of Chancery; but, even in this caſe, it was ordered that proviſion ſhould be made for deciding matters of equity for the future, in a method that ſhould be leſs tedious, expenſive and troubleſome to the ſuitors (318). By the way, Barebone's Parliament has been treated with unjuſt contempt by the greater part of our hiſtorians, and they have paſſed over its Proceedings in a very ſlight and ſuperficial manner. Mrs. Macaulay ſtands exempted from this cenſure. It is a fact that this Parliament was not deſtitute of ſome able men, who formed ſeveral important deſigns for the public welfare. The tranſactions of that Aſſembly are fully related in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, the narrative of which is concluded with the following obſervations. "We are "very far from entering into a vindication of this "unconſtitutional Aſſembly. It is certain that the "manner of their being convened, in obedience to "Cromwell's Warrant of Nomination, was the moſt "flagrant

(318) Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. xx. p. 189. 198. 234.

" flagrant inſtance of invaſion upon the rights and " liberties of all the Electors of the three nations, our " whole hiſtory affords, and was abſolutely ſubver- " ſive of the very being of Parliament. But whe- " ther they deſerve all the ignominy which has been " caſt upon them by the contemporary hiſtorians we " have cited in our account of their tranſactions, and " ſome modern writers who have implicitly copied " them, will beſt appear by the laws they made, and " the bills they were employed about at the time of " their diſſolution (319)."

(319) Parl. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 179, &c.

Vowell, the Schoolmaſter, mentioned p. 501, as having been executed at Charing-Croſs, ſummoned Cromwell and his Judges to appear at the Tribunal of God, for the unjuſt ſentence pronounced upon him (320).

(320) From a Correſpondent.

At firſt ſight, it may ſeem very ſtrange that Cromwell ſhould amuſe himſelf with ſuch an exerciſe as that of driving a coach; but Bate, in his Elenchus, has explained this circumſtance. " Qui nephriti- " cus erat, ac Arenulis multoties vexatus, varia non- " nunquam ingurgitabat potulenta; deinde vehe- " mentiori aliquo ac multiplici Motu Corpus agita- " bat; puta Equitatione aut in Carruca, ut impetu " facto Veſicam exoneraret (321)." Thus it is probable that he had recourſe to the extraordinary exerciſe deſcribed in the text for the purpoſe of obtaining ſome relief under the complaint of the gravel.

(321) *Ibid.*

The points in which our predeceſſor is moſt deficient, are with regard to the family and early life of Oliver Cromwell, though the information is as full as could at that time have reaſonably been expected. Theſe circumſtances have lately been the reſult of very minute and anxious enquiry, and hence great light has been thrown upon them. The Gentleman to whom the public has been the moſt obliged in this reſpect, is the Rev. Mr. Mark Noble, who in his curious and entertaining work, entitled, " Memoirs of " the Protectoral Houſe of Cromwell," hath deduced the genealogy of the Cromwells from an early period, and given a particular account of every branch of the family. Mr. Noble, at the ſame time, has taken great pains to correct the errors of preceding writers upon the ſubject; and among other circumſtances, hath ſhewn that our Predeceſſor was probably wrong in rejecting the idea that there was an affinity between Oliver Cromwell's Anceſtors and John Lord Williams, who, after filling ſome of the moſt important offices under our Sovereigns, died in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, without leaving male iſſue ſurviving. In oppoſition to what is aſſerted in note [*A*], Mr. Noble appears to have clearly proved, that the Cromwells had originally the Sirname of Williams; and that there is not any foundation for the hearſay report of Fuller, that there was no relation between the Putney Cromwells and the family of the Protector Oliver (322).

(322) Memoirs of the Protectoral Houſe of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 235—242.

For the hiſtory of the various branches of the Cromwells, preceding Oliver, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring to Mr. Noble's work, with the exception of taking ſome notice of what is ſaid concerning the Protector's father and mother.

Mr. Robert Cromwell had, by the will of his father, an eſtate in and near the town of Huntingdon, conſiſting chiefly, if not entirely, of poſſeſſions that formerly belonged to the Monaſtery of St. Mary for Auguſtine Friars, and amounting, with the great tythes of Hartford, to about three hundred pounds a year. His principal reſidence was in Huntingdon; and though he was a Gentleman of good ſenſe, and of competent learning, he was ſo fond of private life, that he is ſuppoſed never to have wiſhed for any employment in the ſtate. His ambition was ſufficiently gratified by a Seat for his own Borough, in the Parliament which was held in the thirty-fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and by a place upon the Bench as a Juſtice of the Peace. In 1600, he appears to have been one of the Bailiffs of Huntingdon; and in 1605, he joined with his brother Sir Oliver, and ſixteen others, in ſubſcribing a certificate to the Privy Council, that the work of draining the Fens in the counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, was feaſible, and might be performed without peril to any haven or county. With regard to a life like his, which furniſhes little matter to a Biographer, Mr. Noble obſerves, that the Philoſopher can ſcarcely avoid reflecting upon the ſtrange contrariety of men's minds, even among thoſe of the neareſt affinity in blood; ſince no character could be more oppoſite to this Gentleman's, than that of his ſon. From the happy and ſerene pleaſures of domeſtic life, Mr. Robert Cromwell was prematurely taken, to the great grief of a beloved wife, and ſeveral children; the latter of whom were juſt of ſufficient age to lament the loſs. His remains were depoſited at All Saints, in Huntingdon, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1617. By his will he bequeathed to Mrs. Cromwell two thirds of his property (excluſively of her jointure) for the term of twenty-one years, towards maintaining his daughters; and to his daughters he gave ſix hundred pounds, which were owing to him by his brother Whalley. Mrs. Cromwell's fortune is ſuppoſed to have conſiſted chiefly of the jointure ſhe poſſeſſed from her firſt huſband, who was William Lynne, Gentleman, ſon and heir-apparent of John Lynne of Baſſingbourne, Eſq. It was to eaſe the expences incident to a numerous progeny, and which are ſo much felt where the eſtate is ſmall, and the deſcent ancient, that Mr. Cromwell was obliged to carry on a large brewing buſineſs. This, however, was principally conducted by ſervants, whoſe accounts were entirely inſpected by Mrs. Cromwell herſelf. It may hence be collected that her huſband was rather of an indolent diſpoſition.

Mrs. Cromwell was a careful, prudent mother, and brought up her family, after ſhe became a widow, in a very handſome, though frugal manner. This ſhe was chiefly enabled to do from the profits ariſing from the brewhouſe, which ſhe carried on upon her own account, and with ſo much ſucceſs, that ſhe gave each of her daughters a fortune ſufficient to marry them to perſons of genteel families. The reſpective Gentlemen to whom they were married are mentioned in note [*C*]. The greateſt fondneſs of Mrs. Cromwell was laviſhed upon her only ſon; and his conduct to her was every way deſerving of her affection. He always behaved to her in the moſt filial and tender manner; and when he had exalted himſelf to ſovereign greatneſs, he aſſigned her apartments in the Palace at Whitehall, where ſhe continued until her deceaſe, which happened on the eighteenth of November, 1654. It was with reluctance that ſhe partook of the pageantry of Sovereignty, and ſhe remained undazzled with its ſplendour. Her regard for Oliver, and the apprehenſion ſhe entertained of his danger, kept her in ſuch conſtant alarm, that ſhe was diſcontented if ſhe did not ſee him twice a day. The report of a gun was never heard by her, without her crying out, " my ſon is ſhot." Though ſhe was averſe to Oliver's Protectorate, ſhe ſeldom troubled him with advice: but when ſhe aſſumed that liberty, he always heard her with attention, while, at the ſame time, he purſued his own meaſures. It was her dying requeſt that her funeral might be a private one, and that her body might not be depoſited in Weſtminſter Abbey. In this reſpect, however, he acted directly contrary to her injunctions; for he conveyed her remains, with great ſolemnity, and attended with many hundred torches, though it was day-light, to the dormitory of our Engliſh Monarchs. This vanity, in burying his mother with the pomp of royalty, and the expence with which it was accompanied, gave much offence to the republicans. After the reſtoration, her body was taken up, and, together with others, was indecently thrown into a hole made before the back door of the apartments belonging to one of the Prebendaries of Weſtminſter. Mrs. Cromwell was an amiable woman, and much beloved, not only by her own relations, but by thoſe of her huſband. Sir Oliver Cromwell is underſtood to have had a particular eſteem and regard for her. There is an original picture of her in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Sandwich at Hinchinbrooke, with an engraving of which Mr. Noble has favoured the public. Another portrait of her, taken when ſhe was only twenty-one years of age, belongs to the Miſs Cromwells. There is alſo, at Hinchinbrooke, a picture of Mr. Robert Cromwell, in which there is a languor of countenance, that indicates him to have been a ſickly man (323).

(323) Noble's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 82—87.

Mr. Noble has related ſome circumſtances concerning the early life of Oliver, which ſhould not be omitted. His infancy is ſaid to have been marked by a peculiar accident which ſeemed to threaten the life of the future Protector. His grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell, having ſent for him to Hinchinbrooke, when he was an infant in arms, a monkey took him from the cradle, and ran with him upon the lead that covered the roofing of the houſe. Alarmed at the danger of the child, the family ſpread beds to catch him upon, fearing leſt the creature ſhould drop him: but the ſagacious animal brought the fortune of England down in ſafety. Thus narrow was the eſcape which he, who was doomed to be the Conqueror, and the Sovereign Magiſtrate of three kingdoms, had from the jaws of a monkey.

Whilſt Oliver Cromwell was at the Grammar-School in Huntingdon, he is generally repreſented as having manifeſted an aſpiring, ſtubborn, and obſtinate temper, by which he incurred the ſevere correction of his father, and the flagellation of his maſter, Dr. Beard, who, in his treatment of him, was obliged to exceed the diſcipline uſual to youths of his birth and expectations. According to the account of his enemies, he was at this time the terror of the neighbourhood, by his depredations upon orchards and dove-houſes. Theſe circumſtances have been magnified, by prejudiced writers, into enormous offences: but the only real inference from them is, that, like other active and ſpirited boys, he had a diſpoſition that led him to playfulneſs and miſchief. It is probable that his bold and daring turn of mind might often bring him into danger. When a youth, he was near drowning, but was ſaved by Mr. Johnſon, a Clergyman. Many years after, as Oliver was marching at the head of his ſoldiers through Huntingdon, he recognized this Gentleman, and aſked him if he did not remember ſaving his life. "Yes," anſwered the aged and loyal Curate of Cunnington, "I do, but I "wiſh I had put you in, rather than ſee you in arms "againſt the king (324)."

(324) Noble's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 92—94.

As is uſual with regard to extraordinary perſons and characters, ſeveral circumſtances are given relating to Oliver, which were ſuppoſed to have been prognoſtications of future greatneſs. There is a tradition at Huntingdon, that when King Charles the firſt, then Duke of York, in his journey from Scotland to London, in the year 1604, called at Hinchinbrooke, the ſeat of Sir Oliver Cromwell; that Knight, to divert the young Prince, ſent for his nephew Oliver, that he, together with his own ſons, might play with his Royal Highneſs. They had not, however, been long together, before Charles and Oliver diſagreed; and, as the former was then as weakly as the latter was ſtrong, the Royal Viſitant was worſted. So little was dignity regarded by Oliver, even at that early age, that he made the blood flow in copious ſtreams from the Prince's noſe: and agreeably to the ſuperſtition of the times, it is ſaid that this event was looked upon as a bad preſage for the King, at the commencement of the civil wars. It is acknowledged by Mr. Noble, that he gives the ſtory as only the report of the Town; but he obſerves, that thus far is certain, that Hinchinbrooke, as being near to Huntingdon, was generally one of the reſting places of any of the Royal Family when going to, or returning from the North of England, either into, or from Scotland. It is more certain, adds Mr. Noble, that Oliver averred, that he ſaw a gigantic figure which came and opened the curtains of his bed, and told him that he ſhould be the greateſt perſon in the kingdom. If it be true that Oliver often mentioned this viſion when he was in the height of his glory, it is undoubtedly a proof of the warmth of his imagination, and of his early ambition (325).

(325) *Ibid.* p. 94, 95.

Very different accounts are given of the improvements which were made by Cromwell during the courſe of his education. According to Hume, when he was at College, his genius was little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and conſequently he made ſmall proficiency in his ſtudies; and Sir William Dugdale's character of him, during his reſidence at the Univerſity, is ſtill more unfavourable. But the aſſertions of partial writers are to be admitted with caution. Though it is far from being improbable that he was fonder of active amuſements, than of literature, it is, nevertheleſs, certain, that, inſtead of totally neglecting his ſtudies, his Tutor, by diſcovering the bent of his diſpoſition, had addreſs ſufficient to perſuade him to become a proficient in the Latin language. Mr. Waller aſſures us, that he had a good knowledge of the Greek and Roman hiſtories: nor muſt it be forgotten, that he patronized men of ſcience and learning. Dr. Manton ſays, that he had a very valuable and well-choſen library. From all theſe circumſtances it may be collected, that he was not averſe to literature, or without a competent ſhare of it himſelf, if allowance be made for the ſhort time he remained at College; his mother having found it expedient, upon his father's deceaſe, to remove him from the Univerſity. Perhaps his extravagant turn might lead her to ſuch a reſolution. Be that as it may, it is a real fact that he always retained a regard for the Univerſity of Cambridge (326).

(326) *Ibid.* p. 95, 96.

During Cromwell's reſidence at Lincoln's Inn, and after his return home, very unfavourable accounts are given, by various writers, of his character and conduct. In London, inſtead of attending to Coke upon Littleton, and to law reports, his mind was engroſſed by diſſolute pleaſures, and he was particularly addicted to gaming. When he came back to Huntingdon, he purſued his vicious courſes, and, if his enemies are to be credited, in a manner that was extremely groſs and illiberal. His rude and boiſterous behaviour prevented his equals from conſorting with him; and, therefore, he was obliged to take up with leſs creditable companions; who, if they did not adopt his ſentiments, were ſure to feel the weight of his arm, and to receive a ſevere diſcipline from his uſual weapon, a quarter ſtaff. This conduct, together with his forgetting to pay his reckoning, rendered him an unwelcome viſitor, even to the publicans; by whom he was ſo dreaded, that when they ſaw him coming, they would ſay, "here comes young Cromwell, ſhut up your doors." If at any time they complained of hard uſage, becauſe their accounts were not ſettled, the ſatisfaction they received was that of having their windows broken (327).

(327) *Ibid.* p. 97, 98.

That there is ſome exaggeration in theſe narratives, can ſcarcely be doubted. But whatever may have been the caſe in this reſpect, it is certain that Oliver's career of extravagance did not continue long. Before he became of age, he began to feel a compunction for the crimes he had committed, and determined to correct his manners; nor was any doubt entertained of the reality of his reformation. When his marriage took place, he had but juſt completed his twenty-firſt year; and, if ever he had forfeited the eſteem of his own townſmen, he recovered it ſo entirely, that, in 1625, he was returned one of the Members for the Borough of Huntingdon. This was in the firſt Parliament of Charles the Firſt's reign. However, about this time, Cromwell took a ſtep, which indicated, in a ſtriking manner, the boldneſs of his diſpoſition. His fortune being ſmall, he endeavoured to repair it by procuring that the eſtate of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Stuart, ſhould be annexed to his own, in the life-time of Sir Thomas. For this purpoſe, he repreſented him as a perſon not able to govern it, and by petition to his Majeſty, applied for a Commiſſion of Lunacy. The petition, upon being heard, was diſmiſſed by the King as groundleſs. Sir Thomas Stuart, as might naturally be expected, was extremely offended with this tranſaction: nevertheleſs, in conſequence of the intreaties of Oliver's mother, and Sir Oliver Cromwell, and through the good offices of ſome of the neighbouring clergy, he was induced to forgive the injury, and, in the end, as hath appeared in the article, left his eſtate to his nephew (328). It is highly probable, that, on ſuch an occaſion, Cromwell would exert all his arts of duplicity, tears, and the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of repentance.

(328) *Ibid.* p. 100.

One of the effects proceeding from the reformation of his manners, was his willingneſs to return ſuch ſums of money as he had won by gaming. Having accidentally met a Mr. Calton, who had formerly loſt to him thirty pounds, he immediately repaid it, ſaying that he had obtained it in an unlawful way, and therefore could not, without ſinning, detain it any longer.

longer. It is related, that when he reſided in London, he had won ſome money from Mr. Robert Compton, a genteel youth, the ſon of a tradeſman in the city. This having been procured by unfair play, Oliver determined to make reſtitution, which happened to be done at a very convenient ſeaſon: for the meſſenger ſent by him found Mr. Compton at an ordinary, ſurrounded by Bailiffs, who wanted to arreſt him for a debt of twenty pounds. But, by this happy ſupply, he was not only enabled to diſcharge the debt, but carried away with him a hundred pounds more. How far this ſtory is founded in fact, cannot now, perhaps, be abſolutely aſcertained. It occurs in a manuſcript book that was written by a Dr. Hutton (328).

(328) Noble's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 105, 106.

The ſubſequent conduct of Cromwell is related, at large, in the article of our predeceſſor; and, therefore, it is not neceſſary for us to expatiate on that ſubject. Indeed the public acts of Oliver form a moſt diſtinguiſhed part of the general hiſtory of the times; and on this head we might refer to a great number of writers whoſe works have appeared ſince the firſt edition of the Biographia Britannica. Not to mention authors of ſmaller note; Guthrie, Carte, Hume, Smollett, and Mrs. Macaulay, may now be added to the Catalogue of Hiſtorians by whom the tranſactions of Cromwell are amply diſplayed. The facts, however, muſt always be the ſame, though diverſified by the different ſentiments and reflections of the writers. Amongſt other publications, the Parliamentary Hiſtory is, perhaps, the work of the greateſt conſequence. It excels, as from its title and deſign might be expected, in giving a full relation of every thing that was tranſacted by Oliver's Parliaments, and in ſtating his whole conduct with regard to thoſe aſſemblies. Very conſiderable light is alſo thrown on other parts of his political life. To enter into a detail of whatever occurs with reſpect to him in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, would evidently carry us beyond all the bounds of this note; and, therefore, we ſhall content ourſelves with tranſcribing only one important paſſage, originally taken from Whitlocke, becauſe it tends to diſcriminate Cromwell's character in a point that has often been miſunderſtood. It is well known that his ſpeeches were frequently ſo obſcure, confuſed, and embaraſſed, that the meaning of them could with difficulty, if at all, be comprehended. But it is probable that, in theſe caſes, he acted from the deſign of concealing his real purpoſes from the perſons with whom he converſed. When it ſuited his views, he could expreſs himſelf as clearly as any man. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance, in the dialogue which, in 1652, paſſed between him and Whitlocke, upon the grand queſtion, whether any meaſures could be diſcovered for ſettling the diſtractions of the nation, but by the diſſolution of Parliament and the reſtoration of the Monarchy; and how far it would be ſafe for Cromwell, in ſuch a caſe, to take the Crown upon himſelf. This dialogue ſo fully illuſtrates the perſpicuity of language he was capable of adopting, and is otherwiſe ſo important by the diſplay of his character, that our readers, we are perſuaded, will not object to its length. It ſhall be given, therefore, at large, in Whitlocke's own words.

" *Cromwell.* My Lord Whitlocke, I know your faithfulneſs and engagement in the ſame good cauſe with myſelf and the reſt of our friends, and I know your ability in judgment, and your particular friendſhip and affection for me: indeed I am ſufficiently ſatisfied in theſe things, and therefore I deſire to adviſe with you in the main and moſt important affairs relating to our preſent condition.

" *Whitlocke.* Your Excellency hath known me long, and I think will ſay that you never knew any unfaithfulneſs or breach of truſt by me; and for my particular affection to your perſon, your favours to me, and your public ſervices, have deſerved more than I can manifeſt: only there is, with your favour, a miſtake in this one thing, touching my weak judgment, which is uncapable to do any conſiderable ſervice for yourſelf or this Commonwealth: yet, to the utmoſt of my power, I ſhall be ready to ſerve you, and that with all diligence and faithfulneſs.

" *Cromwell.* I have cauſe to be, and am, without the leaſt ſcruple of your faithfulneſs, and I know your kindneſs to me your old friend, and your abilities to ſerve the Commonwealth, and there are enough beſides me that can teſtify it: and I believe our engagements for this Commonwealth have been, and are, as deep as moſt men's; and there never was more need of advice, and ſolid hearty counſel, than the preſent ſtate of our affairs doth require.

" *Whitlocke.* I ſuppoſe no man will mention his particular engagement in this cauſe, at the ſame time when your Excellency's engagement is remembered: yet to my capacity, and in my ſtation, few men have engaged further than I have done; and that (beſides the goodneſs of your own nature and perſonal knowledge of me) will keep you from any jealouſy of my faithfulneſs.

" *Cromwell.* I wiſh there were no more ground of ſuſpicion of others, than of you. I can truſt you with my life, and the moſt ſecret matters relating to our buſineſs; and to that end I have now deſired a little private diſcourſe with you; and really, my Lord, there is very great cauſe for us to conſider the dangerous condition we are all in, and how to make good our ſtation, to improve the mercies and ſucceſſes which God hath given us; and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken in pieces, by our particular jarrings and animoſities one againſt another; but to unite our counſels, and hands and hearts, to make good what we have ſo dearly bought, with ſo much hazard, blood, and Treaſure; and that, the Lord having given us an intire conqueſt over our enemies, we ſhould not now hazard all again by our private janglings, and bring thoſe miſchiefs upon ourſelves, which our enemies could never do.

" *Whitlocke.* My Lord, I look upon our preſent danger as greater than ever it was in the field, and (as your Excellency truly obſerves) our proneneſs to deſtroy ourſelves, when our enemies could not do it. It is no ſtrange thing for a gallant army, as yours is, after full conqueſt of their enemies, to grow into factions and ambitious deſigns; and it is a wonder to me that they are not in high mutinies, their ſpirits being active, and few thinking their ſervices to be duly rewarded; and the emulation of the officers breaking out daily more and more, in this time of their vacancy from their employment. Beſides, the private ſoldiers, it may be feared, will, in this time of their idleneſs, grow into diſorder; and it is your excellent conduct which, under God, hath kept them ſo long in diſcipline, and free from mutinies.

" *Cromwell.* I have uſed, and ſhall uſe, the utmoſt of my poor endeavours to keep them all in order and obedience.

" *Whitlocke.* Your Excellency hath done it hitherto even to admiration.

" *Cromwell.* Truly God hath bleſſed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do ſo ſtill. Your Lordſhip hath obſerved moſt truly the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions, and to murmurings that they are not rewarded according to their deſerts; that others, who have adventured leaſt, have gained moſt; and they have neither profit, nor preferment, nor place in government, which others hold, who have undergone no hardſhips nor hazards for the Commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth: yet their inſolency is very great, and their influence upon the private ſoldiers works them to the like diſcontents and murmurings.

Then as for the Members of Parliament, the army begins to have a ſtrange diſtaſte againſt them, and I wiſh there were not too much cauſe for it: and really their pride, and ambition, and ſelf-ſeeking, ingroſſing all places of honour and profit to themſelves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of buſineſs, and deſigns to perpetuate themſelves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the inſtitution of parliaments, and their injuſtice and partiality in thoſe matters, and the ſcandalous lives of ſome of the chief of them; theſe things, my Lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths againſt them, and to diſlike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of juſtice, law, or reaſon; they themſelves being the ſupreme

ſupreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none ſuperior, or co-ordinate with them: ſo that, unleſs there be ſome authority and power ſo full and ſo high as to reſtrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to theſe exorbitancies, it will be impoſſible, in human reaſon, to prevent our ruin.

" *Whitlocke.* I confeſs the danger we are in by theſe extravagancies and inordinate powers is more than I doubt is generally apprehended: yet as to that part of it which concerns the ſoldiery, your Excellency's power and commiſſion is ſufficient already to reſtrain and keep them in their due obedience; and, bleſſed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but, by your wiſdom, you will be able ſtill to do it.

" As to the Members of Parliament, I confeſs the greateſt difficulty lies there; your commiſſion being from them, and they being acknowledged the ſupreme power of the nation, ſubject to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from them: yet I am ſure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved. Too many of them are much to blame in thoſe things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have paſſed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a deciſion.

" *Cromwell.* My Lord, there is little hopes of a good ſettlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they will deſtroy again what the Lord hath done graciouſly for them and us: we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confuſion; and theſe men will help it on, if they be ſuffered to proceed in their ways. Some courſe muſt be thought on to curb and reſtrain them, or we ſhall be ruined by them.

" *Whitlocke.* We ourſelves have acknowledged them the ſupreme power, and taken our commiſſions and authority in the higheſt concernments from them; and how to reſtrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it.

" *Cromwell.* What if a man ſhould take upon him to be King?

" *Whitlocke.* I think that remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe.

" *Cromwell.* Why do you think ſo?

" *Whitlocke.* As to your own perſon the title of King would be of no advantage, becauſe you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are General. As to the nomination of civil officers, thoſe whom you think fitteſt are ſeldom refuſed; and although you have no negative vote in the paſſing of laws, yet what you diſlike will not eaſily be carried; and the taxes are already ſettled, and in your power to diſpoſe the money raiſed. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad ſucceſs in it is from your excellency; and particular ſolicitations of foreign miniſters are made to you only: ſo that I apprehend, indeed, leſs envy and danger, and pomp, but not leſs power, and real opportunities of doing good in your being General, than would be if you had aſſumed the title of King.

" *Cromwell.* I have heard ſome of your profeſſion obſerve, that he who is actually King, whether by election or by deſcent, yet being once King, all acts done by him as King are as lawful and juſtifiable as by any King who hath the crown by inheritance from his forefathers: and that by an act of Parliament in Henry the Seventh's time, it is ſafer for thoſe who act under a King, be his title what it will, than for thoſe who act under any other power. And ſurely the power of a King is ſo great and high, and ſo univerſally underſtood and reverenced by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify, in a great meaſure, thoſe that act under it, but likewiſe be of great uſe and advantage in ſuch times as theſe, to curb the inſolences of thoſe whom the preſent powers cannot controul, or at leaſt are the perſons themſelves who are thus inſolent.

" *Whitlocke.* I agree in the general what you are pleaſed to obſerve as to this title of King: but whether for your Excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and advantage either of yourſelf and friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt; notwithſtanding that act of Parliament, 11 Henry VII. which will be little regarded, or obſerved to us by our enemies, if they ſhould come to get the upper hand of us.

" *Cromwell.* What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?

" *Whitlocke.* The danger, I think, would be this: one of the main points of controverſy betwixt us and our adverſaries is, whether the Government of this nation ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Monarchy, or in a Free State or Commonwealth; and moſt of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the Government ſettled in a Free State, and to effect that have undergone all their hazards and difficulties, they being perſuaded, though I think much miſtaken, that under the government of a Commonwealth they ſhall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their ſpiritual and civil concernments, than they ſhall under Monarchy; the preſſures and diſlike whereof are ſo freſh in their memories and ſufferings.

" Now if your Excellency ſhould take upon you the title of King, this ſtate of your cauſe will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy eſtabliſhed in your perſon; and the queſtion will be no more whether our Government ſhall be by a Monarch, or by a Free State, but whether Cromwell or Stuart ſhall be our King and Monarch.

" And that queſtion, wherein before ſo great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was univerſal, will by this means become, in effect, a private controverſy only. Before it was national, what kind of government we ſhould have: now it will become particular, who ſhall be our Governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells?

" Thus the ſtate of our controverſy being totally changed, all thoſe who were for a Commonwealth (and they are a very great and conſiderable party) having their hopes therein fruſtrated, will deſert you; your hands will be weakened, your intereſt ſtraitened, and your cauſe in apparent danger to be ruined.

" *Cromwell.* I confeſs you ſpeak reaſon in this: but what other thing can you propound that may obviate the preſent dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?

" *Whitlocke.* It will be the greateſt difficulty to find out ſuch an expedient. I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this buſineſs, ſome of which perhaps are not fit, or ſafe, for me to communicate.

" *Cromwell.* I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may truſt me with them; there ſhall no prejudice come to you by any private diſcourſe betwixt us; I ſhall never betray my friend; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and ſhall never ſuffer by it.

" *Whitlocke.* I make no ſcruple to put my life and fortune into your Excellency's hand; and ſo I ſhall, if I impart theſe fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offenſive to your Excellency; therefore my beſt way will be to ſmother them.

" *Cromwell.* Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitlocke, let me know them. Be they what they will they cannot be offenſive to me, but I ſhall take it kindly from you: therefore, I pray, do not conceal thoſe thoughts of yours from your faithful friend.

" *Whitlocke.* Your Excellency honours me with a title far above me; and ſince you are pleaſed to command it, I ſhall diſcover to you my thoughts herein; and humbly deſire you not to take in ill part what I ſhall ſay to you.

" *Cromwell.* Indeed I ſhall not; but I ſhall take it, as I ſaid, very kindly from you.

" *Whitlocke.* Give me leave then, firſt, to conſider your Excellency's condition. You are invironed with ſecret enemies: upon your ſubduing of the public enemy, the officers of your army account themſelves all victors, and to have had an equal ſhare in the conqueſt with you.

" The ſucceſs which God hath given us hath not a little elated their minds; and many of them are buſy and

and of turbulent ſpirits, and are not without their deſigns how they may diſmount your Excellency, and ſome of themſelves get up into the ſaddle; how they may bring you down, and ſet up themſelves.

" They want not counſel and encouragement herein; it may be from ſome Members of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatneſs, leſt you ſhould grow too high for them, and in time overmaſter them; and they will plot to bring you down firſt, or to clip your wings.

" *Cromwell.* I thank you that you ſo fully conſider my condition; it is a teſtimony of your love to me, and care of me, and you have rightly conſidered it; and I may ſay without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends; and thoſe that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Beſides this, the cauſe itſelf may poſſibly receive ſome diſadvantage by the ſtrugglings and contentions among ourſelves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of thoſe miſchiefs that hang over our heads?

" *Whitlocke.* Pardon me, Sir, in the next place, a little to conſider the condition of the King of Scots.

" This Prince being now by your valour, and the ſucceſs which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the Army under your Command, reduced to a very low condition; both he and all about him cannot but be very inclineable to hearken to any terms, whereby their loſt hopes may be revived of his being reſtored to the Crown, and they to their fortunes and native country.

" By a private Treaty with him you may ſecure yourſelf, and your friends and their fortunes; you may make yourſelf and your poſterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any ſubject was, and provide for your friends. You may put ſuch limits to Monarchical power, as will ſecure our ſpiritual and civil liberties, and you may ſecure the cauſe in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continued in yourſelf, and whom you ſhall agree upon after you.

" I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to ſend to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpoſe; and I beſeech you to pardon what I have ſaid upon the occaſion. It is out of my affection and ſervice to your Excellency, and to all honeſt men; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealouſy thereupon of my approved faithfulneſs to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth.

" *Cromwell.* I have not, I aſſure you, the leaſt diſtruſt of your faithfulneſs and friendſhip to me, and to the cauſe of this Commonwealth; and I think you have much reaſon for what you propound; but it is a matter of ſo high importance and difficulty, that it deſerves more time of conſideration and debate than is at preſent allowed us: we ſhall therefore take a further time to diſcourſe of it (329)."

(329) Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. xx. p. 104—112.

Another work, of ſome conſideration, which has appeared ſince our Predeceſſor's article was written, is Dr. William Harris's " Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life of Oliver Cromwell." This work, which is drawn up with great induſtry, beſides comprehending a variety of extracts from a number of authors, is enriched with an appendix of original papers. Among other things, it contains a number of Cromwell's Letters never before publiſhed, and which are produced as proofs of the ſincerity of his religious diſpoſitions and profeſſions, at leaſt, in the early part of his life. Dr. Harris, however, though more prejudiced in favour of Oliver than became ſuch a zealous Advocate for Liberty, is obliged to record ſeveral inſtances of his ſhameful hypocriſy and diſſimulation. One anecdote of this kind, related by Biſhop Burnet, on the authority of Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, is ſo ſtriking, that it deſerves to be tranſcribed.

" When the Houſe of Commons and the Army were a quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers, it was propoſed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. Cromwell upon that ſaid, he was ſure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the Houſe of Commons, and he thought the army only could do that. Two officers that were preſent brought an account of this to Grimſton, who carried them with him to the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons, they being reſolved to juſtify it to the Houſe. There was another debate then on foot: but Grimſton diverted it, and ſaid, he had a matter of privilege of the higheſt ſort to lay before them: it was about the being and freedom of the houſe. So he charged Cromwell with the deſign of putting a force on the Houſe: he had his witneſſes at the door, and deſired they might be examined: they were brought to the bar, and juſtified all that they had ſaid to him, and gave a full relation of all that had paſſed at their meetings. When they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a ſolemn prayer to God, atteſting his innocence, and his zeal for the ſervice of the Houſe: he ſubmitted himſelf to the Providence of God, who it ſeems thought fit to exerciſe him with calumny and ſlander, but he committed his cauſe to him: this he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this ſtrange and bold preamble he made ſo long a ſpeech, juſtifying both himſelf and the reſt of the officers, except a few that ſeemed inclined to return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the Houſe, and wrought ſo much on his party, that what the witneſſes had ſaid was ſo little believed, that had it been moved, Grimſton thought that both he and they would have been ſent to the Tower. But whether their guilt made them modeſt, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: and there was no ſtrength on the other ſide to carry it farther. To complete the ſcene, as ſoon as ever Cromwell got out of the Houſe, he reſolved to truſt himſelf no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the Houſe (330)."

(330) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. i. p. 61, 62. 3d edit. Harris's Life of O. Cromwell, p. 97, 98.

Additions to the ſtock of letters written by Cromwell, have ſince been made in other publications. Particularly to recite them is needleſs. They will be found in Noble's Memoirs; in the letters that paſſed between Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Iſle of Wight, and the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby-Houſe; and the fourth volume of the Annual Regiſter. All of them concur in giving ſome inſight into the character and views of Oliver, with regard to the particular objects to which they relate. In the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1781, is a tranſcript of a valuable record, containing Cromwell's protection to divers Engliſh ſhips to trade to India and Perſia. The original, which is on parchment, is beautifully illuminated, with the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at the top. On one ſide is an excellent portrait of Oliver within the O; under which is a large ſhip, finely drawn, with the arms of England on the main-maſt. This curious deed, which is dated on the twenty-ninth day of March, 1655, and diſplays Cromwell's attention to the promotion of Commerce, is in the collection of John Thorpe, Eſq; of Bexley in Kent, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (331).

(331) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. li. p. 363.

" I have ſometimes thought," ſays an ingenious correſpondent, " that an agreeable hiſtory enough " might be made of Cromwell without one word of " truth in it, excepting a few public tranſactions, and " all taken from hiſtorians." The truth of this remark has already been illuſtrated in note [*B*], with regard to the work of Gregorio Leti; and it might farther be confirmed with reſpect to Voltaire, who has fallen into many errors, in what he relates concerning Oliver. Indeed, this celebrated writer was far from being well informed in the affairs of England.

In the Richardſoniana, are two anecdotes concerning Cromwell, for the authenticity of which we have no other evidence than the book whence they are taken. The firſt is produced, by Mr. Richardſon, as a proof of Oliver's greatneſs of mind, and juſtneſs of thinking; though expreſſed in a rude manner, ſuitable to the ſubject and to himſelf. On account of the vulgarity of the ſtory, we have heſitated concerning the propriety of inſerting it: but if it ſhould be thought to reflect ſome honour on the character of the Protector, we ſhall obtain the pardon of, at leaſt, a part of our readers. The ſtory is as follows: " A zealous officer of his came to him, and told him he had

had fallen into bad company, where he had had the mortification to hear his Highneſs ſpoken of in a very ſcandalous manner. "Ay, ſays he, man, what did they ſay?" "I am aſhamed, an't pleaſe your Highneſs, to repeat it." "Tell, tell," ſays Oliver. "Why, an't pleaſe your Highneſs, a raſcal had the impudence to ſay, your Highneſs might kiſs his a——." "How, how! what was he for a man?" "Oh! ſays the officer, he was but a poor beggarly fellow." "Oho! ſays the Protector, when you ſee him again, tell him, *he may kiſs mine.*"

The other anecdote, though very aukwardly related, we ſhall give in Mr. Richardſon's own words. "Lord Bolingbroke told us (June 12, 1742) that Lord Oxford had often told him, that he had ſeen, and had in his hand, a letter that King Charles the Firſt wrote to the Queen in anſwer to one of hers that had been intercepted, and then forwarded to him; wherein ſhe reproached him for "having made thoſe villains too great conceſſions" (viz. that Cromwell ſhould be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for life, without account; that that kingdom ſhould be in the hands of the party with an army there kept, which ſhould know no head but the Lieutenant; that Cromwell ſhould have a Garter, &c.) that in this letter of the King's, it was ſaid, that ſhe ſhould leave him to manage, who was better informed of all circumſtances than ſhe could be; but that ſhe might be entirely eaſy as to whatever conceſſions he ſhould make them; for that he ſhould know in due time, how to deal with the rogues, who, inſtead of a ſilken Garter, ſhould be fitted with an hempen cord." So the letter ended; which anſwer, as they waited for, ſo they intercepted accordingly, and it determined his fate. This letter Lord Oxford ſaid he had offered 500l. for. Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Marchment, and Mr. P——e, all believed that a ſtory I had heard or read to this purpoſe (and which occaſioned Lord Bolingbroke's telling the above) had its origin no higher than this ſtory of Lord Oxford (332)."

(332) Richardſoniana, p 129*. 132*, 133*.

Mr. Gilpin, in his elegant and entertaining obſervations on pictureſque beauty, has given a ſtory which, in point of cruelty, reflects a deep diſgrace on Oliver's conduct. "In the time of the civil wars, the owner "of this Manſion [Norton Conyers, near Rippon in Yorkſhire] "was Sir Richard Graham, of whom we "heard an anecdote in the family, which is worth "relating; as it is not only curious in itſelf, but "throws a very ſtrong, but dark ſhade on the cha-"racter of Cromwell. When the affairs of Charles "the Firſt were in the wane in all the ſouthern "counties, the Marquis of Newcaſtle's prudence "gave them ſome credit in the North. His reſi-"dence was at York, where he engaged two of the "Gentlemen of the country to act under him as "Lieutenants. Sir Richard Graham was one; "whoſe commiſſion under the Marquis is ſtill in the "hands of the family. As Sir Richard was both an "active man, and much attached to the Royal cauſe, "he entered into it with all that vigour, which abi-"lity, inſpired by inclination, could exert; and did "the King more effectual ſervice, than perhaps any "private Gentleman in thoſe parts. On that fatal "day, when the precipitancy of Prince Rupert, in "oppoſition to the ſage advice of the Marquis, led "the King's forces out of York againſt Cromwell, "who waited for them on Marſden Moor, Sir Ri-"chard Graham had a principal command, and no "man did more than he, to end an action with ſuc-"ceſs, which had been undertaken with temerity. "When the day was irretrievably loſt, and nothing "remained, but for every man to ſeek the beſt "means of ſecurity that offered, Sir Richard fled, "with twenty-ſix bleeding wounds upon him, to his "houſe at Norton Conyers, about fifteen miles from "the field. Here he arrived in the evening, and "being ſpent with loſs of blood, and fatigue, he was "carried into his chamber; where, taking the laſt "farewell of his diſconſolate Lady, he expired. "Cromwell, who had ever expreſſed a peculiar in-"veteracy againſt this Gentleman, and thought a "victory only half obtained, if he eſcaped, purſued "his flight in perſon, with a troop of horſe. When "he arrived at Norton, his gallant enemy was dead; "having ſcarce lived an hour after he was carried into "his chamber: and Cromwell found his wretched "Lady weeping over the mangled corpſe of her "huſband, yet ſcarce cold. Such a ſight, one "would have imagined, might have given him—not "indeed an emotion of pity—but a ſatiety of re-"venge. The inhuman miſcreant ſtill feeling the "vengeance of his ſoul unſatisfied; and turning "round to his troopers, who had ſtalked with him "into the ſacred receſſes of ſorrow, he gave the ſign "of havoc; and in a few moments the whole houſe "was torn in pieces. Not even the bed was ſpared, "on which the mangled body was extended; and "every thing was deſtroyed, which the hand of ra-"pine could not carry off (333)."

(333) Obſervations chiefly relative to pictureſque Beauty, made in the Year 1772, on ſeveral Parts of England, particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Weſtmore and, P. 199—201.

Were ſcepticiſm to put its finger on this narrative, perhaps it would ſuggeſt, that traditional ſtories gather ſtrength and circumſtance from time; that hiſtory is ſilent with regard to Sir Richard Graham's having had a principal command at the battle of Marſton Moor; that he could not arrive at Norton-Conyers in the evening, ſince it was not till ſeven o'clock in the evening that the battle commenced, which laſted three hours; that the account of his having twenty-ſix bleeding wounds upon him has a romantic aſpect; that it is difficult to know why Cromwell ſhould have always expreſſed a peculiar inveteracy to Sir Richard, becauſe from their remoteneſs of ſituation, there could not well have been an ancient enmity between them; and that it is ſomewhat extraordinary that Oliver, who had been at the head of the left wing of the Parliamentary army, ſhould quit all other duties, and engage in a purſuit of fifteen miles, for the ſake of gratifying his revenge on a ſingle Gentleman.

Among the inſtances which the Protector's Biographers have recorded of the encouragement given by him to the cauſe of literature, what he did with regard to Durham has been but ſlightly mentioned. In 1650, a Petition to Parliament, from ſeveral perſons of fortune in that county, was delivered by the Grand Jury to the High Sheriff, praying, that the College and Houſes of the Dean and Chapter, then empty and going to decay, might be employed for erecting a College, School, or Academy, for the benefit of the Northern counties, which were ſo far diſtant from the Univerſities; and that part of the lands of the ſaid Dean and Chapter, near the city, might be applied by Truſtees to pious uſes. This Petition having been ſtrongly recommended by Oliver, in a letter dated from Edinburgh, to William Lenthall, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, another application to the ſame purpoſe was made in 1651. Theſe applications being referred to a Committee, to ſtate the buſineſs, and to report their opinion concerning the deſires of the county, the Committee accordingly reported, that they were of opinion, that the ſaid houſes were a fit place to erect a College or School for all the Sciences and Literature; and that it would be a pious and laudable work, and of great uſe to the Northern parts. There being now a proſpect of ſucceſs in the deſign, a warm and affectionate addreſs upon the occaſion, was preſented, in 1653, from the principal Gentlemen of the county, to his Excellency the Lord General, and the reſt of his Council of Officers. The buſineſs, however, was not effectually proſecuted till 1656. In that year, Cromwell and his Council iſſued an order for founding and endowing a College at Durham, out of the Church lands; and on the fifteenth of May, 1657, Letters Patent were granted for that purpoſe. By theſe letters it was ordained, that the College ſhould conſiſt of one Provoſt or Maſter, two Preachers or Senior Fellows, and twelve other Fellows; four of the ſaid twelve Fellows to be Profeſſors, four others to be Tutors, and other four of them to be Schoolmaſters. There were alſo to be in the ſaid College twenty-four Scholars and twelve Exhibitioners, and in the Free School belonging to it eighteen Scholars. Philip Hutton, M. A. was appointed to be the firſt Provoſt or Maſter; William Spinedge, and Joſeph Hill, M. A. the two firſt Preachers, or Senior Fellows; and Thomas Vaughan, M. A. John Kiſler, M. D. Robert Wood, M. A. Ezerel Tong, D. D. John Peachil, M. A. Leonard Waſtel, Richard Ruſſell, M. A. John Richel, Nathanael Vincent, M. A. William Corker, John Doughty, M. A.

and William Sprigg, the firſt twelve other Fellows. Of theſe, Vaughan, Kiſler, Wood and Peachil were conſtituted the four Profeſſors; Tong, Ruſſell, Richel and Doughty the four Tutors; and Vincent, Corker, Sprigge and Waſtel the four Schoolmaſters. It was farther ordained that theſe perſons and their ſucceſſors ſhould ſtand and be incorporated and founded one body politic and corporate, to all intents and purpoſes; and that they ſhould for ever hereafter be called by the name of the Maſter or Provoſt, Fellows and Scholars of the College of Durham, of the Foundation of Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging. Large grants were made to the inſtitution; a *Common* Seal was allowed to it; and the Provoſt, Fellows, and Scholars were empowered to purchaſe, have, hold and enjoy by them and their ſucceſſors, any lands, tenements and hereditaments, rents or revenues, not exceeding the yearly value of ſix thouſand pounds. On the death of Oliver, the Provoſt and Fellows of the College preſented an humble addreſs to the Protector Richard, in which they compared his renowned Father to Auguſtus; and aſſerted, that there were happily conjoined in him the warlike Proweſs of our fifth Henry, the Prudence of our ſeventh Henry, and the Piety of our ſixth Edward. In him, they add, was fulfilled the ancient wiſh of the Romans at the Inauguration of their Emperors; *Sis Auguſto fœlicior, ſis Trajano melior.* At the ſame time, they recommend to Richard the new erection, which was left an Orphan ſcarcely bound up in its ſwaddling cloaths; and pray, that by the vital beams of his piteous aſpect, it may be cheriſhed and grow, till it bear much fruit, for the good and happineſs of thoſe parts of the land, in which it was planted by a hand which never miſcarried in any of its humane and magnanimous atchievements. This Orphan College, it is ſaid, thrived apace. It endeavoured to confer degrees, and to mimic its grown upon ſiſters of Oxford and Cambridge. But theſe great and long eſtabliſhed bodies checked ſo preſumptuous a ſpirit, by Petitions to the young Protector, in which they aſſigned their reaſons againſt a third Univerſity, and eſpecially againſt any degrees being conferred there. In leſs than two years, the diſjointed frame of Government, which had haraſſed the kingdom, was diſſolved, and with it fell the new ſeminary of knowledge at Durham (334).

(334) Hutchinſon's Hiſtory and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, vol. i. p. 514—530. Pennant's Tour in Scotland, 1772. Part 2d P. 334, 335.

Numerous are the characters of Oliver Cromwell, which have been given both by foreigners and natives. "There met in him, ſays the Biſhop of Meaux, an incredible depth of judgment, a refined hypocriſy, an able policy, a capacity to venture yet conceal all things, a reſolution to leave nothing to chance which he could prevent by counſel or force. On the contrary, he was ſo vigilant and ready in all things, that he never loſt the opportunities which preſented themſelves. In a word, he was one of thoſe reſtleſs and bold ſpirits who ſeem born to overturn the world (335)."

(335) Lord Egmont's, M. S. Biographical Collections.

The celebrated Abbé Raynal in his Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, has drawn the character of Oliver, and has added to it a parallel between him and Montroſe. "Cromwell," the Abbé ſays, "was not one of thoſe men who have appeared unworthy of Empire as ſoon as he arrived at it. He had a genius adapted to all places, all ſeaſons, all buſineſs, all parties, all governments. He was always what he ought to be: at the head of an army, the braveſt; in council, the wiſeſt; in buſineſs, the moſt diligent; in debates, the moſt eloquent; in enterprizes, the moſt active; in devotion, the moſt fanatic; in misfortunes, the moſt firm; in an aſſembly of Divines, the moſt learned; in a conſpiracy, the moſt factious. He never made any miſtake, never let ſlip an opportunity, never left an advantage incomplete, never contented himſelf with being great, when he had it in his power to be very great. Chance and natural temper, which determine the conduct of other men, did not influence the moſt inconſiderable of his actions. Born with an abſolute indifference to all that is praiſe-worthy or blameable, honeſt or diſhoneſt; he never conſidered virtue as virtue, crimes as crimes; he regarded only the relation which one or the other might have to his elevation. This was his idol: he ſacrificed to it his King, his country, his religion; which he would have defended with the ſame zeal, had he had the ſame intereſt in protecting, as in deſtroying them. The ſyſtem of his ambition was conducted with an art, an order, a boldneſs, a ſubtlety, and a firmneſs, of which I believe hiſtory can ſhew no example. All ſects, all ranks, all nations; peace, war, negociations, revolutions, miracles, prophecies; all advanced the fortune of this hypocritical Uſurper. He was a man born to decide the fate of nations, empires, and ages. The ſplendour of his talents hath almoſt made the horrour of his outrages to be forgotten: poſterity at leaſt will queſtion, whether Oliver Cromwell deſerved execration or admiration." This is a highly finiſhed picture, rather than an exact likeneſs. The great qualities of Cromwell are exaggerated; and an Engliſhman will ſmile at Oliver's being repreſented as in debates the moſt eloquent, and in an aſſembly of Divines the moſt learned. Neither is it true that he ſacrificed his religion to his elevation; for what religion he had was hoſtile to the epiſcopal form of Church Government.

The Abbé Raynal's compariſon between Montroſe and Cromwell is as follows: "Theſe celebrated men "fixed the eyes of all Europe upon them. Montroſe had an integrity of heart, which always fixed "him in the intereſt of his king and country; Cromwell a ſuperiority of genius, which gave an air of "equity to the moſt criminal actions. Vanity properly made the character of the firſt; ambition was "the only ruling paſſion of the ſecond. With the "firſt, one had great hopes of conquering; with the "ſecond, one was ſure not to be beaten. If the "Crown could have been kept on Charles's head, it "was by Montroſe: if it muſt fall from it, it muſt "be by Cromwell. The Republican was as much "ſuperior to the Royaliſt in depth of judgment, as "he was inferior to him in goodneſs of heart. In a "word, Cromwell was an illuſtrious villain, who "cannot be praiſed without horrour, nor deſpiſed "without injuſtice; whom we are at once forced to "admire and to deteſt (336)."

(336) Annual Regiſter, vol. ix. p. 88, 89. Monthly Review, vol. v. p. 449, 450.

Several of our later Engliſh authors do not entertain ſo high an opinion of the Protector's abilities as has been done by ſome foreigners. "With reſpect to Cromwell, ſays the Monthly Reviewer, he was undoubtedly ſubtle, a perfect maſter of diſſimulation, active, vigilant, and intrepid. But we cannot diſcover in him thoſe refined marks, or that deep ſyſtem of policy, which ſome writers attribute to his character. He ſeems rather to have been led by a train of accidents to the power he uſurped, than guided to it by a ſeries of deſign. His chief merit was the artifice he employed to raiſe himſelf to the ſole command of the army. When he had gained that point, in a ſtate quite unſettled, and where the Government was upon no *legal* foundation whatever, it was eaſy for a victorious Commander to change the ſword for the ſceptre. Nay, to an ambitious mind the tranſition was almoſt involuntary. But we are not perſuaded that he planned his ſchemes from a foreſight of events: we rather think that he was taught by the occaſion as it offered. Thus much is certain, that his ſyſtem of foreign politics was, in many reſpects, erroneous in its principles, and narrow in its foundation; and that he conſulted how to gratify his own pride, by raiſing what he called the *honour* of the nation, while he neglected its intereſt (337)."

(337) Monthly Review, vol. xix. p. 27.

Mr. Hume, likewiſe, while he does juſtice to Oliver's talents, is far from viewing them in that tranſcendent point of light in which they have frequently been repreſented. His character of the Protector is as follows.

"It ſeems to me, that the occurrence of Cromwell's life, where his abilities are principally diſcovered, is his riſing from a private ſtation, in oppoſition to ſo many rivals, ſo much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his ſignal military talents, his eminent dexterity and addreſs, were all requiſite for this important acquiſition. Yet will not this promotion appear the effect of ſupernatural abilities, when we conſider, that

Fairfax,

Fairfax, himſelf a private Gentleman, who had not the advantage of a ſeat in Parliament, had, through the ſame ſteps, attained even a ſuperiour rank, and if endued with common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite ſuch an army to rebellion againſt the Parliament, required no uncommon art or induſtry: to have kept them in obedience, had been the more difficult enterprize. When the breach was once formed betwixt the military and civil powers, a ſupreme and abſolute authority, from that moment, is devolved upon the General; and if he is afterwards pleaſed to employ artifice, or policy, it may be regarded, on moſt occaſions, as great condeſcenſion, if not as a ſuperfluous caution. That Cromwell was ever able really to blind, or over-reach, either the King or the Republicans, does not appear. As they poſſeſſed no means of reſiſting the force under his command, they were glad to temporize with him, and, by ſeeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themſelves from his dominion. If he ſeduced the military Fanatics, it is to be conſidered, that their intereſt and his evidently concurred, that their ignorance, and low education, expoſed them to the groſſeſt impoſition, and that he himſelf was at bottom as frantic an Enthuſiaſt as the worſt of them; and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but diſplay thoſe vulgar, and ridiculous habits, which he had early acquired, and on which he ſet ſo high a value. An army is ſo forcible, and, at the ſame time, ſo coarſe a weapon, that any hand which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any aſcendant, in human ſociety.

"The domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwell, though it diſcovers great ability, was conducted without any plan of liberty or arbitrary power; perhaps, his difficult ſituation admitted of neither. His foreign enterprizes, though full of intrepidity, were pernicious to national intereſt, and ſeem more the reſult of impetuous fury, or narrow prejudices, than of cool foreſight and deliberation. An eminent perſonage, however, he was in many reſpects, and even a ſuperior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And though not defective in any talent, except that of elocution, the abilities, which in him were moſt admirable, and which moſt contributed to his marvellous ſucceſs, were the magnanimous reſolution of his enterprizes, and his peculiar dexterity in diſcovering the characters, and practiſing on the weakneſſes of mankind.

"If we ſurvey the moral character of Cromwell, with that indulgence which is due to the blindneſs and infirmities of the human ſpecies, we ſhall not be inclined to load his memory with ſuch violent reproaches, as thoſe which his enemies uſually throw upon it. Amidſt the paſſion and prejudices of that time, that he ſhould prefer the parliamentary to the royal cauſe, will not appear very extraordinary; ſince, even at preſent, many men of ſenſe and knowledge, are diſpoſed to think, that the queſtion, with regard to the juſtice of the quarrel, may be regarded as very doubtful and ambiguous. The murder of the King, the moſt atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illuſions; and it is not impoſſible, that he might believe it, as many others did, the moſt meritorious action which he could perform. His ſubſequent uſurpation was the effect of neceſſity, as well as of ambition; nor is it eaſy to ſee, how the various factions could at that time have been reſtrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwell, as a ſon, a huſband, a father, a friend, is expoſed to no conſiderable cenſure, if it does not rather merit praiſe. And, upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unuſual, by the mixture of ſo much abſurdity with ſo much penetration, than by his tempering ſuch violent ambition, and ſuch enraged fanaticiſm, with ſo much regard to juſtice and humanity (338)."

(338) Hume's Hiſt. of Eng. vol. vii. p. 296—298. edit. of 1763.

Dr. Smollett's character of Cromwell, though ſhort, is drawn up with ability and diſcernment.

"Oliver, ſays the Doctor, was of a robuſt make and conſtitution, and his aſpect was manly, though clowniſh. His education extended no farther than a ſuperficial knowledge of the Latin tongue, but he inherited great talents from nature; though they were ſuch as he could not have exerted to advantage at any other juncture than that of a civil war, inflamed by religious conteſts. His character was formed from an amazing conjunction of enthuſiaſm, hypocriſy, and ambition. He was poſſeſſed of courage and reſolution that overlooked all danger, and ſaw no difficulty. He dived into the characters of mankind with wonderful ſagacity; while he concealed his own purpoſes under the impenetrable ſhield of diſſimulation. He reconciled the moſt attrocious crimes to the moſt rigid notions of religious obligation. From the ſevereſt exerciſe of devotion, he relaxed into the moſt ludicrous and idle buffoonery. He preſerved the dignity and diſtance of his character, in the midſt of the coarſeſt familiarity. He was cruel and tyrannical from policy, juſt and temperate from inclination: perplexed and deſpicable in his diſcourſe; clear and conſummate in his deſigns; ridiculous in his reveries; reſpectable in his conduct: in a word, the ſtrangeſt compound of villainy and virtue, baſeneſs and magnanimity, abſurdity and good ſenſe, that we find upon record in the annals of mankind (339)."

(339) Smollett's Hiſt. of Eng. vol. v. p. 327—329. 3d edit.

Mrs. Macaulay has expoſed the views and conduct of Cromwell with all the ſeverity and ſagacity of a zealous, an impartial, and an enlightened Republican. She has entered deeply into his character, and is of opinion that to his fortune and ſucceſs, more than to his ability, he is indebted for the eulogiums with which he has been loaded by the Engliſh Hiſtorians. Her review of his adminiſtration is clear and ſpirited, and the portrait ſhe has drawn of him is executed with great energy of expreſſion. We ſhall preſent it to our readers.

"The hyperbolical praiſes, ſhe obſerves, beſtowed by his partizans on the unhappy Charles, have been fully refuted by ſeveral pens; but the yet-more-exalted commendations laviſhed on his fortunate ſucceſſor Cromwell, have, from an odd concurrence of circumſtances, met with little contradiction. Did facts allow us to give credit to the exaggerations of panegyriſts, the power and reputation which England acquired by the magnanimous government of the republican Parliament, entirely flowed from the unparalleled genius and virtue of the hero Cromwell: Cromwell imprinted throughout all Europe a terror of the Engliſh name: Cromwell was the conqueror of the Dutch: he retrieved the honour of his country in the buſineſs of Amboyna, and preſcribed a peace to that inſolent republic on his own terms: Cromwell was the ſcourge of the piratical States: the ſcourge of the Houſe of Auſtria; every Court in Europe trembled at his nod; he was the Umpire of the North, the ſupport of the Reformed Religion, and the friend and patron of that warlike Proteſtant Monarch the King of Sweden. In regard to his domeſtic government, Cromwell was ever ready to attend to complaints and redreſs grievances; Cromwell adminiſtered the public affairs with frugality; filled Weſtminſter-hall with judges of learning and integrity; obſerved the ſtricteſt diſcipline in his army; was the ſupport of religious liberty, and a benefactor to the learned: under the adminiſtration of Cromwell every branch of trade flouriſhed: in his Court a face of religion was preſerved, without the appearance of pomp, or needleſs magnificence: he was ſimple in his way of living, and eaſy and modeſt in his deportment.

"Falſe as is this repreſentation to the true character of the Uſurper, it has been adopted by that party among us who call themſelves Whigs, as a mortifying contraſt to the principles, adminiſtration, and conduct of the Stewart line; and the Royaliſts of all denominations are well pleaſed to give to the government of an individual a reputation, which was alone due to the republic, and to conceal from the multitude the truth of facts, which muſt diſcover to vulgar obſervation that eternal oppoſition to the general good of ſociety which exiſts in the one, with the contrary ſpirit which ſo evidently ſhone forth in the other. Hiſtorians, either from prejudice or want of attention, have in general given into theſe ill-founded encomiums ſo prodigally beſtowed on the Uſurper: but a juſt narration of the tranſactions of thoſe times ſhews, that it was under the government of the Parliament the nation gained all its real advantages, and that the

maritime power they had raiſed and ſupported, with the ſkill and bravery of the Commanders they had placed over the naval force, was the ſole means by which Cromwell ſupported the reputation of his Government.

"Excepting the Dutch, whom the Parliament had totally ſubdued, with the Danes and Portugueſe, whom they had brought to a ſtate of humiliation, the Uſurper found the Engliſh Commonwealth at peace with all the powers of Europe, and in the ſole poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh trade, a great ſource of national wealth. The Spaniards, who had paid great court to the Parliament, were equally warm in their profeſſions to Cromwell, and would have entered into a cloſe union with him on the eaſy terms of his remaining neuter during their contention with France. This was the plan purſued by the Parliament, and the obvious intereſt of England; but the Uſurper ſacrificing both the glory and the welfare of his country to the ſecurity of his own eſtabliſhment, after having made a ſhameful peace with the Dutch, on terms lower than they had offered and the Parliament had refuſed, he, for the ſake of procuring money to ſupport his deſpotiſm, made war with Spain without previous declaration, whilſt he was amuſing them with the hopes of a treaty; entered into a league offenſive and defenſive with the French Court, on the reaſon of removing his rivals the Stewart family from ſo near a neighbourhood, and to pleaſe the Engliſh fanatics, his only faſt friends, and pamper a vain-glorious appetite by the reputation of being the protector of the Proteſtant intereſt. Could he have brought the Dutch into his deſtructive meaſures, he would have aſſiſted the Swediſh monarch in acquiring a power which would have laid all Europe at the mercy of Sweden and France.

"The domeſtic adminiſtration of the Uſurper was a greater oppoſition to the liberty of his country, than his foreign tranſactions to her ſecurity and intereſt as a ſtate. The models or rules of his government were of his own making; and though he changed them according to his pleaſure or conveniency, he never abided by the directions of any. He ruled entirely by the ſword, burthened the people with the maintenance of an army of thirty-thouſand men, and more groſsly violated their right to legiſlation by their repreſentatives than had any other tyrant who had gone before him. The power he delegated to his Major-generals ſuperſeded the eſtabliſhed laws of the country. He threatened the Judges, and diſmiſſed them from their office when they refuſed to become the inſtruments of his arbitrary will; impriſoned Lawyers for pleading in a legal manner the cauſe of their clients; packed Juries; eluded the redreſs of Habeas Corpus; and kept John Lilbourn in confinement after an acquittance by the verdict of a Jury. In the point of religious liberty, the uſurper, as it ſerved his purpoſes, encouraged and oppreſſed all the different ſectaries, not excepting the Papiſts; and if he was liberal to men of learning, it was with a view to make uſe of their talents for his own peculiar advantage. Some face of decency in his Court, and continuance of that familiarity to his inferiours by which he had effected his ambitious purpoſes, were abſolutely neceſſary to the preſervation of his power; but ſo far was he from preſerving, or even affecting, that ſimplicity of appearance particularly uſeful in a ſupreme governor, that, when only in the character of General of the Army of the Commonwealth, he lived in a kind of regal ſtate at Whitehall. By his parliamentary intereſt, he prevented the ſale of the Royal Palaces, with a view to poſſeſs them when he had compaſſed his intended uſurpation; and that he never appeared in public without an oſtentatious parade and pomp, and lived in high ſtate and magnificence, is confirmed by authentic records, with the teſtimony of all parties. On the diſſolution of the Republican Government, there were five hundred thouſand pounds in the public Treaſury; the value of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds in the magazines; the army was three or four months pay in advance; the maritime power was ſufficiently ſtrong to enable England to give law to all nations; and the trade of the country in ſo flouriſhing a condition that nine hundred thouſand a year had been refuſed for the Cuſtoms and Exciſe. On the death of the Uſurper, notwithſtanding the money he had arbitrarily levied on the people, the aid afforded him by a convention of his own nomination which he termed a Parliament, the vaſt ſums he had raiſed by decimating the cavaliers, the ſums paid by the Dutch, the Portugueſe, and the Duke of Tuſcany, with the treaſure he at different times had taken from the Spaniards, the ſtate was left in debt, the army in arrear, and the fleet in decay! To theſe national evils was added the loſs of a great part of the Spaniſh trade, with the foundation of that greatneſs in the French monarchy, which is to this day formidable to the liberty of England.

"Such were the fruits of a Government carried on upon the principles of public good, and of that œconomy preſerved by the Parliament; and ſuch the miſchief to ſociety, when the luſts of an individual are to be ſupplied from the public ſtock, and the general good of the community ſacrificed to particular intereſt. The aggrandizement of the French monarchy, to which Cromwell ſo eſſentially contributed, was no leſs fatal to the intereſt of the reformed, which he affected to protect, than oppoſite to the welfare and ſecurity of England. To ſum up the villany of his conduct in a few lines——He deprived his country of a full and equal ſyſtem of liberty, at the very inſtant of fruition; ſtopped the courſe of her power, in the midſt of her victories; impeded the progreſs of reformation, by deſtroying her government and limiting the bounds of her empire; and, by a fatal concurrence of circumſtances, was enabled to obſtruct more good, and occaſion more evil, than has been the lot of any other individual.

"It is ſaid that Cromwell was exemplary in the relative duties of a ſon, a huſband, and a father; and the whole of his private conduct has been allowed by all parties to have been decent, though his mirth often degenerated into buffoonery, and the pleaſures of his table bordered on licentiouſneſs. If, as a citizen and magiſtrate, his character has been attacked by a few of the judicious, there are none who doubt the almoſt ſupernatural abilities of a man, who, from a private ſtation, could attain to the ſummit of ſplendour and power. The accidental occurrences of life, ſo frequently favourable to fools and madmen, are never taken into the account of great fortune. Fairfax, though his underſtanding is allowed by all parties to have been weak, had he poſſeſſed a heart as corrupt as Cromwell's, might have taken the advantage his military command gave him, to tyrannize over a people unſettled in their government, ignorant of their true happineſs, and divided both in their political and religious opinions. Fairfax, without abilities to be of eminent ſervice to his country, was too honeſt to do it a real injury. The ſelfiſh Cromwell let no opportunity ſlip to turn to his particular advantage the victories gained on the ſide of liberty, and eſtabliſh a perſonal intereſt on the ruins of the public cauſe. That he was active, eager, and acute; that he was a maſter in all the powers of grimace and the arts of hypocriſy, is obvious in every part of his conduct: but theſe qualities are no proof of extraordinary abilities: they are to be met with daily in common life, and never fail of ſucceſs equal to their opportunities. The ſagacity and judgment of Cromwell, in that point where his peculiar intereſt was immediately concerned, will appear very deficient, if we conſider the ſacrifice he made of thoſe durable bleſſings which muſt have attended his perſon and poſterity, from acting an honeſt part, in the eſtabliſhing the Commonwealth on a juſt and permanent baſis, and the obvious danger of thoſe evils he incurred for the temporary gratification of reigning a few years at the expence of honour, conſcience, and repoſe.

"Cromwell, both by the male and the female line, was deſcended from families of good antiquity; and though it does not appear he was a proficient in any of the learned ſciences, yet his father, notwithſtanding his circumſtances were narrow, was not ſparing in the article of education. An elevated ſenſe of religion, which took place in his mind after a licentious and prodigal courſe, recommended him to the reformers of the age, and was the cauſe of his promotion to a ſeat in Parliament; and the grimace of godlineſs, when the reality was extinguiſhed by the

fumes of ambition, with his ſignal military talents, at length lifted him to the throne of empire. Notwithſtanding that perfection in the ſcience of war to which he attained, he was upwards of forty when he commenced ſoldier; a circumſtance not to be forgotten, as it is the only ſplendid part of his character (340)."

(340) Macaulay's Hiſt. of Eng. vol. v. p. 191—208. Octavo edit.

Without ſtopping to enquire, whether Mrs. Macaulay's zeal for liberty, and admiration of the Republican Parliament, may not ſometimes have led her to fix Cromwell's talents on too low a ſcale, we cannot but expreſs our full conviction, that no rational and conſiſtent friend to civil freedom can ever be an applauder of his conduct. The man, who, ſetting out in the cauſe of the people, could at length trample upon their rights, and erect himſelf into a tyrant, muſt juſtly be regarded with indignation and abhorrence. It is not in the power of ſome wiſe, ſplendid, and even laudable actions to wipe away the ſtains that adhere to ſuch a character, and to prevent their being tranſmitted, in their true colours, to poſterity. Tyranny is tyranny ſtill, with whatever prudence it may occaſionally be tempered, with whatever good qualities it may ſometimes be accompanied.

We ſhall add two ſketches of Cromwell drawn by Mr. Granger. "Oliver Cromwell united, in a very "high degree, the characters of the Politician and "the General; and occaſionally aſſumed thoſe of the "Buffoon, and the Preacher. He broke forth from "his obſcurity, at an age when others think themſelves doomed to it for ever; and when many begin to entertain thoughts of retiring from the "world, he began to make the moſt conſpicuous "figure in it. He availed himſelf of the virtues and "and the vices, the talents and the weakneſſes of "mankind; and ſuch obſtacles as would have been "inſurmountable to an inferior genius, helped "greatly to carry him on in his career (341)."

(341) Biogra. Hiſt. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 251. 2d edit.

"This great man, ſays Mr. Granger in another "part of his work, whoſe genius was awakened by "the diſtractions of his country, was looked upon as "one of the people, till he was upwards of forty "years of age. He is an amazing inſtance of what "ambition, heated by enthuſiaſm, reſtrained by "judgment, diſguiſed by hypocriſy, and aided by "natural vigour of mind can do. He was never oppreſſed with the weight, or perplexed with the intricacy of affairs; but his deep penetration, indefatigable activity, and invincible reſolution, ſeemed "to render him a maſter of all events. He perſuaded "without eloquence; and exacted obedience, more "from the terror of his name, than the rigour of his "adminiſtration. He appeared as a powerful inſtrument in the hand of Providence, and dared to "appeal to the deciſions of Heaven for the juſtice of "his cauſe. He knew every man in the three kingdoms, and endeavoured to avail himſelf of their reſpective talents. He has always been regarded by "foreigners, and of late years by the generality of "his countrymen, as the greateſt man this nation "ever produced. It has been diſputed which he "deſerved moſt, a halter or a crown; and there is no "leſs diſparity betwixt the characters drawn of him, "and the reports propagated by his enemies and his "friends. Colonel Lindſey affirmed, that he ſaw "him enter into a formal contract with the devil; "and Dawbeny has drawn a parallel betwixt Moſes "the man of God, and Oliver the Protector. The "French Court went into mourning for him; but "the famous Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier diſdained to pay that reſpect to the memory of an Uſurper (342)."

(342) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 11, 12.

Mr. Granger has mentioned a ſlight circumſtance with regard to Cromwell's perſon, which has eſcaped the notice of moſt of his Biographers. It is, that his noſe was remarkably red and ſhining, on which account it was the ſubject of much ridicule. Cleiveland in his character of a London Diurnal, humorouſly ſays, "This Cromwell ſhould be a bird of "prey by his bloody beak: his noſe is able to try a "young eagle, whether ſhe be lawfully begotten; "but all is not gold that gliſters. Again, Crom"well's noſe wears the dominical letter." The ſame Biographer has given the following anecdote from Dr. Hickes's Diſcourſes on Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotſon. A Gentleman came to Oliver, to beg a lock of Charles's hair for an honourable Lady. "Ah! no Sir, ſaid Cromwell burſting into tears, "that muſt not be; for I ſwore to him when he was "living, that not a hair of his head ſhould periſh "(343)." The incongruity of this ſtory might poſſibly not be too hard for the digeſtion of Dr. Hickes.

(343) *Ibid.* p. 59. 61.

On the ſubject of Oliver's being ſometimes a preacher, Mr Granger informs us, that there is a Sermon ſaid to have been preached by him, on Rom. xiii. 1. the laſt Lord's day in April, 1649, at Sir P. T.'s houſe in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. It was printed in 1680. There is no internal evidence of it's being genuine; and as it abounds with low ribaldry and egregious nonſenſe, it was probably a fabrication to ſerve party purpoſes. Fictions of this kind have not been ſo uncommon as to be a matter of ſurprize.

Cromwell may not only be mentioned as having been, in ſome degree, an encourager of learning, but as having, likewiſe, been in ſome degree a patron of the arts. There are more original paintings of him than has generally been imagined; and they were done by the firſt Artiſts of the time, Cooper, Walker, Vandyke, and Sir Peter Lely. The engraved portraits of him are very numerous. A large Catalogue of them is given by Mr. Granger, and Mr. Noble has exhauſted the ſubject, with regard both to the pictures and prints of Oliver (344). We ſhall ſelect one or two circumſtances, that are particularly curious. Ferdinand the Second, grand Duke of Florence, who, having felt the weight of the Protector's vengeance, not only courted his friendſhip, whilſt living, but reſpected his memory when dead, ordered his Reſident in London, to procure him the beſt original picture of Cromwell that could be obtained. Accordingly, the Reſident applied to a Lady, a relation of the Protector's, who was poſſeſſed of a fine painting of him, by Walker. The Lady was unwilling to part with the picture; but, at the ſame time, not chooſing to diſpleaſe a ſovereign Prince, ſhe aſked five hundred pounds for it, believing that ſuch a ſum would not be given. However, to her great ſurprize, the money was immediately paid; and the piece was ſent to Florence, where it hangs in the old Palace, amongſt the illuſtrious Generals. The preſent Biſhop of Peterborough (Dr. Hinchcliffe) has acquainted Mr. Noble, that he thinks it to be an half-length, and in armour.

(344) Granger, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 216. 251. vol. iii. p. 5—12. 72. Noble's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 123. 300—311.

Before the Reſident had made this purchaſe, being ſenſible of the value his Maſter had for Oliver's character, and conſequently how acceptable a good likeneſs of him would be, he is ſaid to have bribed a perſon in the Palace, that had acceſs to the Protector's corpſe, to permit a model to be taken off, in Plaiſter of Paris, and that only a few minutes after his Highneſs's diſſolution. A caſt, wrought from this mould, and which is either of bronze, with a braſs hue, or ſtained to give it that appearance, is now in the Florentine Gallery. Breval obſerves of it, that there is ſomething more remarkably ſtrong and expreſſive in it, than in any picture or buſt of the Uſurper which he had ever ſeen. Lord Corke, in his deſcription of it, remarks, that it bears the ſtrongeſt characteriſtics of boldneſs, ſteadineſs, ſenſe, penetration and pride; and, therefore, he diſbelieves its having been done after Cromwell's deceaſe. The muſcles, his Lordſhip adds, are ſtrong and lively, and the look is fierce and commanding; whereas death ſinks the features, renders all the muſcles languid, and flattens every nerve. Biſhop Hinchcliffe concurs in opinion with Lord Corke. On the whole, Mr. Noble concludes it to be moſt probable, that the grand Duke aſked, and obtained the buſt from Oliver himſelf (345).

(345) Noble, *ubi ſupra*.

Simon, the Medalliſt, was patronized by Cromwell. His medals, coins, and ſeals, were chiefly engraved by that incomparable artiſt; who, in 1656, was appointed to the office of Principal Engraver and Medal-maker. Notwithſtanding his decided ſuperiority to every rival, Simon was neglected after the Reſtoration (346).

(346) *Ibid.* Pinkerton's Eſſay on Medals, vol. ii. p. 143.

Strange ſtories have been told concerning the diſpoſal of Oliver's body; ſome of which are mentioned in note [*PP*]. It is ſufficient here to ſay, that the futility of all of them has been well expoſed by Mr. Noble, who has clearly ſhewn that he was buried in Weſtminſter-

Weſtminſter-Abbey. It need not be added, that, after the Reſtoration, his corpſe was taken up, hanged at Tyburn, and the head fixed upon a pole, at the top of Weſtminſter Hall (347).

(347) Noble's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 288—291.

It was not poſſible, that the wife of ſo celebrated a man, in ſuch a violent colliſion of parties, ſhould eſcape the ſhafts of calumny. Several aſperſions were thrown upon her; but they appear to have been totally groundleſs. Mr. Granger has characterized her as a woman of an enlarged underſtanding, and an elevated ſpirit. "She was," he adds, "an excellent "houſe wife, and as capable of deſcending to the "kitchen with propriety, as ſhe was of acting in her "exalted ſtation with dignity. It has been aſſerted, that "ſhe as deeply intereſted herſelf in ſteering the *helm*, "as ſhe had often done in turning the ſpit; and that "ſhe was as conſtant a ſpur to her huſband in the "career of his ambition, as ſhe had been to her ſer-"vants in their culinary employments. Certain it "is, that ſhe acted a much more prudent part as Pro-"tectreſs, than Henrietta did as Queen; and that "ſhe educated her children with as much ability as "ſhe governed her family with addreſs. Such a "woman would by a natural tranſition have filled a "throne (348)."

(348) Granger, *ubi ſupra*, vol. iii. p. 13.

Mr. Granger's idea, that Mrs. Cromwell interfered greatly in the affairs of Government, does not appear to be well founded. She was, indeed, a woman of ability and ſpirit, notwithſtanding which, ſhe generally acted in conformity to the Protector's deſire; and when ſhe did exert herſelf, it was rather to bridle, than to ſtimulate his ambition. Ludlow acknowledges, that when Oliver removed from the cock-pit to Whitehall, his wife ſeemed at firſt unwilling to go thither, though afterwards ſhe became better ſatisfied with her grandeur. When her huſband was at the very ſummit of his power, ſhe earneſtly wiſhed for, and endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the Royal Family. For this purpoſe, ſhe liſtened eagerly to a propoſal of Lady Dyſert (afterwards Ducheſs of Lauderdale) for reſtoring the exiled Monarch, and promiſed to break it to his Highneſs. Accordingly, ſhe took an opportunity of doing it one morning before he roſe; when, having repreſented the many dangers he was expoſed to from his ſituation, and the certain ruin that would befall his family at his deceaſe, ſhe deſired him to accept the Carte Blanche the King was willing to grant. This, ſhe urged, would not only obtain a pardon for all paſt offences, but ſecure to himſelf and his poſterity honours little leſs than regal. The ſole anſwer ſhe received to her repreſentation was, "You are a fool: Charles Stuart can "never forgive me his father's death, nor the injuſ-"tice he has ſuffered from me; and if he can, he is "unworthy of the Crown." Only one letter of Mrs. Cromwell's has been preſerved. It was written in 1650, and affords ſufficient evidence of her affection for, and ſubmiſſion to her huſband (349).

(349) Noble's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 124—131, 311, 312.

Great pains have been taken of late years to obtain every poſſible information concerning the family of Oliver Cromwell, and to trace his deſcendants down to the preſent time. The ſubject was, in part, begun by Mr. Duncombe, or rather by Mr. Luſon, in the Appendix to the ſecond Volume of Hughes's Letters; was carried on by Dr. Gibbons, at the end of his funeral Sermon for Mr. William Cromwell; and has ſtill more minutely been purſued in one of the numbers of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica. But for the moſt complete and extenſive intelligence, recourſe muſt be had to Mr. Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral Houſe of Cromwell, to which we have already ſo frequently referred. In this work will be found not only whatever could well be collected concerning the poſterity of the Protector, but an account of all the families to which the Houſe of Cromwell was allied, as well as of the principal perſons who were diſtinguiſhed and employed by Oliver during his government. Of Mr. Noble's publication we ſhall make no farther uſe, at preſent, than to avail ourſelves of its aſſiſtance in writing the two following articles of Richard and Henry Cromwell. It may here be obſerved, that the extraordinary character of Mrs. Bridget Bendyſh, the granddaughter of the Protector, and daughter of Ireton, which makes ſo prominent a figure in Mr. Duncombe's collection, has not been forgotten by us, but will be properly noticed in another part of our work.] K.

*** [CROMWELL (RICHARD), ſon of Oliver, and for a ſhort time, ſucceſſor to his father, as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, was born at Huntingdon, on the fourth of October, 1626, and baptized at St. John's Church in that town, on the nineteenth of the ſame month. It is probable that his uncle, Richard Cromwell, Eſq; was one of his ſponſors, and gave him his name, and certain that Mr. Henry Downtell, of St. John's College, in Cambridge, was another. His grammatical education, together with that of two of his brothers, was completed at Felſted, in Eſſex, whither he was ſent, that he might be under the inſpection of his maternal grandfather, Sir James Bourchier, who reſided at that place. On the 27th of May, 1647, when he was far advanced in the twenty-firſt year of his age, he was admitted to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, where he did not diſtinguiſh himſelf by the cloſeneſs of his application, or his ardent proſecution of legal knowledge. His time was chiefly ſpent in the purſuits of pleaſure; and it is remarkable, that, while the nation was torn to pieces by faction and civil war, he took no part in the conteſt; but led a life of privacy and inactivity. What is ſtill more obſervable, whilſt Oliver was fighting the battles of the Parliament, Richard Cromwell was the companion of the moſt loyal Cavaliers, and frequently drank ſucceſs to the arms of the Sovereign whom his father was labouring to dethrone. When that unfortunate Monarch was condemned to death, Richard, it is ſaid, was ſo ſtruck with the horror of his approaching fate, that he threw himſelf upon his knees, and pleaded the cauſe of fallen majeſty. But Oliver was not a man who could be diverted, by the entreaties and tears of his ſon, from executing the purpoſe he had formed (*a*).

(*a*) Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral Houſe of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 158, 159.

Soon after the King's death, Richard Cromwell, in conſequence of the eminence to which his family was now riſing, obtained a very eligible marriage with Dorothy, the eldeſt daughter of Richard Maijor, of Hurſley, in the county of Hants. The Negociation for this alliance may be ſeen in ſome letters of Oliver's which have been given to the public, by Dr. Harris and Mr. Noble (*b*). Richard Cromwell had a very conſiderable fortune with his Lady; and after his marriage, retired to Hurſley, where he reſided for ſome years, and became entirely the country Gentleman; indulging himſelf in hunting, hawking, and the other rural ſports of the age. Neither did he here forget his former principles of loyalty, but retained the ſame attachment to Charles the Second which he had borne to Charles the Firſt, and uſed his beſt endeavours to ſerve ſuch of the adherents to the royal family

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 319—323. Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 514—526.

family as fell into inconveniences on that account. During his retirement, he did not otherwiſe concern himſelf with public affairs, but ſpent his time in the company of his wife, to whom he was tenderly devoted, and in a hoſpitable mode of living, which exceeded the rules of frugality and prudence. Upon his father's advancement to the Protectorate, he was choſen to repreſent the counties of Monmouth and Southampton. This was in 1654; and on the eleventh of November, 1655, he was made firſt Lord of Trade and Navigation. In Auguſt, 1656, he was returned one of the county Members for Hants, as well as Repreſentative for the Univerſity of Cambridge. The next year, he had a narrow eſcape from being cruſhed to death, by the giving way of the ſtairs of the Banqueting-Houſe, when the Members of Parliament were going to pay their reſpects to Oliver. Some of his bones were broken by this accident; but having the advantage of youth and a good conſtitution in his favour, his health and ſtrength were ſpeedily reſtored (*c*).

(*c*) Noble's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 159—161.

The Protector having reſigned the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of Oxford, on the third of July, 1657, that learned body manifeſted their regard for the family of his Highneſs, by chooſing Richard for his ſucceſſor. The choice was made on the eighteenth of the ſame month, and on the twenty-ninth following, he was inſtalled in his new office at Whitehall. On this occaſion, the ceremony was performed with great ſplendour; and next to the Chancellor, the moſt conſpicuous perſon at the Inſtallation was Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter. At the ſame time, to do him ſtill greater honour, Richard was created a Maſter of Arts, in a Convocation of Doctors and Maſters of the Univerſity, aſſembled at the Palace for that purpoſe. One of his firſt acts, as Chancellor of Oxford, was to remove Dr. Owen from the Vice-chancellorſhip, and to appoint Dr. John Conant in his room. The next honours conferred upon Richard Cromwell, were his being ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, and made a Colonel in the army. When Oliver formed the deſign of creating a Houſe of Peers, he placed Richard at the head of this newly conſtituted body. The Protector had been obliged to be cautious, in thus bringing his ſon forward to public notice. From the fear of alarming the Republicans, he had pretended, for a while, that he had no thoughts of raiſing his ſons above the rank of private Gentlemen. But when he was more ſolemnly inaugurated and confirmed in his Protectorſhip, he diſplayed other views; though he ſtill concealed his wiſhes of transferring the ſovereign power, in hereditary ſucceſſion, to his family (*d*).

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 161, 162.

It has generally been repreſented that Richard Cromwell was diſſatisfied with his father's grandeur, and thought that it was not built upon a good foundation. It does not, however, appear that he expreſſed any degree of heſitation in accepting the Government of theſe kingdoms: nor, on the other hand, is there reaſon to believe that he looked forward to it with pleaſure. It is certain that he felt a real concern on account of Oliver's laſt illneſs; and a letter which he wrote to an intimate friend on that occaſion, while it manifeſts his diſpoſition in this reſpect, ſhews that he was poſſeſſed of a ſound underſtanding [*A*]. On the fourth of September, 1658, the day after his father's deceaſe, he was proclaimed with great ſolemnity, and the form of the proclamation was as follows: "Whereas it hath "pleaſed the moſt wiſe God, in his Providence, to take out of this world, the moſt ſerene "and the moſt renowned Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth; and his "ſaid Highneſs having, in his life-time, according to the humble petition and advice, de-"clared and appointed the moſt noble and illuſtrious the Lord Richard, eldeſt ſon of his "ſaid Highneſs, to ſucceed him in the Government of theſe nations: We, therefore, of "the Privy Council, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the Citizens of Lon-"don; the Officers of the Army, and numbers of other principal Gentlemen, do now "hereby, with one full voice and conſent of tongue and heart, publiſh and declare the ſaid "Noble and Illuſtrious Lord Richard to be rightfully Protector of this Commonwealth of "England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging;

[*A*] *Shews that he was poſſeſſed of a ſound underſtanding.*] The truth of what is aſſerted above will beſt appear from the letter itſelf, which was written from Whitehall, on the 28th of Auguſt, 1658, to Captain John Dunche, at Peuſey, near Abingdon, in Berkſhire.

"SIR,

"I intended to have written to you by the firſt return, but ſince his Highneſs has been ſo ill, that I have not had either opportunity or deſire to ſet pen to paper; we have not been without very great fears; for his Highneſs's illneſs hath been ſuch as hath put the Phyſicians to a nonplus. Our hopes are ſomewhat increaſed by this fit of an ague; and ſhall it pleaſe God to go on with his gentle hand, and bring him temperately out of this fit, and not renew it, at the time his former fit began, or viſit us with a quartan, we ſhall have ſome reviving comfort, and cauſe to magnify his goodneſs; it being a new life to his Highneſs and the affairs as they now ſtand, of this nation, with the Proteſtant intereſt of Chriſtendom. I believe the rumours of this dangerous illneſs hath flown into all parts of this nation, and hath cauſed ſeveral perſons of ill affections to prick up their ears, which will cauſe friends to be vigilant, for they will hope they have a game to play: it is a time that will diſcover all colours, and much of the diſpoſition of the nation may now be gathered. I heard that thoſe who have been enemies, others that have been no friends, ſome of both, are ſtartled; fearing their poſſeſſions, and worſe conditions, not conſidering their affection, in this hazard his Highneſs is in. It muſt be the goodneſs of God that ſhall ſave him, and his knowledge of the ſtate of *England* and Chriſtendom; the ſpirit of prayer which is poured out for him, and the faith which is acted on behalf of him, gives us the beſt comfort and hopes: mine and my wife's reſpects to your father and mother.

"I reſt yours,

"R. CROMWELL (1)."

(1) Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. xxi. p. 223, 224, note.

" to whom we do acknowledge all fidelity and conſtant obedience, according to law, and " the ſaid humble petition and advice, with all hearty and humble affections; beſeeching " the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bleſs him with long life, and theſe nations with " peace and happineſs under his government (*e*)."

(*e*) Parl. Hiſt. of Eng. vol. xxi. p. 228, 229.

Richard's acceſſion to power was followed by every apparent teſtimony of attachment and affection. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, in the name of the Officers of the Army of England; Monk, for thoſe of Scotland; Sir Charles Coote, for Ireland; and Lockhart, from Dunkirk, all preſented their congratulations to him, and their vows of fidelity. The ſame was done by Admiral Montagu, in behalf of the Navy. The zeal of the Citizens of London for his ſervice, appeared more unanimous than it had been for that of his father; and moſt of the counties, cities, and towns in the three nations, teſtified, by addreſſes under their hands, their obedience to their new Sovereign. Nay, the ſpirit of addreſſing extended to the Plantations. The young Protector, in many of theſe ſolemn congratulations, was highly magnified for his wiſdom, his nobleneſs of mind, and the lovely compoſition of his body. At the ſame time, the memory of Oliver was loaded with flattery. He was compared to Moſes, Zerubbabel, Joſhua, Gideon, and Elijah; to David, Solomon and Hezekiah; to Conſtantine the Great; and, in ſhort, to every other perſon who had been celebrated, either in the ſacred Scriptures or profane Hiſtory, for their piety or their goodneſs, their wiſdom or their valour. Of theſe addreſſes, one ſpecimen ſhall be inſerted below [*B*], which ſeems to have been a model for many of the others; and we have given it

[*B*] *One ſpecimen ſhall be inſerted below.*]

" To his Highneſs the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging,

" The Humble Addreſs of the Officers of your Highneſs's Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

" May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

" WHEN we call to mind how God, the great and wiſe diſpoſer of all things, hath, by a long continued ſeries of Providence, carried on his work in theſe nations by the hands of ſeveral inſtruments, making it manifeſtly to proſper in the hands of all thoſe that did heartily own his cauſe and people; but moſt remarkably and eminently, in the hands of that man whom he had choſen, your deceaſed father, whoſe memory ſhall be bleſt, and will be had in perpetual remembrance amongſt good men, as having been the great aſſertor of the liberties of God's people, an inſtrument to reſtore theſe nations to peace, a lover of their civil rights, and ſo indefatigable in his endeavours after reformation; the mentioning of whom may well ſtrike our hearts with unconceivable ſorrow and abaſement, to think that we, by our ſins, have provoked the God of all our Mercies to give us ſuch a ſtroke, by taking from us the delight of our eyes, and, under God, the Captain of his people, upon whom the eyes of foreign Princes were fixed with reverence and expectation.

" Oh! how glorioufly did the Lord appear for and with him in the midſt of his people, making the mountains to become a plain before him, and carrying him upon the wings of faith and prayer, above all difficulties and oppoſitions? How did the graces of God's ſpirit evidently ſhine forth in him? In his armies he reckoned the choiceſt ſaints his chiefeſt worthies; in his family, thoſe that were near and dear to God, were near and dear to him. His eyes were upon the faithful in the land, to relieve many, to advance ſome, to protect and countenance all. In the things of God he had a tender and large heart, to love all the ſaints though of different judgments. He had great acquaintance with the Lord, mighty in faith and prayer, which made him ſo conſtant and glorious a victor.

" Your Highneſs, your armies, and people, reap the benefit of his prayers and ſucceſſes; but, alas! this our *Moſes* (your dear and bleſſed father) the ſervant of the Lord is dead, and ſhall we not weep? Though we weep not for him, yet we cannot but weep for ourſelves. We cannot but look after him crying, *Our Father, our Father, the Chariots of* Iſrael *and the horſemen thereof.*

" When we conſider theſe things, we cannot but reverence the ſame Providence, in bringing your Highneſs to ſucceed him in the Government, with ſo much ſerenity and general conſent and approbation of the people, when the enemy ſo ſtrenuouſly endeavours to promote diſtractions and diviſions; and we cannot but hope, though it hath pleaſed the Lord ſharply to rebuke us, yet he will not caſt us off, nor withdraw his fatherly affections from us; but, in our returnings, he will give us reſt, and will enable your Highneſs to carry on that good old cauſe and intereſt of God and his people upon your heart continually, and then he will carry you as upon eagle's wings, above all the malice and wicked machinations of ungodly men, to do valiantly in Iſrael, in the further enlarging of the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, in maintaining the Chriſtian liberty of all ſober godly men, though of different opinions in ſome things; the defending of the civil rights of the whole people of theſe nations; and the reformation of all abuſes.

" And more particularly, that we may open our hearts before you, we hope and pray that God will enable your Highneſs to endeavour, that the army which ſhall be thought fit to be kept up in the three nations, may be continued, and kept under the command of ſuch officers as are of honeſt and godly principles, free to adventure all, that is dear to them, by all lawful ways and means to maintain an equal and juſt liberty to all perſons that profeſs godlineſs, that are not of turbulent ſpirits as to the peace of theſe nations, nor diſturbers of others, though different in ſome things from themſelves, according to the true intent of the humble petition and advice.

" That the vacancies in your Highneſs's Council, and other places of public truſt, be, from time to time, ſupplied and filled up with men of known godlineſs and ſober principles, that they, with your Highneſs and your armies, may make it their work to carry on the concernments of the godly in theſe nations, and the civil rights of the people thereof, upon their hearts, with full purpoſe to maintain the ſame; and that a work of reformation, tending to good life and manners, may be vigorouſly carried on by the hands of good Magiſtrates, and thoſe things that are vexati us and oppreſſive to the people may be ſuppreſſed.

" That the proviſion made for the ejecting ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient Miniſters, and that for the approbation of Miniſters tending to the bringing in of godly and able Preachers into the ſeveral places of theſe nations (whereby poor and ignorant ſouls may be brought to the knowledge of the truth) may be owned and maintained in their power, according to the Acts of Parliament; and that any who ſhall diſcourage or diſcountenance good Miniſters in theſe nations, by encouraging looſe and profane perſons to oppoſe and ſlight them for not admitting ſuch as are looſe and profane to the Sacrament, may be diſcountenanced and puniſhed.

" In your proſecution whereof, we hope that God will aſſiſt us to make it known to your Highneſs, and

it the preference, as it affords a direct contraſt to what was preſented, a few months after, by the ſame body of men. It is ſaid that this Addreſs was drawn up at Court, and that copies of it were ſent to the ſeveral regiments of the three nations, to be ſubſcribed: nor is it improbable that this might be the caſe, when it is conſidered how nearly related Fleetwood, who had then the Chief Command of the Engliſh Army, was to the Protector. Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is, likewiſe, underſtood to have had no ſmall hand in the ſcheme of procuring the preſentation of a general Addreſs from the three Armies; and his deſign in it was, to diſplay the great unanimity of the ſoldiery in ſupport of his brother's ſucceſſion (*f*).

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 232. 236, 237.

The reſpect paid to Richard was not confined to his own ſubjects. Foreign Princes and States addreſſed their condolences to him, and ſought a renewal of their alliances. M. de Bourdeaux, the Ambaſſador from France, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all others on this occaſion. At an audience which he had of the Protector, and to which he was introduced by Sir Oliver Fleming, Maſter of the Ceremonies, he preſented to his Highneſs two letters; one from the King of France, the other from his Eminency Cardinal Mazarine, as Chief Miniſter of State; and delivered himſelf, in a ſpeech, to the following effect: "That his Maſter, the King of France, having heard of the death of his late Highneſs, of glorious memory, did very much take to heart the loſs of ſo great a Captain, and ſo good an Ally of his Crown: that his Majeſty rejoiced at being informed that, in order to the repairing of ſo great a loſs, it had pleaſed God to eſtabliſh his Highneſs, as his father's undoubted ſucceſſor: that it was the deſire of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by all means, to maintain that alliance and amity, which had hitherto been of ſo great an advantage to both nations: and that his Majeſty, to manifeſt the ſincerity of his friendſhip, would be ready upon any occaſion, either with his Counſels or Forces, to aſſiſt the Lord Protector againſt any of his enemies or oppoſers whatſoever." To this ſpeech the Ambaſſador added, in his own behalf, "That as he himſelf had a great affection for the Engliſh nation, having now many years reſided here, and a particular regard for the perſon of his late Highneſs the Lord Protector, to whom he always bore a profound reverence on account of his princely virtues; ſo he ſhould at all times be ready to give his moſt noble ſon and ſucceſſor a teſtimony how joyful he was to ſee his Highneſs thus happily eſtabliſhed in the Government, and how deſirous he was to render him every poſſible proof of his eſteem and devotion (*g*)."

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 237, 238.

For ſome time, the ſituation of Richard had every thing that was promiſing and proſperous in its external appearance. The voice of joy and of praiſe was heard from all parts; and perhaps this agreeable proſpect might have continued much longer, had not the neceſſities of the State required the calling of a Parliament. By an alliance which Oliver, not long before his death, had made with the Crown of Sweden, and of which he was fonder than of all the reſt of his engagements, he had ſtood obliged to ſend, in the Spring, a ſtrong fleet into the Sound, to aſſiſt that King againſt Denmark; or, at leaſt, to act ſo powerfully the part of a Mediator, as to induce the Daniſh Monarch to accept ſuch conditions of peace as the other ſhould be willing to propoſe. This could ſcarcely be done without parliamentary aſſiſtance; and therefore, the new Protector, by the advice of his Council, iſſued out writs about the middle of December, ſummoning a Parliament to meet on the twenty-ſeventh of January. Till that day, being nearly five months from his Acceſſion to the Protectorſhip, he ſeemed to remain as great a Prince as ever his father had been before him. During the two laſt Parliaments of Oliver, no writs had been iſſued out to the meaner boroughs, but only to capital towns; and he had increaſed the number of Knights of Shires, in proportion to the aſſeſſments paid by each county to the public ſervice. In conſequence of this popular and equitable ſcheme, the Houſe was filled with ſo great a number of independent Gentlemen, of the beſt families and eſtates in the kingdom, that he had no way of managing them, but by excluding, either by fraud or force, thoſe who were the true friends of the Conſtitution. His ſon Richard, therefore, to avoid ſplitting upon the ſame rock, and not daring to rule without a Parliament,

all the world, that we aim not at any private intereſt or end of our own; but that we ſhall be heartily and faithfully with you, as we have been with your father, to adventure our lives and all that is dear unto us to ſtand by you. Theſe being the principles upon which we engaged with your bleſſed father, and were bleſſed of God in, and we truſt God will direct your heart to be fixed and bottomed upon the ſame principles, which we are perſuaded God will own you in, and bleſs us in ſtanding by you againſt all that ſhall oppoſe you therein, or make it their deſign to change or alter the preſent Government eſtabliſhed in a ſingle perſon and two Houſes of Parliament, according to the humble petition and advice, or ſhall endeavour the ſubverſion thereof, or the diſturbance of the peace of theſe nations.

"And we are confident you will have the concurrent helps of the prayers and endeavours of the people of God, whereby your heart and hand will be ſtrengthened to ride on proſperouſly, to the joy and rejoicing of all good men, and to the terror and diſappointment of all your adverſaries, when they ſhall perceive you inherit, not only your father's glory and authority, but alſo the hearts of his old faithful followers; and (which crowns all) the bleſſing of the God of your father; which that it may be continued unto you, and proſper you, in all that you put your hand unto, is and ſhall be the continual prayer of

Your Highneſs's moſt humble and loyal Servants.

(2) Parl. Hiſt. vol. xxi. p. 233—236.

reſolved

reſolved to call his upon the old model. Accordingly, only two Knights of the Shire were elected for each county; and all the petty boroughs were reſtored to their ancient uſages and returns. This was done by the Protector under the pretence of ingratiating himſelf with the people; but the real deſign was to make way for his own creatures and dependents. As to the Members of the Upper Houſe, they were all ſufficiently attached to him by his father's or his own choice and election (*b*).

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 245, 246.

On the twenty-ſeventh of January, 1658-9, the Parliament met, according to appointment, and Richard came to Weſtminſter with the ſame ſtate and ſolemnity that Oliver had done. The Commons aſſembled in their uſual place; and the new Lords, who had alſo been ſummoned, by writ, to attend according to the humble Petition and advice, took their ſeats in the Upper Houſe. In the laſt Parliament, the Commons had refuſed to acknowledge the authority of their Lordſhips; and this was one principal cauſe of their own diſſolution. Something of the ſame ſpirit operated on the preſent occaſion. When his Highneſs ſent the Uſher of the Black Rod to ſummon the Commons to attend him in the other Houſe, it was only a ſmall number that thought proper to obey the Call. Thoſe, however, who did appear before him, heard a Speech from him much ſuperior to their expectations [*C*], and which far exceeded that which followed from the Lord Commiſſioner Fiennes, the Keeper of the Great Seal (*i*).

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 262—265.

[*C*] *Heard a Speech from him much ſuperior to their expectations.*] This Speech, which reflects credit on the good ſenſe of Richard, or his adviſers, was as follows:

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I BELIEVE there are ſcarce any of you here, who expected, ſome months ſince, to have ſeen this great Aſſembly, at this time, in this place, in peace; conſidering the great and unexpected change which it hath pleaſed the all-diſpoſing hand of God to make in the midſt of us. I can aſſure you, that if things had been according to our own fears, and the hopes of our enemies, it had not been thus with us: and therefore it will become both you and me, in the firſt place, (as to reverence and adore the great God, Poſſeſſor of Heaven and Earth, in whoſe hands our breath is, and whoſe are all our ways, becauſe of his judgments) ſo to acknowledge him in his goodneſs to theſe lands, in that he hath not added ſorrow to ſorrow, and made the period of his late Highneſs's life, and that of the nation's peace, to have been in one day.

" Peace was one of the bleſſings of my father's Government: a mercy after ſo long a civil war, and in the midſt of ſo great diviſion which that war bred, is not uſually afforded, by God, unto a people in ſo great a meaſure.

" The cauſe of God, and theſe nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the parts of it, as you well know, with many enemies and great oppoſition. The Archers, privily and openly, ſorely grieved him, and ſhot at him; yet his bow abode in ſtrength, and the arms of his hands were made ſtrong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

" As to himſelf; he died full of days, ſpent in great and ſore travail: yet his eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural ſtrength abated: as it was ſaid of Moſes, he was ſerviceable even to the laſt.

" As to theſe nations; he left them in great honour abroad, and in full peace at home; all England, Scotland, and Ireland dwelling ſafely, every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beerſheba.

" He is gone to reſt, and we are entered into his labours; and if the Lord hath ſtill a bleſſing for theſe lands, (as I truſt he hath) as our peace hath been lengthened out to this day, ſo ſhall we go on to reap the fruit, and gather the harveſt of what his late Highneſs hath ſown, and laid the foundation of.

" For my own part, being by the Providence of God and the diſpoſition of the law, my father's ſucceſſor, and bearing that place in the Government that I do, I thought it for the public good to call a Parliament of the three nations, now united, and conjoined together into one Commonwealth, under one Government.

" It is agreeable not only to my truſt, but to my principles, to govern theſe nations by the advice of my two Houſes of Parliament. I find it aſſerted in the humble petition and advice, (which is the corner-ſtone of this building, and that which I ſhall adhere to) *That Parliaments are the great Council of the Chief Magiſtrate, in whoſe advice both he and theſe nations may be moſt ſafe and happy.* I can aſſure you I have that eſteem of them; and as I have made it the firſt act of my Government to call you together, ſo I ſhall further let you ſee the value I have of you, by the anſwers that I ſhall return to the advice that ſhall be given me by you, for the good of theſe nations.

" You are come up from your ſeveral countries, as the heads of your tribes, and with hearts (I perſuade myſelf) to conſult together for their good. I can ſay I meet you with the ſame deſires, having nothing in my deſign, but the maintenance of the peace, laws, liberties, both civil and chriſtian of theſe nations; which I ſhall always make the meaſure and rule of my Government, and be ready to ſpend my life for.

" We have ſummoned you up at this time to let you know the ſtate of our affairs, and to have your advice in them: and I believe a Parliament was never ſummoned upon a more important occaſion.

" It is true, as I have told you, we are, through the goodneſs of God, at this time in peace; but it is not thus with us becauſe we have no enemies: No, there are enough both within us and without us, who would ſoon put an end to our peace, were it in their power, or ſhould it at any time come into their power.

" It will be becoming your wiſdom to conſider of the ſecuring of our peace againſt thoſe, who, we all know, are, and ever will be, our implacable enemies: what the means of doing this are, I ſhall refer unto you.

" This I can aſſure you, that the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are true and faithful to the peace and good intereſt of theſe nations; and it will be found ſo, and that they are a conſiſtent body, and uſeful for any good ends; and if they were not the beſt army in the world, you would have heard of many inconveniences, by reaſon of the great arrear of pay which is now due unto them, whereby ſome of them are reduced to great neceſſities: but you ſhall have a particular account of their arrears, and I doubt not but conſideration will be had thereupon, in ſome ſpeedy and effectual way. And this being matter of money, I recommend it particularly to the Houſe of Commons.

" You have, you know, a war with Spain, carried on by the advice of Parliament. He is an old enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be neceſſary, both for the honour and ſafety of theſe nations, that that war be vigorouſly proſecuted.

" Furthermore, the conſtitution of affairs in all our neighbour countries, and round about us, (as well friends as enemies) is very conſiderable; and calls upon us to be upon our guard both at land and ſea, and to be in a poſture able to maintain and conſerve our own ſtate and intereſt.

" Great

The firſt grand object that engaged the attention of Parliament, was a Bill, entitled, "An Act of Recognition of his Highneſs's Right and Title to be Protector and Chief "Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Domi-"nions and Territories thereunto belonging." This Bill was brought in, on the firſt of February, by Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and it was comprized in ſuch terms as had no leſs a meaning in them than the admittance of Richard, and the perſons then ſitting in the other Houſe, unto the full power, privileges and prerogative of the ancient Kings, and the ancient Peers of the Realm. It was the view of the Court party to carry the matter undiſcovered; and they were the more encouraged in their hopes of ſucceſs, as the Bill was read the firſt time without much difficulty. Accordingly, ſome of the long robe, who were devoted to the Protector, preſſed for the reading of it again on the ſame day; their deſign in which was, that it ſhould have been read a third time the next day, and thus immediately have paſſed into an Act. But though great pains had been taken to procure a Parliament which ſhould ſupport the meaſures of Richard and his Adminiſtration, it was impoſſible to prevent the principal leaders of the Republican party, and many of the zealous friends of Liberty, from being elected. Theſe, therefore, contended, with equal juſtice and energy, that, according to the rule in ſuch caſes, the Bill ought to be referred to a grand Committee of the whole Houſe. When this could not be obtained, they urged that the ſecond reading of it ought, at leaſt, to be put off for ſome days, and that liberty ſhould be given to the Members to take copies, for the purpoſe of conſidering the buſineſs, and being better prepared for the debate. Thus far they ſucceeded, and the ſeventh of February was appointed for the ſecond reading. When the Houſe, at the time fixed upon, proceeded to the conſideration of this grand point of Government, five whole days were ſpent in debating it, without coming to any concluſion; and on Monday the fourteenth, the Bill was not yet ſo far proceeded in, as to be referred to a Committee. However, on that day, the two following Reſolutions were paſſed, as previous to the commitment of the Bill. The firſt was, "That it be part of this Bill to recog-"nize and declare his Highneſs Richard Lord Protector, to be Lord Protector and Chief "Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Domi-"nions and Territories thereunto belonging." It was reſolved, ſecondly, "That, be-"fore this Bill be committed, this Houſe do declare ſuch additional clauſes to be part of "this Bill, as may bound the power of the Chief Magiſtrate, and fully ſecure the rights "and privileges of the Parliament, and the liberties and rights of the people; and that "neither this nor any other previous vote that is, or ſhall be, paſſed, in order to this "Bill, is, or ſhall be, of force, or binding, unto the people, until the whole Bill be "paſſed." So conſonant was the laſt Reſolution to the genuine ſentiments of the Members, when under no improper bias, that it paſſed the Houſe without any other negative than that of the Secretary. Nevertheleſs, when the courtiers underſtood, from the manner of Mr. Thurloe's voting, what the diſpoſition was which prevailed at Whitehall, they manifeſted very little ſolicitude for effectually ſecuring the freedom of the Conſtitution. In the courſe of the proceedings on the Recognition Bill, the Commons, after a debate that was carried on with great warmth for ſome days, came to two farther reſolutions. Theſe were, firſt, that it ſhall be part of this Bill to declare the Parliament to conſiſt of two Houſes; and ſecondly, that the bounds and power of the other Houſe ſhould be the firſt buſineſs taken into conſideration. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of February, the ſubject was brought forward; and after a variety of warm debates, which ſometimes laſted for a whole day together, it was at length reſolved, on the twenty-eighth of March, that the Houſe of Commons would tranſact buſineſs with the perſons ſitting in the other Houſe, *as an Houſe of Parliament*, during the preſent Parliament; and that it was not hereby intended to exclude ſuch Peers, as have been faithful to the Parliament, from their

"Great and powerful fleets are preparing to be ſet forth into theſe ſeas, and conſiderable armies of ſeveral nations and kings are now diſputing for the maſtery of the *Sound*, with the adjacent iſlands and countries; among which is the Emperor of Germany, with other Popiſh States. I need not tell you of what conſequence theſe things are to this State.

"We have already interpoſed in theſe affairs, in ſuch manner as we found it neceſſary for the intereſt of England; and matters are yet in ſuch a condition in thoſe parts, that the State may, with the aſſiſtance of God, provide that their differences may not prejudice us.

"The other things that are to be ſaid I ſhall refer to my Lord-Keeper Fiennes; and cloſe up what I have to ſay, with only adding two or three particulars to what I have already ſaid.

"And, firſt, I recommend to your care the people of God in theſe nations, with their concernments: the more they are divided among themſelves, the greater prudence ſhould be uſed to cement them.

"*Secondly*, The good and neceſſary work of reformation, both in manners and in the adminiſtration of juſtice, that profaneneſs may be diſcountenanced and ſuppreſſed, and that righteouſneſs and juſtice may be executed in the land.

"*Thirdly*, I recommend unto you the Proteſtant cauſe abroad, which ſeems at this time to be in ſome danger, having great and powerful enemies, and very few friends; and I hope and believe that the old Engliſh zeal to that cauſe is ſtill amongſt us.

"*Laſtly*, My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, That you will, in all your debates, maintain and conſerve Love and Unity among yourſelves, that therein you may be the Pattern of the nation, who have ſent you up in peace, and with their prayers, that the ſpirit of wiſdom and peace may be among you: and this ſhall alſo be my prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmoſt endeavours for the making this an happy Parliament (3)."

(3) Parl. Hiſt. *ubi ſupra*, p. 265—269.

privilege

privilege of being duly ſummoned to be Members of that Houſe. It was on this occaſion that the long, ſevere, and able ſpeech was delivered againſt the newly conſtituted Lords, which we have formerly mentioned as having been ſpoken by Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, afterwards firſt Earl of Shafteſbury (*k*). Another Queſtion which was agitated about the ſame time, was concerning the Members from Scotland and Ireland. Richard had ſummoned thirty Repreſentatives from each of theſe two kingdoms, whoſe right to ſit in the Houſe was ſtrongly objected to by the patriotic party. It was carried, however, without any extraordinary difficulty, though not without conſiderable debates, that the Members returned to ſerve for Scotland and Ireland ſhould continue to ſit and vote during the preſent parliament (*l*).

(*k*) See his article in the preſent volume, p. 264*.

(*l*) Parl. Hiſt. vol. xxi. p. 281—297.

Whilſt theſe and other matters were in agitation, the ſituation of the Protector became every day more and more critical and dangerous. The oppoſition to him in the Lower Houſe was powerful and formidable; the Upper Houſe was altogether inſignificant and contemptible; and a ſpirit was riſing againſt him in the Army. One ſtrong proof of this ſpirit appeared in an Addreſs which was preſented to him, in the month of April, entitled, "The humble Repreſentation and Petition" of the General Council of the Officers of the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland; in which, amongſt a variety of complaints, they ſtrongly inſiſted that their arrears ſhould be ſatisfied. If the Parliament had immediately reſolved to give effectual redreſs to the Petitioners with regard to the laſt point, perhaps Richard might have continued in power ſome time longer. But ſo wiſe a meaſure was not purſued. The Houſe, on this occaſion, endeavoured to ſupport its conſequence by vigorous reſolutions. On the eighteenth of April, a queſtion was propoſed and put, "That, during the ſitting of the Parliament, there "ſhall be no General Council, or Meetings, of the Officers of the army, without the di-"rection, leave, and authority, of his Highneſs the Lord Protector and both Houſes of "Parliament." The diviſion being called for on this Queſtion, it was carried in the affirmative, by a large majority of a hundred and ſixty-three to eighty-ſeven. Another Reſolution, which was agreed to without a diviſion, was, "That no perſon ſhall have, or "continue, any command or truſt, in any of the armies or navies of England, Scotland, "or Ireland, or any of the Dominions or Territories thereunto belonging, who ſhall refuſe "to ſubſcribe, that he will not diſturb, nor interrupt, the free meeting in Parliament of "any of the Members of either Houſe of Parliament, or the freedom in their Debates "and Councils." It was farther reſolved, "That the concurrence of the other Houſe "be deſired to theſe votes." The Commons having thus aſſerted their own authority, and attempted to provide for the perſonal ſecurity of the Members, next voted, That they would take into conſideration how the arrears of the armies and navies might be ſpeedily ſatisfied. All theſe reſolutions were ineffectual. The army was too formidable to be reſiſted; and the grand Council of its Officers, by conſent of the Protector, had aſſembled at Wallingford Houſe. In this exigence, Richard adviſed with his Privy Council, whether it was, or was not, proper to diſſolve the Parliament. Moſt of the Counſellors gave their opinion in favour of its diſſolution; but Whitelocke doubted the ſucceſs of the meaſure, and wiſhed that the Houſes might be permitted to ſit a little longer; eſpecially as the Commons had begun to conſider of raiſing money, by which they might ſoon engage the ſoldiery, and link them faſt to their intereſt. The majority, however, perſiſting in a different ſentiment, the Parliament was diſſolved on the 22d of April, and this act may be regarded as the real determination of Richard's power. He retained, indeed, the name and the appearance of Protector for a few days longer, though without any authority; and his reign, if ſuch it may be called, was finally ended, by the reſolution of the Council of Officers to invite the ſurviving Members of the Long Parliament, who had continued ſitting till the twentieth of April, 1653, to return to the exerciſe and diſcharge of their truſt (*m*).

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 340—369.

There were not wanting thoſe who adviſed Richard to ſupport himſelf in his dignity by ſanguinary meaſures. They wiſhed him to determine, without ſcruple, to cut off the men who aimed at depriving him of Sovereignty. But neither his moral principles nor his diſpoſition would permit him to retain power at the expence of blood. There is a dialogue upon record, which is ſaid to have paſſed, on this occaſion, between Richard and Colonel Howard; and which is ſo curious, that it ſhall be inſerted below [*D*]. At the

[*D*] *And which is ſo curious, that it ſhall be inſerted below.*] The account is as follows. "When Colonel Howard perceived that nothing but vigorous meaſures could ſecure Richard in his Protectorate, from the treachery and ambition of Fleetwood and his other relations, the grandees of the army, he thus addreſſed him: "'Tis time to look about you; "Empire and Command are now the queſtion: your "perſon, your life is in peril; you are the ſon of "Cromwell, ſhew yourſelf worthy to be his ſon. "This buſineſs requires a bold ſtroke, and muſt be "ſupported by a good head. Do not ſuffer yourſelf "to be daunted now, and my head ſhall anſwer for "the conſequence. Fleetwood, Lambert, Deſborough, Vane, are the contrivers of all this: I will "rid you of them; do you ſtand by me, and only "back my zeal for your honour with your name. "The neceſſity of preſerving yourſelf, diſpenſes with "the ſevere laws of juſtice. If this is not done, the "army will be againſt you, and you are infallibly "ruined."

the close of the dialogue it is subjoined, that it is just such a conference as we may suppose to have passed between King Henry the sixth and Queen Margaret. From whomsoever this remark proceeded, we are free to declare that it doth not meet with our approbation. There is a contempt of Richard implied in it, to which we think his conduct is not entitled, and which does not indicate the most exact moral discernment. Surely in the eye of true virtue, it must ever be judged laudable, rather to give up the gratifications of ambition, than to attain them by the perpetration of slaughter and murder. We are persuaded at the same time, that Richard's behaviour was as wise as it was just. If he had followed Colonel Howard's advice, and had ventured to put to death men who stood in the nearest relation to his family, there is not the least probability that he could have secured to himself the permanency of Sovereign power. The bent of the times was against it; the late ill patched frame of Government was growing generally detestable; and people of all ranks, and of very different parties, began anxiously to look for a more settled state of things, in the restoration of the King. It has been thought, with no small appearance of reason, that if Oliver himself had lived much longer, he would not have been able, notwithstanding his extraordinary sagacity, and venturous spirit, to have maintained his usurped greatness. Far less likely, therefore, was it that his son would have been capable of retaining the Sovereignty of this country, even though he had been wicked enough to have adopted the measures proposed by Colonel Howard.

(o) *Ibid.* p. 168.

There are but few occurrences, during Richard's Administration, that relate personally to himself. The principal one, is the danger he was exposed to by a fall from his horse, as he was taking his favourite diversion of hunting. Through excess of eagerness in the sport, he outrode his retinue; and his horse, either from restiveness, or leaping short, threw him into a ditch, from which he was extricated by a countryman before his guards could come up. This is said to have been the only time in which the good-humoured Sovereign was ever displeased with his attendants (*n*).

(*n*) Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 164.

No sooner were the Republicans possessed of Government, than they sent to desire Richard to quit the Palace of Whitehall, as not thinking it safe that one who had been invested with Sovereignty should continue in the residence of the ancient Kings, and that too in the Metropolis. He was ordered, likewise, to surrender up his Great Seal, which he accordingly did on the fourteenth of May, when it was broken in pieces. At first he entertained thoughts of flying; but Fleetwood, whom he acquainted with his design, advised him to remain; assuring him that there was no intention of taking away his life, and that a fortune would be settled upon him adequate to his moderate wishes. This might occasion his continuing still at Whitehall, which displeasing the Parliament, the former order to leave it was renewed on the twenty-first of May; but to sweeten the message, the Lord-Chief-Justice St. John, and another Gentleman, were commissioned to promise, that, upon his compliance, provision should be made for the payment of his debts, and an honourable subsistence be procured for himself and family. Upon this he sent a submission in writing, declaring his free acquiescence in the change that had been made, and engaging to demean himself with all peaceableness under the present Government. His act of submission was accompanied with a schedule of his debts. The House being satisfied with this part of his conduct, agreed to the payment of his debts, upon condition that he should peaceably quit Whitehall, and dispose of himself as his private occasions required. To encourage him farther in so doing, they took him under their protection, and resolved that a Committee should be appointed to consider of the most eligible manner of settling upon him a comfortable and honourable subsistence. Richard stood at this time in need of being protected by Parliament, as he now felt all the inconveniences of the involved state of his affairs: for the creditors, to whom he was indebted on account of the pompous funeral of his father, became extremely clamourous; and one of them had the boldness to issue out a writ against him. Nay it has been asserted, that his Palace was surrounded with all the Bailiffs of Middlesex. As the House proceeded slowly in giving effect to the

" ruined. And you have nothing to fear: I'll take
" it upon myself, and be answerable for the conse-
" quences."

To this Richard replied; " Every one shall see I
" will do no body any harm. I never have done
" any, nor ever will. I shall be very much troubled
" if any one is injured upon my account; and instead
" of taking away the life of the least person in the
" nation for the preservation of my greatness, which
" is a burden to me, I would not have a drop of blood
" spilt." " Do you think," replies the Colonel,
" this moderation of your's will repay the wrong
" your family has committed by its elevation?
" Every body knows that, by violence, your father
" procured the death of the late King, and kept his
" sons in banishment. If the father's crimes cry
" for vengeance, shall the son have them passed over
" in silence? Mercy in the present state is unrea-
" sonable. We may shed that blood that strives to
" shed our's, without being blood-thirsty, or cruel.
" Though conscience may sometimes obstruct a So-
" vereign's sacrificing an innocent person to his am-
" bition, it does not oppose his executing a criminal
" for his own safety. Lay aside this pusillanimity
" so unbecoming the successor of Cromwell. Be
" quick, for every moment is precious. Consider
" your enemies spend this time in acting, which we
" waste in consulting." But, instead of rousing his resentment against his perfidious relations, he returned his thanks for the Colonel's zeal, and said, " talk no
" more of it, my resolution is fixed. Violent coun-
" sels suit not with me; and all you can persuade
" me to by what you now give, is, that it proceeds
" from true friendship, for which I am thankful
" (4)."

(4) Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. p. 330—332.

redress

redreſs and proviſion which had been voted in Richard Cromwell's favour, he ſtill remained at Whitehall; and when, at length, he was obliged to leave it in conſequence of a reſolution that it ſhould be cleared in ſix days of all perſons whomſoever, excepting ſuch as ſhould be allowed by Parliament, he did not retire to his Seat at Hurſley, but went to the Palace of Hampton Court, where he reſided for ſome time. The alarm occaſioned by this ſtep was productive of conſequences that might have been very advantageous to him, had not the ſubſequent changes prevented all farther tranſactions relative to him and his affairs (*o*).

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 164—168.

During the ſitting of the Long Parliament, and through the frequent revolutions that followed, Richard continued totally inactive. Some, indeed, who had leſs to fear from his Reſtoration than from that of his Majeſty, wiſhed to ſee him Protector again. This is underſtood to have been eſpecially the caſe with regard to Lambert, who is repreſented as having ſtrongly ſolicited Colonel Ingoldſby to join with him in the buſineſs. But the Colonel was convinced that any ſuch attempt was now too late; beſides which, he had already made his peace with the King. On the meeting of the healing Parliament Richard Cromwell retired to Hurſley; and, on the very day in which Charles the Second's return was voted, he reſigned the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of Oxford. The reſignation is expreſſed in terms which do honour to his underſtanding and his diſpoſition. It was as follows:

"For the Vice-Chancellor and Convention of the Univerſity of Oxford.

"Gentlemen,

"I ſhall always retain a hearty ſenſe of my former obligations to you in your free "election of me to the office of your Chancellor; and it is no ſmall trouble to my "thoughts, when I conſider how little ſerviceable I have been to you in that relation. "But ſince the All-wiſe Providence of God, (which I deſire always to adore, and bow "down unto) has been pleaſed to change my condition, that I am not in a capacity "to anſwer the ends of the office, I thought I ſhould not be faithful to you, if I did "not reſign it up into your hands, that you might have opportunity to chooſe ſome "other perſon, who, in the preſent ſtate of things, may be more fit and able to ſerve "you. I do hereupon moſt freely reſign and give up all my right and intereſt in that "office; but ſhall always retain my affection and eſteem for you, with my prayers "for your continual proſperity; that, amidſt the many examples of the inſtability and "revolutions of human affairs, you may ſtill abide flouriſhing and fruitful.

"Gentlemen,

"HURSLEY, "Your affectionate friend and ſervant,

"May 8, 1660. R. CROMWELL (*p*)." (*p*) *Ibid.* p. 168, 169. 339.

As Richard was ſenſible how obnoxious he muſt be to a Monarch who was come home to take poſſeſſion of the kingdoms which for ſo many years had been withheld from him, and the Sovereignty of which had been occupied by the Cromwells, he judged it prudent to retire to the Continent. It is remarkable that his name was not mentioned in either Houſe of Parliament; and Lord Clarendon aſſerts, that he fled "more for fear of his debts than of the King; who thought it not neceſſary to enquire after a man ſo long forgotten." He tranſported himſelf to France, and, according to the ſame author, reſided ſome years at Paris, "untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a moſt obſcure condition and diſguiſe, not owning his name, nor having above one ſervant to attend him." When there happened to be a rumour and apprehenſion that a war was likely to fall out between England and France, Richard determined to quit that country, and to remove to ſome neutral place. The city he pitched upon was Geneva, to which he made his way by Bourdeaux, and through the Province of Languedoc. In the courſe of his journey he came to Pezenas, a very pleaſant town belonging to the Prince of Conti, who had a handſome Palace there, at which he then reſided, being at that time the Governor of the Province. "In this place," ſays Lord Clarendon, "Richard made ſome ſtay, and "walking abroad to entertain himſelf with a view of the ſituation, and the many things "worth the ſeeing, he met with a perſon who well knew him, and was well known by "him, the other having always been of his father's, and of his party; ſo that they were "glad enough to find themſelves together. The other told him, that all ſtrangers who "came to that town, uſed to wait upon the Prince of Conti, the Governor of the Pro-"vince, who expected it, and always treated ſtrangers, and particularly the Engliſh, "with much civility: that he need not be known, but that he himſelf would firſt go to "the Prince, and inform him, that another Engliſh Gentleman was paſſing through that "town towards Italy, who would be glad to have the honour to kiſs his hand. The "Prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural cuſtom, and, "after a few words, began to diſcourſe of the affairs of England, and aſked many queſtions "concerning the King, and whether all men were quiet, and ſubmitted obediently to him; "which the other anſwered briefly, according to the truth. "Well," ſaid the Prince, "Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great

"courage,

" courage, and was worthy to command; but that Richard, that coxcomb, *coquin, pol-*
" *tron*, was ſurely the baſeſt fellow alive. What is become of that fool? How was it
" poſſible he could be ſuch a ſot?" He anſwered, that he was betrayed by thoſe whom
" he moſt truſted, and who had been moſt obliged by his father;" ſo being weary of his
" viſit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the
" Prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned ſo kindly.
" And within two days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had
" treated ſo well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not
" very glad of the King's reſtoration (*q*)." This pleaſant ſtory has been taken notice of by ſeveral writers; and ſome have made remarks upon it that are favourable to Richard Cromwell. After what has been already ſaid in his vindication, we ſhall only obſerve, that the Prince of Conti appears to have been a man who did not think that ſcruples ſhould hinder any perſon from reſolving to wade through blood and ſlaughter to a throne.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, and Civil Wars of England, vol. iii. Part 2nd, page 662, 663.

Richard did not continue long at Geneva. The alarm which occaſioned his leaving France proving groundleſs, he returned to that country; where he reſided (with the exception of another ſhort interval ſpent at Geneva, and for the ſame reaſon) till about the year 1680. At this time, having overcome his pecuniary difficulties, and knowing the unpopularity of the Court, he ventured to return to England. The place which he fixed upon for his reſidence was Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, a village within twelve miles of London. Here he lived under the name of Richard Clark, Eſq; and was little known, excepting by a few ſelect friends. But though he courted privacy and retirement, he did not abſtain from ſocial intercourſe; making occaſional viſits to his acquaintance, to the moſt intimate of whom he cautiouſly avoided ſpeaking of his former elevation. Dr. Watts, who had frequently been in his company, uſed to ſay, that he never knew him glance at his former ſtation above once, and that in a very diſtant manner (*r*).

(*r*) Noble's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 172, 173.

It might have been expected that Richard had now weathered every ſtorm, and that he would have deſcended to the grave in peace. This, however, was not the caſe. In 1705, he loſt his only ſon, Oliver, who died on the eleventh of May, having never married. By this event Richard became entitled to a life eſtate in the Manor of Hurſley, which, having been part of his wife's jointure, had devolved to Oliver, in right of his mother. In conſequence of his ſon's deceaſe, the old Gentleman ſent his youngeſt daughter to take poſſeſſion of the eſtate; which ſhe accordingly did; but not, it ſeems, with a view of ſurrendering it to her father. She and her ſiſters, it is ſaid, forgetting their duty, and even the dictates of humanity, refuſed to give it up to him; alledging that he was ſuperannuated, and propoſing to allow him a ſmall yearly ſum. This conduct was the more criminal, as he had ever been very fond of his children, and had treated them with the greateſt tenderneſs and affection. The advanced age of Richard did not prevent him from behaving, on the preſent occaſion, with a becoming ſpirit. He ſcorned to ſubmit to the award of his daughters, and a proceſs at law was the conſequence. As he was obliged to appear in perſon in court, his ſiſter, Lady Fauconberg, ſent her coach and equipage, to conduct him thither. When he came, the judge, remembering his former elevation, conducted him into an apartment where refreſhments were provided for him; and, on his being brought into court, ordered that he ſhould be accommodated with a chair, and that he ſhould ſit covered. One of the Counſel on the other ſide ſeeming diſpoſed to object to this indulgence, the liberal minded magiſtrate immediately replied, " I will allow of no reflections to be made, but that you go to the merits of the cauſe." In concluſion, a decree was given in favour of Richard, accompanied with ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the ſhameful treatment he had received from his daughters. It is underſtood that the Judge was commended by Queen Anne, for the proper attention he had ſhewn to a man who had once been a Sovereign. The principal Counſellor retained by Richard was Thomas Pengelly, Eſq; who, in the reign of George the Firſt, became Chief Baron of the Exchequer. This Gentleman exerted himſelf with uncommon zeal in favour of his Client, and was much approved for his conduct in the affair. There was, at that time, a prevalent report, that he was the natural ſon of his employer. However this may have been; it is certain that a great friendſhip ſubſiſted between Richard Cromwell and Mrs. Pengelly the mother of the Counſellor [*E*]. As the old Gentleman was going from Weſtminſter Hall, his curioſity led him to viſit the Houſe of Peers. Being aſked there, by a perſon, to whom he was a ſtranger, if he had ever heard or ſeen any thing like it before, he replied, " never ſince I ſat in that Chair," pointing to the Throne (*s*).

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 173—175.

[*E*] *It is certain that great friendſhip ſubſiſted between Richard Cromwell and Mrs. Pengelly, the mother of the Counſellor.*] The report of Sir Thomas Pengelly's having been the natural ſon of Richard, is confirmed by Lord Egmont, in his manuſcript collections. It has been enquired who the Judge was that behaved with ſo much reſpect to the former protector. According to the Earl of Egmont and Mr. Hewling Luſon, it was the Lord Chancellor Cowper. Mr. Granger ſays, that it was the Lord Chief Juſtice Holt. The queſtion depends upon the court in which the cauſe was tried. If the trial was at the King's Bench, Holt was the Judge; if in the Court of Chancery, it muſt have been Lord Cowper. Cowper preſided in the Court of Chancery, from the 11th of October, 1705, to the 25th of September, 1710. We mention this circumſtance, becauſe it has been miſtaken by Mr. Noble (5).

(5) Granger, vol. iii. p. 14. Hughes's Letters, vol. ii. App. p. 52. 53. Cowper's Article in this volume.

Richard

Richard Cromwell enjoyed a good ſtate of health to the lateſt period of his life; and his activity was ſo great, that at fourſcore, he would gallop his horſe for ſeveral miles together. In his laſt illneſs, and juſt before his departure, he ſaid to his daughters, "Live in "love, I am going to the God of Love." His deceaſe took place on the 12th of July, 1712, in the eighty ſixth year of his age. It is ſomewhat uncertain whether Cheſhunt or Theobalds was the place of his death; but the general account is, that he died at Cheſhunt, at the Houſe of Serjeant Pengelly. His remains were conducted with conſiderable funeral pomp, to Hurſley, and depoſited in the Chancel of that Church, near to thoſe of his Lady. In his laſt will, which was made on the firſt of July, being no more than twelve days before his deceaſe, he remembered ſeveral of his acquaintance; and, among the reſt, he bequeathed to his good friend Mrs. Rachael Pengelly, "the little picture with the gold chain." His ſiſter Mary, Counteſs of Fauconberg, was appointed his executrix. It is obſervable that his daughters are not named in the will. Perhaps he had but a ſmall perſonal fortune, and he knew that they would ſucceed of courſe to the eſtate of Hurſley, which was an ample patrimony. Had he poſſeſſed ever ſo much, their conduct gave them no title to be particularly diſtinguiſhed (*t*).

(*t*) Noble's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 176, 177.

Very unfavourable, and, in our opinion, very unjuſt accounts have been given, by the generality of writers, of Richard Cromwell's abilities. Such accounts ſeem to have originated, in a great meaſure, from a ſecret contempt which has been entertained of him becauſe he would not ſupport his illegal power by plunging into the deepeſt iniquity. That he had a good underſtanding we truſt has already been ſufficiently evinced: and though he cannot be ſaid to have been of an enterprizing temper, he could behave with ſpirit on proper occaſions. When the army deſerted him, excepting one troop of horſe, ſeeing Whalley's regiment alſo filing off, he opened his breaſt, and deſired them to put an end at once to his misfortunes and his life. At the time in which Fleetwood, Deſborough, and others, endeavoured to perſuade him to diſſolve his Parliament, and even proceeded ſo far as to threaten him if he did not adopt that meaſure, he withſtood all their arguments, menaces, and ſolicitations until the next morning, though he had no perſon near to ſupport him in the conteſt, beſides Secretary Thurloe. A pleaſant magnanimity was diſplayed by him on his quitting Whitehall. Having given ſtrict orders to his ſervants to be very careful of two old trunks which ſtood in his wardrobe, a friend, who was with him, aſked him the reaſon of his particular ſolicitude about them. "Why," replied he, "they contain no leſs than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England." The trunks were filled with the addreſſes which had been preſented to him, from every part of the kingdom, on his acceſſion to power, and in which the addreſſers promiſed to ſupport him at the expence of all that was near and dear to them. Theſe addreſſes he always carefully preſerved [*F*]. The general practice of addreſſing commenced on Richard's ſucceeding to the Protectorate (*u*). It was unfortunate in its origin; but has been wide in its example. The extent to which it has ſince been carried, ſometimes as an engine of policy, ſometimes as the effervеſcence of public ſpirit, and ſometimes as the effect of genuine loyalty, cannot be unknown to our readers.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 179–181.

Richard Cromwell was repreſented by the Republicans as a man of little religion; one cauſe of which was, his reply to an inferior officer, who had publicly murmured at the advancement of ſome Cavaliers, and was taken to Whitehall to anſwer the charge. "What," ſaid the Protector, in a deriding manner, "would you have me prefer none "but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldſby, who can neither pray nor preach; and yet "I will truſt him before you all." This, however, only implies that he was aware of the hypocriſy and cant of the times. In a letter which was written, in 1659, to John Winthorpe, Eſq; Governor of Connecticut, in New England, he is deſcribed as a very worthy perſon indeed, of an engaging nature, and religious diſpoſition, paying great reſpect to the beſt of men, miniſters, and others. In the latter part of his life he attended divine worſhip regularly every Sunday. Mr. Neal, who ſays that Richard in his early years had not the zeal for religion, which was then faſhionable, has teſtified that he was a man

[*F*] *Theſe addreſſes he always preſerved.*] A curious anecdote on this ſubject was related to the late Rev. George North, Vicar of Codicote, near Welwyn, Herts, by two perſons who converſed with Richard in the laſt years of his life, at Cheſhunt. None were admitted to viſit him, but ſuch as had ſtrong recommendations from ſome of his intimate acquaintance, as being men of an agreeable and chearful converſation, and of ſtrict honour. One of the two perſons juſt mentioned, who lived at Ware, was recommended under this character, and introduced to him, with an admonition to conform to the old Gentleman's peculiarities, without aſking any queſtions, or ſeeming to make obſervations. After an hour or two had been ſpent in converſation, and in drinking, Richard ſtarted up, took the candle, and was followed by the reſt of the company, (who all, excepting the laſt admitted man, knew what was going forward) carrying the bottle and the glaſſes into a dirty garret, where was nothing but a round hair trunk. This Mr. Cromwell pulled out to the middle of the room, and calling for a bumper of wine, drank proſperity to old England. The company did the ſame, when the new gueſt was called to do ſo, ſitting aſtride on the trunk, as all of them had done. Richard deſired him to ſit light, as he had no leſs under him than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England. The trunk was then opened, and the original addreſſes ſhewed him with great mirth and laughter. Such was Richard's method of initiating a new acquaintance (6). This anecdote was communicated to Mr. Noble by Dr. Lort, to whom ſeveral Biographers, and ourſelves in particular, are ſo greatly indebted.

(6) Noble's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 181, 182.

of great gravity and real piety. However, even in old age, he was ſo far from being an auſtere perſon, that he often gave way to innocent pleaſantry. He poſſeſſed many amiable qualifications, and was much beloved by his friends, with ſome of whom he kept up a correſpondence to his death. Mr. Howe, Mr. White, and Mr. Penn, were in the number of his correſpondents. The firſt of theſe had been his domeſtic Chaplain; and when that Gentleman was upon his death-bed, Richard went to pay him a reſpectful viſit, and to take a laſt farewell of him. It is ſaid that tears were ſhed on both ſides, and that the parting was very ſolemn. From various teſtimonies it appears, that Mr. Cromwell was highly eſteemed in his neighbourhood; that there was no kind of blemiſh upon his character; that he was a perfect Gentleman in his behaviour; and was well acquainted with public affairs (*w*).

(*w*) Noble's Mem. *ubi ſupra*, p. 182—184. Neal's Hiſt. of of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 260.

It is ſomewhat extraordinary that there is no coin or medal of Richard Cromwell. His Great Seal was cut by the inimitable Simon, and has been engraved by Vertue. Some pictures of him are in the poſſeſſion of different perſons; and there are ſeveral prints of him, executed by various hands. Concerning his wife Dorothy, very little is known. So far ſhe has been happy, that amongſt the illiberal things that have been levelled againſt the Protectoral Houſe of Cromwell, her character is almoſt the only one that ſcandal has left untouched. It is thought ſhe never ſaw her huſband after he retired to France. She was married at Hurſley, on the firſt of May, 1649; and died on the fifth of January, 1675-6, in the forty-ninth year of her age. The character given of her is, that "ſhe was a prudent, godly, practical Chriſtian (*x*)."] K.

(*x*) Noble's Mem. *ubi ſupra*, p. 185—188. To the ſame work, p. 189—196, we refer for an account of Richard Cromwell's children.

*** [CROMWELL (HENRY), the youngeſt ſurviving ſon of the Protector Oliver, and, for a ſhort time, Lord Deputy and Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland, was born at Huntingdon on the twentieth of January, 1627-28, and baptized at the Church of All Saints in that town, on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month. His education, together with that of his brothers, was finiſhed at Felſted School, in the county of Eſſex. Being of a military diſpoſition, his father placed him in the army of the Parliament at the age of ſixteen; and, in 1647, when he had not completed his twentieth year, he had riſen to be Captain of the General Sir Thomas Fairfax's Life Guard. In Auguſt, 1649, he accompanied Oliver into Ireland, to quell the Roman catholic Rebellion, having, at that time, attained to the rank of a Colonel. Whilſt he was in this ſervice, he made an attack, in conjunction with Lord Broghill, upon the quarters of the enemy, in which a hundred and ſixty of them were killed. At the ſame time, a hundred and twenty foot, with their officers, and a hundred and fifty gallant horſe, were taken priſoners. This action took place in April, 1650; and in the following year Henry Cromwell aſſiſted at the ſiege of Limerick. When the little, or Barebones Parliament, as it was called, aſſembled, in 1653, he was returned one of the repreſentatives for the kingdom of Ireland. In the ſame year he was ſent again into that Iſland, for the purpoſe of examining its condition, of diſcovering the temper of the people, and of reconciling them to the government of his father. This was a delicate and difficult taſk; but he performed it with admirable wiſdom and diſcretion. The ruling powers, at that time, were the zealous Republicans. With regard to theſe men, Henry Cromwell found, or thought he found, that they had taken more care of themſelves than of the people; and that they were ſo much in love with their power and places, that it would be improper to permit them any longer to retain important ſituations in the kingdom. Upon Ludlow, one of the moſt ſteady and determined amongſt them, he could make no impreſſion. That high ſpirited Gentleman preſerved the conſiſtency of his principles, and would not ſtoop to promiſe ſubjection to the government of a man whom he looked upon as an uſurper, and a betrayer of the cauſe for which they had ſo long been fighting. The Protector, who was well acquainted with the jealous temper of the Republicans, and knew that they would be offended if his ſon affected ſtate and grandeur in his manner of coming to Ireland, ſent him without any other title than plain Henry Cromwell, and he was attended only by one ſervant. However, even the Common wealth party thought proper to receive him with the greateſt ceremony and reſpect. As he landed near Ludlow's country ſeat, that Commander ſent his coach to conduct him thither; and here he was met by his brother-in-law Fleetwood, who, with ſeveral other perſons of rank, came with their carriages, and conveyed him with due ſolemnity to Dublin. Such was Henry Cromwell's behaviour in this viſit to Ireland, that he was highly valued by the people in general of that country; nor was the eſtimation he was held in confined to that kingdom, but extended to England. When, on his return, he arrived at Cheſter, many of the Gentlemen who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in favour of Charles the Firſt, waited upon him to teſtify their regard to his character; and, among the reſt, a Colonel Moſſon, who had been an officer in the King's army. In this interview, the Colonel having aſked Henry how he left Ireland, he replied, "very well, only ſome who are in love with their power muſt be removed." Henry afterwards manifeſted his gratitude for the civilities he had repeatedly received from that Gentleman, by ſtrongly, and we may ſuppoſe effectually interceding for his enlargement, when, in 1658, he was ſecured, together with ſome other

other Cavaliers, who had fought during the civil war, in his Majeſty's ſervice (*a*).

(*a*) Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral Houſe of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 197—199.

Soon after Henry Cromwell had returned to England, in 1653, he married a daughter of Sir Francis Ruſſel, Bart. and for ſome time chiefly reſided at Whitehall. Part of 1654 was ſpent by him at his father-in-law's ſeat, at Chippenham in Cambridgeſhire; and in this year he was appointed one of the Viſitors who were ſent by the Protector to the Univerſity of Cambridge. In the ſame year he was choſen one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for that Univerſity. In 1655, he was again ſent into Ireland, though with no other commiſſion than that of Major General, to prevent the Governors of that kingdom, and Fleetwood in particular, from being diſguſted. When he came to Cheſter, he remained there from the ſecond of June to the twenty-third of the ſame month; and on that day he diſpatched a letter to Thurloe, Secretary of State, acquainting him, that he had been treated, both by the country in his journey, and by the city where he then was, with a great deal of reſpect. From Cheſter he went to Holyhead, where he arrived on the fifth of July. Here he was much concerned to find that there were only two Miniſters in the whole Iſland of Angleſea; and he requeſted that an order might be made to increaſe the number of clergy in that country. During ſome time which he ſpent in theſe weſtern parts of the kingdom, he was conſtantly treated with every mark of eſteem, and particularly by the Cavaliers. This did not appear a little criminal in the eyes of Ludlow, eſpecially as Henry Cromwell was again entertained at Colonel Moſſon's in North Wales, where the ſaid Colonel drank the Protector's health. The ſame author was far from being pleaſed with the welcome reception which Henry met with on his return to Ireland. "Upon his arrival," ſays Ludlow, "in the Bay of Dublin, the men of war "that accompanied him, and other ſhips in the harbour, rung ſuch a peal with their "cannon, as if ſome great good news had been coming to us; and though the uſual "place of landing for thoſe who come in ſhips of war was near my houſe, yet he and "his company went up in boats to the rings end, where they went aſhore, and were "met there by moſt of the officers, civil and military, about town (*b*)."

(*b*) Noble's Mem. *ubi ſupra*, p. 199—201. Ludlow's Mem. vol. ii. p. 534.

Great caution and ſecrecy were uſed by Henry Cromwell, for ſome time, to cover the real buſineſs on which he was ſent; and it was at firſt thought that he only came over to command the army as Major-General, under Lieutenant-General Fleetwood. But by degrees his deſigns became more and more apparent. At length, when he found that it would be impoſſible any longer to curb the ſpirit of the Republicans, who were ſecretly ſupported by Fleetwood, he produced a commiſſion by which he was conſtituted Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and Commander in Chief in that kingdom. However, to qualify what it was known would be diſtaſteful to many perſons, others were joined with him in the adminiſtration of civil affairs. But nothing could reconcile the minds of the officers of the army. As they had long been accuſtomed to oppreſs the natives, and to advance their own fortunes by the confiſcation of the eſtates of the Iriſh, they were far from approving the government of one who was likely to put a ſtop to their exceſſes. Beſides this, Henry did not view their political ſentiments in the moſt favourable light. He wiſhed, by moderation and condeſcenſion, to unite the whole kingdom, and to conciliate the affections of the different parties to each other. To fruſtrate, therefore, his deſigns, the officers had the boldneſs to petition the Protector to reſtore their old Chief Governor, Fleetwood, who coincided with them in their principles, and whoſe weak underſtanding they could eaſily render ſubſervient to their projects. In this criſis Henry conducted himſelf with no ſmall degree of prudence and addreſs. The petition of the officers was counteracted by another of the oppoſite party in favour of the new Lord Deputy; and in a letter from the Church of Dublin, to Oliver, ſigned by many of the Miniſters, an entire approbation is given of his ſon's conduct; for his equal juſtice; his mercy to the poor; his charity to all good men, though different in religious ſentiments; and for the reſpect and reverence he ſhewed for religion. Indeed, Henry Cromwell, by the liberal and equitable ſpirit of his adminiſtration, by his impartiality and benevolence, ſoon reconciled the Iriſh to their Governor. Though the nation was depopulated and exhauſted, and, at the ſame time, oppreſſed with aſſeſſments; though the military eſtabliſhment could not be ſupported, and the partiality of Oliver to the officers who had eſpouſed his cauſe, prevented any ſcheme of a reduction; though his grants to particular creatures impoveriſhed the revenue; and though in conſequence of the other urgent concerns of the Protector, the affairs of Ireland were ſometimes totally neglected; amidſt all theſe difficulties, Henry acted with ſo much ſkill and vigour for the public welfare, that the country was in a far more happy and proſperous condition than it had been for a long ſeries of years. His father ſaid, that his ſon was a Governor from whom he himſelf might learn. So firmly did the Lord Deputy eſtabliſh his authority in the hearts of a people, who were ingenuous enough to acknowledge the merits of his adminiſtration, that they were entirely reconciled to the intereſts of Oliver. When a petition was ſent to Oliver from the officers of his own regiment, avowing their diſſatisfaction with his ſon's Government, addreſſes were tranſmitted from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expreſſing their reſolution of adhering to the Protector againſt all thoſe whoſe particular animoſities endeavoured to re-embroil the public. But notwithſtanding theſe flattering

flattering teſtimonies in Henry's favour, and the eſteem which he, in general, acquired by his wiſe and zealous meaſures for the common benefit, he was ſurrounded with ſo many embarraſſments, that his letters are full of complaints; and he declared his wiſh to Secretary Thurloe, that he might be permitted to lay down his office, and retire to a private life (*c*).

(*c*) Noble, *ubi ſupra*, p. 201—206. Leland's Hiſt. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 401.

On the death of his father, with which event Henry appears to have been deeply affected, he took care to have his brother Richard's acceſſion to the Protectorate proclaimed and acknowledged with all due ſolemnity in Ireland; and the ſame aſſurances of ſupport were renewed to the new Sovereign, which had been given to Oliver. The ſatisfaction and joy in Ireland, upon the occaſion, was as general and as great as they had been in England. There is no doubt but that Henry contributed principally to this; not only by his power as Governor, but by the influence ariſing from the popularity of his character. He was, indeed, very zealous for the intereſts of his brother, which he diſplayed, among other inſtances, in giving ſuch advice to him and to Fleetwood, as reflects no ſmall credit upon the ſoundneſs of his own underſtanding, and the goodneſs of his heart [*A*]. His Commiſſion to the Government of Ireland was now renewed under the title of Lord-Lieutenant. However, it was an addition of honour only, and not of advantage, that was gained by this title. On the contrary, the new commiſſion was ſo modified by the Privy Council, and contained ſo many reſtrictions and limitations, that Henry had much reaſon to be diſſatisfied. When the Intelligence was brought of the diſſolution of Richard's Parliament, and the intrigues at Wallingford-Houſe, the Lord-Lieutenant exerted himſelf

[*A*] *As reflects no ſmall credit upon the ſoundneſs of his underſtanding, and the goodneſs of his heart.*] What is aſſerted above will be confirmed by two letters which have been preſerved by Mr Neal, in his hiſtory of the Puritans; the firſt written to Richard, the ſecond to Fleetwood. They are as follows:

"In his letter of October 20, 1658, he ſays, if the account be true which I have received of the ſtate of affairs in England, I confeſs it is no more than I looked for; only I had ſome hopes it might have been prevented by keeping all officers at their reſpective charges; but as things now ſtand, I doubt the flood is ſo ſtrong you can neither ſtem it, nor come to an anchor, but muſt be content to go adrift and expect the ebb. I thought thoſe whom my father had raiſed from nothing would not ſo ſoon have forgot him, and endeavour to deſtroy his family before he is in his grave. Why do I ſay I thought, when I know ambition, and affectation of empire never had any bounds. I cannot think theſe men will ever reſt till they are in the ſaddle; and we have of late years been ſo uſed to changes, that it will be but a nine day's wonder; and yet I fear there is no remedy, but what muſt be uſed gradually and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament, but am doubtful whether ſober men will venture to embark themſelves when things are in ſo high a diſtraction; or if they would, whether the army can be reſtrained from forceing elections.—I am almoſt afraid to come over to your highneſs, leſt I ſhould be kept there, and ſo your highneſs loſe this army, which, for ought I know, is the only ſtay you have, though I cannot but earneſtly deſire it. I alſo think it dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no queſtion but all the letters will be opened that paſs between us, unleſs they come by a truſty meſſenger. I pray God help you, and bleſs your councils.

"I remain, yours, &c.

"H. C."

"Dear Brother,

"I received your account of the petition of the officers; but pray give me leave to expoſtulate with you; how came theſe two or three hundred officers together? If they came of their own heads, their being abſent from their charge without licenſe would have flown in their face when they petitioned for a due obſervance of martial diſcipline. If they were called together, were they not alſo taught what to ſay and do? If they were called, was it with his highneſs's privity? If they met without leave in ſo great a number, were they told their error? I ſhall not meddle with the matter of their petition; but, dear brother, I muſt tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown upon his late highneſs at that great meeting: that they were exhorted to ſtand up for that good old cauſe which had long lain aſleep. I thought my father had purſued it to the laſt. He died, praying for thoſe that deſired to trample on his duſt. Let us then not render evil for good, and make his memory ſtink before he is under ground. Let us remember his laſt legacy, and for his ſake render his ſucceſſor conſiderable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a by-word. Whither do theſe things tend? What a hurly-burly is there? One hundred independant miniſters called together; a council, as you call it, of two or three hundred officers of a regiment. Remember what has always befallen impoſing ſpirits. Will not the loins of an impoſing independent, or anabaptiſt, be as heavy as the loins of an impoſing prelate, or preſbyter? And is it a dangerous opinion, that *dominion is founded in grace*, when it is held by the church of Rome, and a ſound principle when it is held by the fifth monarchy men. Dear brother, let us not fall into the ſins of other men, leſt we partake of their plagues. Let it be ſo carried, that all the people of God, though under different forms; yea, even thoſe whom you count without, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty; and that no one party may tread upon the neck of another. It does not become the magiſtrate to deſcend into parties; but can the things you do tend to this end? Can theſe things be done, and the world not think his highneſs a knave or a fool, or oppreſſed with mutinous ſpirits? Dear brother, my ſpirit is ſorely oppreſſed with the conſideration of the miſerable ſtate of the innocent people of theſe nations: what have theſe ſheep done that their blood ſhould be the price of our luſt and ambition? Let me beg you to remember, how his late highneſs loved you; how he honoured you with the higheſt truſt, by leaving the ſword in your hand, which muſt defend or deſtroy us. And his declaring his highneſs his ſucceſſor, ſhews, that he left it there to preſerve him and his reputation. O brother! uſe it to curb extravagant ſpirits, and buſy-bodies, but let not the nations be governed by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the known laws of the land; and let all things be kept in their proper channels; and let the army be ſo governed, that the world may never hear of them unleſs there be occaſion to fight. And truly, brother, you muſt pardon me, if I ſay God and man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all miſcarriages of the army, in point of diſcipline, at your doors. You ſee I deal freely and plainly with you, as becomes your friend, and a good ſubject. And the great God, in whoſe preſence I ſpeak, knows that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulneſs to you. And you may reſt aſſured, that you ſhall always find me,

"Your true friend, and loving brother,

"H. C. (1)."

(1) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. iv. p. 212—214.

ſelf with peculiar vigour to ſupport the tottering power of his brother; and on the reſtoration of the Rump Parliament, he laboured to prevent the diſorders which might ariſe from ſo ſudden a revolution. A proclamation was iſſued by him to preſerve the peace; and after a conſultation with his officers, he ſent agents to the Council of State in England, with propoſals relative to the civil and military government of Ireland. Theſe propoſals being referred to the Parliament, ſome ordinances were made for the benefit of the adventurers and ſoldiers; and at the ſame time it was reſolved, that the country ſhould again be put into the hands of Commiſſioners; that Henry Cromwell ſhould be recalled; and that Ludlow ſhould be appointed to command the forces of the Commonwealth in that kingdom. Henry had already declared to Fleetwood, "that, although he could not promiſe ſo "much affection to the late changes as others very honeſtly might, becauſe he could not "promote any thing which inferred a diminution of his late father's honour and merit, yet "he had ſuch a tenderneſs for peace as to be content with the preſent Government; and, "therefore he thought it his duty to prevent thoſe fears and jealouſies which might give "occaſion to interrupt the public peace, by reſigning his charge to any one whom they "ſhould ſend to receive it." The new Commiſſioners were either not acquainted with his ſentiments, or ſuſpected his ſincerity. They were ſenſible, at the ſame time, of his abilities, his popularity, and his power in Ireland; and hence were led to imagine that he would retain his authority by force. Their fears in this reſpect were groundleſs: for when Sir Hardreſs Waller was employed to ſurprize the Caſtle of Dublin, he was admitted without the leaſt oppoſition, and Henry Cromwell retired to a Houſe in Phœnix Park. He had adminiſtered the government with ſo great a diſregard to his private intereſt, that he could not immediately command as much money as would be ſufficient to defray the expences of his voyage to England. Indeed, ſuch was the integrity of his diſpoſition, that, in a letter to his brother, he could ſay, "I will rather ſubmit to any ſufferings with "a good name, than be the greateſt man upon earth without it (*d*)."

(*d*) Leland, *ubi ſupra*, p. 401—403. Noble, *ubi ſupra*, p. 206—210. Neale's Hiſtory of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 211.

After Henry Cromwell had arrived in England, and waited on the Parliament, he retired into the country, where he continued without taking any part in the various ſucceeding revolutions. He probably thought himſelf happy in quitting a ſtation, which, though elevated and ſplendid, had been expoſed to ſo many difficulties that it never afforded him any ſatisfaction. It is underſtood, that he was far from being diſpleaſed with his Majeſty's reſtoration. When that event happened, he was not only included in the Act of Indemnity, but appears to have received ſome mark of favour from the King, of which he expreſſed a very grateful ſenſe, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, through whoſe interpoſition the benefit was obtained [*B*]. For ſome years Henry Cromwell reſided with his father and brother in-law, Sir Francis and Sir John Ruſſel; after which he removed to his eſtate at Spinney Abbey, near Soham, in Cambridgeſhire, a very retired ſituation. In the houſe belonging to this eſtate, which was worth between five and ſix hundred pounds a year, he ſpent the remainder of his days, deſcending from the toilſome grandeur of governing men, to the humble and happy occupation of huſbandry. There is a tradition that he was once honoured with a viſit from King Charles the Second, when his Majeſty was returning from Newmarket [*C*].

The

[*B*] *Of which he expreſſed a very grateful ſenſe, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, through whoſe interpoſition the benefit was obtained.*] It may be acceptable to our readers to ſee a copy of the letter.

"May it pleaſe your lordſhip,

"When the declaration was framing, I did abhor to bee ſo unreaſonable as to ſeeke any particular proviſion for myſelf in it; but when I ſaw myſelf ſecured by the multitude, and when his majeſty by his ſpecial letters and promiſes declared, that though I had indeed eſcaped in the crowd, yet that hee had a particular mercy for mee; and when I ſaw hee could not be prevailed upon to unſettle others, who perhaps (abating my name) were greater offenders, I did then preſume to inſiſt upon that his mercy; nor could I believe (with ſome) that my ſoe doing was diſhonorable unto his majeſty. And your lordſhip (being above makeing an intereſt by trampling upon the fallen, or by being bitter againſt things that come to paſ by God's ſecret providence) have moſt nobly and chriſtianly patronized me in it, even to ſucceſſe; and for this, in a few words. I give your lordſhip my eternall thanks and prayers.

"I might, perhaps, have better expreſſed theſe my ſentiments ſome other way; yet I have preſumed to doe it thus, by a letter, that there may remayne a teſtimony of infamy upon mee, if ever I abuſe the admirable mercy I have found, either by future diſloyalty to his majeſty, or ingratitude to your lordſhip. And I wiſh your lordſhip would add one favour more, which is to aſſure his moſt excellent majeſty, and his royal highnes (how hard, or needleſs ſoever it be to beleeve me) that few can wiſh their royall perſons, family, or intereſt, more proſperity and eſtabliſhment, then doth,

"may it pleaſe your lordſhip,

"your lordſhip's moſt obedient, moſt humble,

"and moſt oblieged ſervant,

April 9, 1662. "H. CROMWELL (2)."

(2) Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral Houſe of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 347, 348.

[*C*] *There is a tradition that he once was honoured with a viſit from King Charles the Second, when his Majeſty was returning from Newmarket.*] The ſtory, as related by Mr. Noble, we ſhall give in his own words.

"In this employment (huſbandry) he was diſ-"covered by his Sovereign King Charles the Second, "who, in returning from Newmarket, in the month "of September, 1671, expreſſing his wiſh to call at "ſome houſe and take refreſhment, Lord Inchiquin, "Henry's brother-in-law, then with his Majeſty, "obſerved, that there was a very honeſt Gentleman "in the neighbourhood, that would think it an ho-"nour to entertain his Majeſty, which the King was "pleaſed with, and deſired him to conduct them to "his friend's ſeat. When they came into the farm-"yard (which led to the houſe) his Lordſhip, taking "up a muck-fork, and throwing it over his ſhoulder, "went before Mr. Cromwell, who was then in the "yard, and wondering at ſo large a company's com-"ing ſo unexpectedly upon him, and ſtill more at

The death of Henry Cromwell was occaſioned by that dreadful diſorder, the ſtone. His Majeſty being informed of his illneſs by the Earl of Suffolk, expreſſed his regard for him, enquired into the particulars of his complaint, and recommended that certain drops ſhould be given him, of which the King, who had a chemical turn, entertained a high opinion. It was on the twenty-third of March, 1673-74, that Henry departed this life, and in the forty-ſeventh year of his age. Two days after his deceaſe, he was buried within the Communion-Rails of Wicken-Church, cloſe to his mother. After the Reſtoration, he conformed to the Church of England, and died in that Communion. This, however, did not prevent his retaining a great regard for the Nonconformiſts. To Richard Parr, M. A. the ejected Vicar of Chippenham, he afforded a ſeaſonable aſſylum; and it is certain that moſt, if not all, of his deſcendants continued among the Proteſtant Diſſenters. The teſtimonies to the excellence of Henry Cromwell's character are numerous and deciſive. Dr. Leland ſays, that he was penetrating, juſt, and generous. Mr. Neal declares, that he was a wiſe and diſcreet Governor; that, by his prudent conduct, he kept the Iriſh in awe; that he brought that nation into a flouriſhing condition; and that he behaved with ſuch a generous impartiality, as gained him the eſteem even of the Royaliſts themſelves. Cardinal Mazarine acknowledged, that he admired him very much. Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, in a letter to him, ſaid, "You may have many who love his Highneſs's ſon, but "I love Henry Cromwell, were he naked, without all thoſe glorious additions and titles, "which, however, I pray may continue and be encreaſed on you." And the late Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; ſo long Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, than whom no one was a better judge of characters, was of opinion, "that he was truly a great man, and might paſs for "a great man in thoſe great days (*e*)." It is remarkable, that there is no engraved portrait or medal of ſo eminent a perſon. Oliver Cromwell, Eſq; of Eſſex-ſtreet, in the Strand, the ſole male-deſcendant of the family now living, has an original picture of him; the only one, he thinks, that is known (*f*). Mr. Noble, however, has mentioned others. Elizabeth, Henry's Lady, was a woman of exemplary conduct, and elegant manners. She is ſaid to be ſtill remembered in the neighbourhood, by the appellation of the good Lady Cromwell. It is related, that, before her marriage, ſhe had a diſlike to the Protector Oliver; but that, upon her union with the family, all her prejudice was removed, and changed into a very affectionate eſteem for her father-in-law, as the moſt amiable of parents. She ſurvived her huſband ſome years; and dying on the ſeventh of April, 1687, at the age of fifty-two, was buried cloſe to him, in the Church of Wicken (*g*). For an account of Henry Cromwell's poſterity, we refer, as before, to Dr. Gibbons, to Hughes's Letters, to the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, and to Mr. Noble.

(*e*) Leland's Hiſt. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 398. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 181. Noble's Mem. *ubi ſupra*, p. 211—215.

(*f*) From the information of Mr. Cromwell.

(*g*) Noble, *ubi ſupra*, p. 217, 218.

"Thus," ſays the author to whom we have ſo often referred, "the Protectorate Houſe "of Cromwell may not be improperly repreſented as a river, which taking its riſe in the "mountains of Wales, continued long in that Principality; when gently gliding down "the hills of Glamorganſhire, and meandring through various countries, it arrived at the "Imperial Thames; where, having gained great ſtrength, and enlarged its bounds, it "changed its ancient name, and turning its courſe North-Eaſt, rolled on into Hunting-"donſhire, where it loitered a conſiderable time and divided itſelf into various branches. "One of the leaſt of them ſuddenly burſting its banks, ſwelled itſelf into a tremendous "river, which not only ſwallowed up the main ſtream, but at length overflowed three "mighty nations; and by its rapidity, and dreadful violence, ſpread terror throughout the "globe; when it as ſilently, and ſuddenly, returned to far leſs than its original limits; "leaving, however, many noble branches behind it. Ever ſince it has ſoftly murmured "on towards the South; where, inſtead of its former boundleſs current, it is now only "admirable for the clearneſs and goodneſs of its ſtream (*h*).] K.

(*h*) Noble, *ubi ſupra*, p.

"this ceremony of the muck-fork. Nor was the "King without his ſurprize. What, ſays his Ma-"jeſty of Fun, is the reaſon of this? "Why, Sire, "ſays the muck-fork bearer, this Gentleman, be-"fore whom I carry this inſtrument of huſbandry, "is Mr. Henry Cromwell, to whom I had the honour "of being mace-bearer, when he was in Ireland. "Charles laughed, poor Mr. Cromwell was con-"founded; but the eaſe of the Sovereign diſſipated "all diſquietude. The hungry company were treat-"ed with what the hoſpitable Henry had, and they "departed with good humour and pleaſure on all "ſides (3)." Mr. Noble informs us, that this ſtory was communicated by the Rev. Edward Turner, of Burwell, in Cambridgeſhire; and adds, that he has reaſon to ſuppoſe that Mr. Turner is right in his relation, becauſe he is a very curious Gentleman, reſides near the place, and is ſome way allied to the Cromwells. Anecdotes make ſo admirable a figure in convivial intercourſe, and are ſo much ſought for, and delighted in at preſent, that it is an unpleaſing employment to weigh them in too nice a balance. Nevertheleſs, a regard for truth obliges us to point out the incongruities of the above ſtory. We would aſk, in the firſt place, how Lord Inchiquin came to be Henry's brother-in-law? No ſuch circumſtance occurs in all Mr. Noble's elaborate reſearches into the affinities of the Cromwell family. Secondly, was it likely that the eldeſt ſon of a Peer (for the Earl of Inchiquin's father was living at the time of Henry's adminiſtration in Ireland) ſhould condeſcend to the humble office of being mace-bearer to the Lord Lieutenant? Thirdly, there is good reaſon to believe, that this Nobleman, at that very time, reſided abroad with his father. Fourthly, it is probable that Lord Inchiquin, in September, 1671, was at Tangier, of which he was Governor. The fact, we apprehend, is, that, on ſome occaſion or other, King Charles the Second was at Henry Cromwell's houſe; but the circumſtances of the viſit cannot now be aſcertained.

(3) Noble, *ubi ſupra*.

*** [CROXALL (SAMUEL), a Divine of the Church of England, and author of ſeveral ingenious productions, was born at Walton upon Thames in Surrey (*a*); but in what year we are unable to aſcertain. He was ſon of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Croxall, Rector of Hanworth, Middleſex, and Vicar of Walton (*b*). He was educated at Eton School, and from thence was removed to St. John's College, Cambridge. It is ſuppoſed to have been while he was at the Univerſity, that he became enamoured of Mrs. Anna-Maria Mordaunt, to whom he afterwards addreſſed his "Fair Circaſſian," in a dedication, expreſſive of an ardent paſſion, but written in a very bombaſtic ſtile, and with expreſſions that bordered on profaneneſs. Having early imbibed an attachment to the Whig intereſt, he employed his pen in favour of that party during the latter end of Queen Anne's reign; and publiſhed "Two original Cantos, in imitation of Spenſer's Fairy Queen," as a ſatire on the Earl of Oxford's adminiſtration (*c*). In 1715, he addreſſed a Poem to the Duke of Argyle, upon his obtaining a victory over the rebels; and the ſame year publiſhed "The Viſion," a poem, addreſſed to the Earl of Halifax. It was in the year 1720, that he publiſhed "The Fair Circaſſian [*A*]," in 4*to*. but without his name, as he was then probably in orders, and did not think it prudent openly to avow ſuch a performance. Soon after he quitted the univerſity, he was inſtituted to the Vicarage of Hampton in Middleſex (*d*); and in 1722, he publiſhed, "Fables of Æſop, and others, tranſlated into "Engliſh: with inſtructive applications [*B*]." This collection of fables was well received,

(*a*) Lives of the Poets, publiſhed under the name of Cibber, vol. v. p. 288.
(*b*) *Ibid.*
(*c*) New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 240. edit. 1784.
(*d*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *The Fair Circaſſian.*] A ſmall part of this poem was firſt printed in Steele's Miſcellanies, and has been ſince re-printed by Mr. Nichols, in his Select Collection of Poems, vol. iv. p. 120. The Fair Circaſſian is a very free tranſlation, or imitation, of Solomon's Song. As a poetical compoſition it has conſiderable merit, but it is too licentious in its tendency. The eighth edition was printed in 1765. Though Mr. Croxall publiſhed it without his name, and only as written by "a Gentleman Commoner of "Oxford," yet it was ſome years after known to be his, and he was attacked for it with great ſeverity by Mr. Cragg, one of the Miniſters of the city of Edinburgh, who publiſhed a ſmall volume of *Spiritual Poems*, in one of which are the following lines:

'Curſed be he that the Circaſſian wrote,
'Periſh his fame, contempt be all his lot
'Who baſely durſt in execrable ſtrains,
'Turn holy myſteries into impious ſcenes.'

Mr. Cragg alſo expreſſed great indignation at the author of the "Fair Circaſſian," for having 'proſtituted his muſe to the purpoſes of lewdneſs, in 'converting the Song of Solomon into an amorous 'dialogue between a king and his miſtreſs,' and he obſerved, that he could not have expected 'ſuch pro'fanation from a Clergyman (1).'

(1) Lives of the Poets, vol. v. p. 291, 292.

It is obſerved in the notes to the Bible of the Meſſieurs of Port Royal, that Solomon's Song is a 'ſpi'ritual Epithalamium, in which Solomon, animated 'by the ſpirit of God, ſings the praiſes of Jeſus 'Chriſt, and of the Church.' Another writer, after taking notice that there have been various opinions reſpecting the deſign of Solomon's Song, remarks, that 'the moſt generally received is, that we are not 'to ſtick in the primary, and literal ſenſe of this 'book of Solomon, and ſo look upon it as nothing 'but the fond dictates of an earthly paſſion; but we 'are to ſearch for a ſecondary, and a ſpiritual mean'ing; and as the mutual affection of Chriſt, and his 'Church, is frequently in other parts of ſcripture 'deſcribed to us by the tender, and reciprocal affec'tion of the married ſtate, we are to conſider this 'book as a myſtical account of the ſpiritual eſpouſals 'of Chriſt and the Faithful, and to explain the ſeve'ral parts of it by this key (2).' But it is well known that the learned Sebaſtian Caſtalio maintained, that the Song of Solomon was a profane piece, and as ſuch ought to be left out of the canon of ſcripture; and others have adopted ſimilar ſentiments. It has been conſidered as an amorous Paſtoral. The writer, who has been juſt quoted, ſays, 'We may, without any 'heſitation, aſſert, that it is of the paſtoral kind. 'There are not, indeed, *totidem verbis*, ſhepherds and 'ſhepherdeſſes introduced in it. The perſonages, it 'muſt be confeſſed, are of a more diſtinguiſhed cha'racter. But yet the ſcenes are entirely paſtoral, and 'the ſentiments of this piece are evidently ſuch as are 'not near ſo agreeable to any other way of writing. 'We have every where in it vineyards, flocks, flowers, 'birds, trees, gardens, fountains, love, beauty, ſim'plicity, and nature. Nay all its ideas are in a 'manner borrowed from rural ſcenes. At leaſt, there 'are as few inſtances of this rule's being tranſgreſſed, 'as there are in any of the antient paſtorals (3).'— 'It is not improbable, that ſome of the favourers of 'the myſtical interpretation were induced to enter'tain ſuch ſentiments ſolely by finding it among the 'ſacred writings; from whence they but too eaſily 'agreed, that it muſt of neceſſity be explained in this 'allegorical manner; foraſmuch as, if they did not 'look beyond the bare letter of it, it could not be 'thought to have been with any propriety ranked 'among the inſpired volumes (4).'—'The Jews of 'the age of Solomon, out of an affectionate regard to 'their illuſtrious monarch, thought every thing of 'his compoſing ought to be preſerved and given down 'to poſterity, and as they preſerved his *Proverbs* as a 'monument of his wiſdom, and *Eccleſiaſtes* of his re'pentance, they probably choſe this out of many 'others to be kept, as a proof of his gallantry and 'politeneſs. But Rabbins and Targumiſts after'wards aroſe in Iſrael, who knew not Solomon, and 'being fond of ſhewing their deep penetration, gave 'it a new and figurative ſenſe, and immediately 'ranked it among their authentic ſcripture (5).'

(2) Diſſertation on the Song of Solomon, 8vo. 1751, p. 7.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 49.
(4) *Ibid.* p. 17.
(5) *Ibid.* p. 13.

The ſame writer alſo obſerves, that if the Song of Solomon be conſidered only as a mere human compoſition, 'the whole, and every part of it, conſidered 'only in that light, is as eaſy, conſiſtent, and intel'ligible, as can reaſonably be expected in a piece of 'ſuch antiquity (6).'—'There are allegories in other 'parts of ſcripture; yet in the very obſcureſt of them 'there is always ſomething to fix and aſcertain the 'deſign of the author, and to aſſiſt us in inveſtigating 'their meaning. But is this the caſe with the Song 'of Solomon? Is there, through the whole, any the 'leaſt hint given us, that it relates to Chriſt, and his 'Church? or that the Beloved, that is ſpoken of, is 'any other, than Solomon himſelf; or the Fair, that 'is celebrated, any other than his Bride (7)?' This writer alſo remarks, that the name of God is never once mentioned in Solomon's Song, and that this poem is no where quoted, or referred to in the New Teſtament. 'A pure and heavenly flame,' ſays he, 'ſhines through every other part of the Sacred Writ'ings; but who, without doing the greateſt violence 'to reaſon, can diſcover, in this book, any thing but 'a mere earthly paſſion (8)?'

(6) *Ibid.* p. 43.
(7) *Ibid.* p. 18.
(8) *Ibid.* p. 27.

[*B*] *Fables of Æſop, and others*, &c.] In his dedication of this collection to the young Lord Sunbury, ſon to the Earl of Halifax, he ſays, 'Theſe fables 'abound in variety of inſtruction, moral and political. 'They furniſh us with rules for every ſtation of life. 'They mark out a proper behaviour for us, both in 'reſpect of ourſelves and others; and demonſtrate to 'us, by a kind of example, every virtue which claims 'our

ed, and has been much uſed in ſchools. The ninth edition, in 12*mo.* was printed in 1770. Mr. Croxall alſo wrote all the dedications prefixed to the "Select Novels," printed for Watts in 1729 (*e*). He was likewiſe concerned, with ſeveral others, in the tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, of which he performed the ſtory of Niſus and Scylla, the Labyrinth, the funeral of Memnon, Dædalus and Icarus, part of the fable of Cypariſſus, and the greateſt part of the eleventh book (*f*). In February, 1730-31, he was inſtituted to the united pariſhes of St. Mary Somerſet and St. Mary Mountſhaw, in London, which he held till his death. He was alſo Chancellor, Prebendary, Canon Reſidentiary, and Portioniſt of the Church of Hereford, and became Doctor in Divinity. In 1732, he was appointed Chaplain to the King, and was made Archdeacon of Salop in the Dioceſe of Hereford; in 1734, he obtained the Vicarage of Selleck in Herefordſhire; and the following year he publiſhed, in one volume, 8*vo.* 'Scripture Politics: Being a View of the 'Original Conſtitution, and ſubſequent Revolutions, in the Government, religious and 'civil, of that People, out of whom the Saviour of the World was to ariſe: as it is con-'tained in the Bible.' In this work he treats of the Moſaic law, of the Holy Land, the origin of the people of Iſrael, their forms of government, their military affairs, and their religious rites, ceremonies, and eccleſiaſtical officers. It is not a performance of much erudition [*C*], and ſeems chiefly intended to render the Old Teſtament more eaſily underſtood by ordinary readers. In 1750, he publiſhed a poem, entitled, "The Royal Manual;" which he ſtated, in the preface, to be the production of Andrew Marvel; but it was ſuppoſed to have been written by himſelf (*g*). A poem, called, "Colin's Miſtakes," which has been lately re-printed by Mr. Nichols (*h*), has alſo been attributed to Dr. Croxall. He is reported to have chiefly governed the Church of Hereford during the old age of Biſhop Egerton; and it is ſaid, that he pulled down an old ſtone chapel, adjoining to the Palace, and with the materials built part of a houſe for his brother, Mr. Rodney Croxall (*i*). Dr. Croxall died, at a very advanced age, on the 13th of February, 1752 (*k*).] T.

(*e*) Notes to Nichols's Select Collection of Poems, vol. vii. p. 346.
(*f*) Lives of the Poets, *ut ſupra.*
(*g*) *Ibid. ubi ſupra*, p. 293.
(*h*) Select Collection of Poems, vol. vii. p. 345.
(*i*) Nichols's Notes, *ut ſupra.*
(*k*) *Ibid.*

*** [Beſides his other preferments, Dr. Croxall was Houſe Chaplain to the Royal Palace at Hampton Court. While he held this employment, he preached a Sermon on a public occaſion, in which, under the character of a corrupt and wicked Miniſter of State, he was ſuppoſed to mean Sir Robert Walpole. Sir Robert had ſtood in his way to ſome eccleſiaſtical dignity which he wiſhed to obtain. It was expected that the Doctor, for the offence he had given, would have been removed from his Chaplainſhip: but the Court over-ruled it, as he had always manifeſted himſelf to be a zealous friend to the Hanover Succeſſion. To the liſt of his Poems may be added, an Ode, inſcribed to King George the Firſt, on his landing to receive the Crown (*l*).

Dr. Croxall, in the courſe of his life, publiſhed ſix ſingle Sermons. The firſt was preached in 1715, from John xiii. 35, and entitled, "Incendiaries no Chriſtians;" the ſecond in 1723, from Iſaiah xxxviii. 18, 19; the third in 1724, from 1 Timothy iv. 6, at the Conſecration of Biſhop Egerton; the fourth on the 30th of January, 1730, before the Houſe of Commons, from Proverbs xxv. 5; the fifth in 1738, from 2 Samuel xii. 7; the title of which is, "The Royal Sin, or Adultery in a King rebuked;" and the ſixth in 1741, from Pſalm lxxxvii. 7. on the Antiquity, Dignity, and Advantages of Muſick (*m*).

A late author has cenſured Dr. Croxall's Fables, as being above the comprehenſion of thoſe by whom alone they are read, and, at the ſame time, as compoſed in a very mean ſtyle. With regard to his ordinary mode of expreſſion, the writer adds, that it aims at humour without reaching it; that it is totally deſtitute of that elegant ſimplicity in which a narrative of this kind ſhould be preſented to children; and that it were eaſy to fill a volume with the vulgariſms and abſurdities of Croxall's Æſopian Fables (*n*). The book, however, is ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the ſchools.] K.

(*l*) From Lord Egmont's Manuſcript Biographical Collections.
(*m*) Cooke's Preacher's Aſſiſtant, vol. ii. p. 95.
(*n*) Winter Evenings, vol. i. p. 210—212.

'our beſt regards, and every vice which we are moſt 'concerned to avoid.' In the applications of theſe Fables, Dr. Croxall has introduced ſundry remarks, in order to inſtil into the minds of youth ſentiments of civil liberty, and has made many uſeful obſervations on life and manners.

[*C*] *Not a performance of much erudition.*] In his preface, Dr. Croxall ſays, 'The whole ſcope of the 'Sacred Writings, from the beginning to the end, 'appears evidently to be but this one, *The ſalvation 'of mankind through Jeſus Chriſt.* Which being at-'tainable only by a proper faith, and a good moral 'life, the Bible contains nothing but what relates to 'one or the other of theſe; nothing but genealogies, 'types, predictions, and demonſtrations, concerning 'the Meſſiah; and inſtitutions, precepts, exhortations, 'and examples, for living righteouſly. Therefore, 'that I might not burthen, either the reader or my-'ſelf, with more than was neceſſary, and perhaps ſafe 'upon this occaſion, I have omitted conſulting any 'of thoſe very learned authors who have written 'profeſſedly upon the ſame ſubject, except Sigonius; 'and him, more for method than any thing elſe; 'keeping as cloſe as poſſible to the expreſs ſenſe and 'meaning of the ſcriptures; which I take to be the 'beſt, if not the only allowable interpreters of what 'themſelves contain (9).']

(9) Pref. to Script. Politics, p. 4, 5, 6.

CUDWORTH (RALPH), a very learned and rational Divine, ſon of Ralph Cudworth, D. D. Rector of Aller in the County of Somerſet [*A*], was born at Aller in 1617.

[*A*] *Son of Ralph Cudworth, &c.*] He [the father] was at firſt Fellow of Emanuel College and Rector of St. Andrew's in Cambridge, then Vicar of Coggeſhall in Eſſex, and afterwards Rector of Aller, and Chaplain to

1617 (*a*). His mother was of the family of Machell, and had been nurſe to Prince Henry, eldeſt Son of King James I. After Dr. Cudworth's death, which happened in Auguſt or September, 1624 (*b*); ſhe married again to Dr. Stoughton, an eminent Preacher in thoſe times, who took a particular care of his ſon-in-law's education. He diſcovered from the firſt a quick and penetrating genius, and made ſo good progreſs in his ſtudies, that at the age of thirteen he was admitted Penſioner of Emanuel College [*B*]: however, he was not matriculated as a Student in the Univerſity till July 5th, 1632. What proficiency he made there in all kinds of learning, particularly in Philoſophy, his excellent Works do abundantly teſtify. In 1639 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; and about the ſame time being choſen Fellow of his College, he became ſo eminent a Tutor, that he had eight-and-twenty Pupils at once; a thing never known before even in the largeſt Colleges in the Univerſity. Among them was the famous William Temple, afterwards created a Baronet (*c*). Not long after, he was preſented by Emanuel College to the Rectory of North-Cadbury in Somerſetſhire, a living worth near three hundred pounds a year, and probably kept it till the year 1656 (*d*). The firſt things he publiſhed were, *A diſcourſe concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper*; and, *The Union of Chriſt and the Church ſhadowed*, or *in a ſhadow*, printed at London in 1642. About 1644 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity [*C*], and the ſame year he was choſen Maſter of Clare-Hall, in the room of Dr. Paſke who was ejected; where he had the honour of having under his care the celebrated John Tillotſon. The next year, Dr. Metcalfe reſigning his place of Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, Mr. Cudworth, who was a great maſter of the oriental languages, was unanimouſly appointed, on the 15th of October, to ſucceed him. From this time he applied himſelf entirely to his academical employments and ſtudies; and read his public lectures every Wedneſday; the firſt being upon the ſtructure and plan of the Temple of Jeruſalem. In 1647 he printed, at Cambridge, a Sermon on 1 John ii. 3, 4. which he had preached, the 31ſt of March of the ſame year, before the Houſe of Commons at Weſtminſter [*D*]. In 1651, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*e*). Notwithſtanding his preferments, yet, whether it was owing to that neglect and contempt of the things of this world, which are common among ſtudious perſons, or to any other cauſe, certain it is, that Dr. Cudworth's income was not ſufficient to maintain him; and therefore he left, upon that account, the Univerſity for a while: but, being extremely beloved, he was ſoon invited thither again. For, upon the death of Dr. Samuel Bolton, Maſter of Chriſt's College, in October 1654, he was choſen to ſucceed him. The ſame year he married; and ſpent in this place the remainder of his days, being very careful of young Gentlemens education. January 16, $165\frac{6}{7}$, he was one of the Divines appointed by the Grand Committee for Religion (*f*), to conſider of the tranſlations and impreſſions of the Bible [*E*]. The firſt of December, 1662, he was preſented by Gilbert Biſhop of London, to the Vicarage of Aſhwell, in the county of Hertford (*g*). And in 1678, he was inſtalled Prebendary of Glouceſter (*h*). But the moſt remarkable circumſtance of his life, and what does him moſt honour, is, that he was the Author of *The True intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe*; a book full of excellent reaſoning, and a great variety of curious learning [*F*]. As one extreme is generally apt to produce another, the pious Nonſenſe, and

(*a*) *Vita* D. R. Cudworth *præfixa* L. *Moſhemii Latinæ Verſioni Cudworthi Operum. Jenæ* 1733. 2 vols. fol.

(*b*) Wood, *Faſti*, vol. i. col. 187. edit. 1721.

(*c*) *Vita* R. Cudworth, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) For then S. Cradock was preſented thereto. See A. Wood's *Faſti*, vol. ii. col. 71.

(*e*) *Vita*, &c. *ut ſupra.*

(*f*) Whitelock's Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, Lond. 1732. p. 654.

(*g*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. p. 835.

(*h*) Browne Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. Lond. 1727. 4*to*. P. 743.

to King James I. He publiſhed ſeveral pieces of Mr. Perkins, and added *A Supplement to Mr.* W. Perkins's *Commentary upon St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Galatians*; which is all he ever publiſhed under his own name (1).

(1) *Vita* R. Cudworth, *ubi ſupra.* Newcourt's *Repertorium Eccleſiaſt.* vol. ii. p. 160.

[*B*] —— *At the age of thirteen he was admitted Penſioner of Emanuel College.*] And though he was ſo young, his father-in-law declared, That he was as well grounded in ſchool-learning, as any boy of his age that went to the Univerſity (2).

(2) *Ibid.*

[*C*] *He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.*] The queſtions he diſputed upon, at the commencement at Cambridge that year, were theſe; There are eternal and indiſpenſible reaſons (or differences) of good and evil: and, There are incorporeal ſubſtances immortal in their own nature (3).

(3) *Vita, ubi ſupra.*

[*D*] *A Sermon on* 1 *John* ii. 3, 4.] It was printed in 4*to*, containing 82 pages, and reprinted in folio to be placed at the end of his Intellectual Syſtem. In the Dedication of it to the Houſe of Commons, he told them, That the ſcope of that Sermon was not to contend for this or that opinion, but only to perſuade men to the Life of Chriſt, as the pith and kernel of all religion; without which all the ſeveral forms of religion in the world, though we pleaſe ourſelves never ſo much with them, are but ſo many ſeveral dreams.

[*E*] *He was one of the Divines appointed, &c.*] Theſe Divines, of which the chief, beſides Dr. Cudworth, were, Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Caſtle, and Mr. Poulk, often met at the Lord Commiſſioner Whitelock's, and had the moſt learned men in the oriental tongues to conſult with in this great buſineſs, and divers excellent and learned obſervations of ſome miſtakes in the tranſlations of the Bible in Engliſh; which yet was agreed to be the beſt of any tranſlation in the world. But this deſign became fruitleſs by the Parliament's diſſolution (4).

(4) Whitelock, *ubi ſupra.*

[*F*] *The true Intellectual Syſtem, &c.*] The whole title of it is, *The true Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe: The firſt part; wherein, all the Reaſon and Philoſophy of Atheiſm is confuted; and its Impoſſibility demonſtrated. By R. Cudworth, D. D.* Being ſurprized at the length of the firſt part, he publiſhed it, as a thing compleat of itſelf; deſigning to compoſe and publiſh afterwards a ſecond and third part, which, however, he never did (5). An abridgment of this book was publiſhed in 1706, under the following title, *A Confutation of the Reaſon and Philoſophy of Atheiſm: being in a great meaſure either an Abridgment or an Improvement of what Dr. Cudworth offered to that purpoſe in his* True Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe. *Together with an Introduction, in which among accounts of other matters relating to this Treatiſe, there is an impartial examination of what that learned perſon advanced touching the Chriſtian Doctrine of a Trinity in Unity, and the Reſurrection of the Body In two Volumes. By* Tho. Wiſe, B. D. *Fellow of Exeter College, &c. in Oxford.* This abridgement is reckoned to be well done: the ſtyle being clear and eaſy, and the matter well digeſted. A Latin tranſlation of the Intellectual Syſtem was

(5) Preface.

and ſtupid Enthuſiaſm, that had prevailed in this kingdom during the times of confuſion, were ſucceeded, in the licentious reign of King Charles II. and even ſome time before, by Atheiſm, Profaneneſs, and Irreligion. Many of our beſt Divines endeavoured to ſtop their progreſs, but none with more vigour or greater ſucceſs than Dr. Cudworth. 'None 'better knew how to uſe the arms of Reaſon and Learning, as one expreſſes it (*i*), to 'conquer the preſumptuous ignorance of Hobbes, who had acquired a great reputation at 'court.' 'Tis no wonder therefore that King Charles's courtiers ſhould undervalue the *True intellectual Syſtem* (*k*): but, notwithſtanding their vain efforts, it has and will maintain its reputation. The Author was undoubtedly ſeveral years about it, though it was not publiſhed till 1678 [*G*]. Beſides the four books already mentioned, Dr. Cudworth publiſhed in 1664, a Sermon preached at Lincoln's-Inn, on 1 Cor. xv. 57. and a treatiſe intituled *Deus Juſtificatus*, or, *The Divine Goodneſs vindicated and cleared, againſt the Aſſertors of abſolute and inconditionate Reprobation.* He left ſeveral books in manuſcript [*H*], of which only one has been printed ſince his deceaſe, intituled, *A Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality* [*I*]. He died at Cambridge June 26, 1688, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, and was buried in Chriſt's College. Several ſons that he had died young; but one daughter, named Damaris [*K*], born January 18, 1658, ſurvived him. She was ſecond wife to Sir Francis Maſham, of Oates in Eſſex, Baronet, and had by him a ſon, Francis Cudworth Maſham, Eſq (*l*); one of the Maſters in Chancery, Accomptant-General of the ſaid court, and foreign Appoſer in the Court of Exchequer, who died May 17, 1731. Dr. Cudworth was a man of great piety and moderation, of uncommon prudence; and eſpecially of very extenſive learning: for he was not only a good Linguiſt and Antiquary, but alſo an able Mathematician, a ſubtil Philoſopher, and a profound Metaphyſician. In his ſmall treatiſes, he ſhows himſelf well ſkilled in the oriental languages; as he appears in his *Intellectual Syſtem* a perfect maſter of the Platonic Philoſophy; with a great ſtrength of genius, and a vaſt compaſs of learning. He hath in it ſome particular notions; namely, of a *Plaſtic Nature*, which, ſubordinate to the Supreme Being, forms and organizes the bodies of animals, and produceth other phænomena (*m*): and, what he ſaith concerning the *Trinity* (*n*), and the *Reſurrection* (*o*), is thought not to be exactly conformable to the received opinions [*L*]. But, notwithſtanding, he muſt be impartially allowed

(*i*) Moſheim in vit. Cudworth, *ubi ſupra*.

(*k*) See *J. Clerici Vita, Amſtelod.* 1711. 8*vo.* p. 129.

(*l*) A. Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 435.

(*m*) Intellectual Syſtem, &c. p. 146, 147, &c. This notion was adopted by the great Mr. Ray, in his Wiſdom of God, &c.

(*n*) Pag. 210. 546, &c.

(*o*) Pag. 784, &c.

publiſhed at Jena 1733, in two volumes, fol. by John-Laurence Moſheim, D. D. illuſtrated with notes and diſſertations.

[*G*] *Though it was not publiſhed till* 1678.] It was printed in a thick folio containing 999 pages, beſides the Preface and Contents. The *Imprimatur*, at the end of the Preface, bears date May 29, 1671, which ſhows that the author kept it by him a conſiderable time before he publiſhed it.

[*H*] *He left ſeveral books in manuſcript.*] The titles of them are, I. *A Treatiſe concerning moral Good and Evil*, in ſeveral volumes in folio, containing near 1000 pages. The deſign of it is to prove, that morality is founded in nature, and doth not depend upon the arbitrary will of any Being. He alſo expoſes Epicurus's notions, and Hobbes's Morality and Politicks. II. *A Treatiſe of Liberty and Neceſſity, wherein the foundations of the Philoſophy of Atheiſm are deſtroyed, the certainty of Morality eſtabliſhed, and the nature of it explained.* It conſiſts of 1000 pages in folio, and ſolves the objections of the Stoics, antient Atheiſts, and ſome modern Chriſtians, againſt human liberty. III. *A Commentary on the* Seventy Weeks *mentioned by the Prophet* Daniel, *wherein the ſeveral explications of them by the Jews, and ſome Chriſtian writers, are examined and confuted*, 2 vols. fol. IV. *Of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion againſt the Jews.* He mentions this book in ſome of his works, but it has not yet been found among his MSS. V. *A Treatiſe of the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.* A volume in 8*vo.* VI. *Of the Learning of the Hebrews.* VII. *An Explanation of Hobbes's Notions, concerning the Nature of God, and the extention of Spirits.*

[*I*] *A Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality.*] It was printed at London in 8*vo.* 1731, with a Preface by *Edward* [Chandler] Lord Biſhop of Durham; who therein obſerves, that the author 'proves in that book the falſeneſs of the conſequences 'with reſpect to natural juſtice and morality in God, 'which are deducible from the principles of thoſe 'that maintain the ſecond ſort of fate, denominated 'by him *Theologick* (6). And thus it may be reckoned to be a ſequel in part, of his firſt book againſt '*material fate* (7).' The author intitled it Δικαιον φυσικὸν καὶ ἀιώνιον, or *A Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality*; and 'tranſcribed the beſt part of 'it with his own hand, as if it were ſpeedily to be 'ſent to the preſs (8).'

(6) See Intellectual Syſtem, &c. p. 3, &c. and Preface.

(7) Biſhop Chandler's Pref. p. 9.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 11.

[*K*] *One daughter named Damaris.*] She died April 20, 1708, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Bath; where a monument is erected to her memory, in which this character is given of her —— 'To the ſoftneſs and elegance of her own ſex, *She* added ſeveral of the nobleſt accompliſhments and qualities of the other. She poſſeſſed theſe advantages 'in a degree unuſual to either, and tempered them 'with an exactneſs peculiar to herſelf. Her learning, 'judgment, ſagacity, and penetration, together with 'her candor, and love of truth, were very obſervable 'to all that converſed with her, or were acquainted 'with thoſe ſmall treatiſes ſhe publiſhed in her life-'time, though ſhe induſtriouſly concealed her name '(9). Of the ſmall treatiſes here mentioned, one was *A Diſcourſe concerning the Love of God.* Printed at London, 1696, 12*mo.* The reſt are not known. Mr. J. Locke lived in her family the 14 laſt years of his life.

(9) Peerage of England, by A. Collins, Eſq; vol. iii. p. 435. Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglic.* vol. i. p. 146.

[*L*] *Is thought not to be exactly conformable, &c.*] He has been very ſeverely treated upon that account; particularly by one (10), who calls him a Tritheiſtick, and ſays, 'the moſt that charity itſelf can allow the 'Doctor, if it were to ſtep forth, and ſpeak his moſt 'favourable character to the world, is, that he is an 'Arian, a Socinian, or a Deiſt.' A very hard and unjuſt cenſure! M.

(10) J. Turner, Dedication before his Diſcourſe of the Meſſiah, Lond. 1685, p. 17. 19.

[**** The article of our learned predeceſſor is accurate with reſpect to facts; but it might reaſonably have been more copious in deſcribing the works of ſo eminent a literary character as Dr. Cudworth. This defect, therefore, we ſhall endeavour, in ſome degree, to ſupply. His firſt publication, which was his "Diſcourſe concerning the true notion of the Lord's Supper," merits notice, on account of the influence it has had on the ſentiments of ſeveral conſiderable men. The principle which Dr. Cudworth maintains is, that the Lord's Supper is a feaſt upon a ſacrifice. His tract has excited ſo much attention as to paſs through various editions; and it has been quoted with great commendations by Selden, Bochart,

allowed to have been 'a great man in all parts of learning, divine and human, an honour 'to Emanuel College where he was educated, to Chriſt's College where he afterwards 'preſided,

(11) Gen. Dict. Hiſtorical and Critical, vol. iv. p. 484, note *B*.

chart, and Spencer (11). The doctrine advanced in it has ſo far ſtood its ground, as to have been ſupported, from time to time, by one divine or other, down to the preſent day. A work which adopts the ſame idea, was written above forty years ago, by Mr. Willets, a learned diſſenting miniſter, at Newcaſtle under Lyne. Biſhop Warburton, in the ſecond volume of his diſcourſes on the principles of natural and revealed religion, has elaborately ſuſtained Dr. Cudworth's opinion; and the preſent Biſhop of Cheſter (Dr. Cleaver) has very recently ſhewn himſelf to be an ingenious defender of the ſame ſentiment. On the other hand, Biſhop Hoadly, in his Plain Account, could diſcern no evidence of the Lord's Supper being a feaſt upon a ſacrifice. That it is a groundleſs notion, was ably maintained, in a pamphlet, publiſhed in 1755, in anſwer to Warburton: and Cudworth's hypotheſis has lately been refuted by Dr. Bell. Indeed, the idea that the Sacrament is merely a commemoration of the death of Chriſt, and calculated, in that view, to anſwer important moral purpoſes, is ſo rational and intelligible, and, at the ſame time, ſo conformable to the direct words of the inſtitution, that there appears to be no neceſſity or foundation for having recourſe to any ſcheme of a more recondite and myſterious nature.

The dedication to the ſermon which Dr. Cudworth preached before the Houſe of Commons, in 1647, is omitted in the impreſſion of it that was given at the end of the "Intellectual Syſtem," in 1678. This is the more to be regretted, as it diſplays the Doctor's ſentiments, upon the nature of religion, and the value of learning, at a time of prevailing fanaticiſm and bigotry, in a manner which reflects no ſmall credit on the liberality of his mind. We ſhall inſert, therefore, an account of it, for which we are indebted to the great "General Dictionary."

"He obſerves there, that the ſcope of this *Sermon* was not to contend for this or that opinion, but only to perſuade men to the *Life of Chriſt*, as the pith and kernel of all Religion; *without which all the ſeveral* Forms of Religion *in the world, though we pleaſe ourſelves never ſo much in them, are but ſo many ſeveral dreams. And thoſe many opinions about Religion, that are every where ſo eagerly contended for on all ſides, where this doth not lie at the bottom, are but ſo many ſhadows fighting with one another. So that I may well ſay of the true Chriſtian, that is indeed poſſeſſed of the life of Chriſtianity, in oppoſition to all thoſe that are but lightly tinctured with the opinions of it, in the language of the Poet,*

Οἷσιν πέπνυται τοὶ δ' ὡς σκιαὶ αἴσσουσι.

Wherefore I could not think any thing elſe either more neceſſary for Chriſtians in generall, or ſeaſonable at this time, than to ſtirre them up to the reall eſtabliſhment of the Righteouſneſſe of God *in their hearts, and that* Participation of the divine Nature, *which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of; that ſo they might not content themſelves with mere phancies and conceits of Chriſt, without the Spirit of Chriſt really dwelling in them, and Chriſt himſelf inwardly formed in their hearts, nor ſatisfie themſelves with the mere holding of right and orthodox opinions, as they conceive, whileſt they are utterly devoid within of that* Divine Life, *which Chriſt came to kindle in men's ſouls, and therefore are ſo apt to ſpend all their zeal upon a violent obtruding of their own opinions and apprehenſions upon others, which cannot give entertainment to them.* "Which, beſides its repugnancy to "the doctrine and example of Chriſt himſelf, is like "to be the bellows, that will blow a perpetual fire "of diſcord and contention in the Chriſtian Common-"wealths; whileſt in the mean time thoſe hungry "and ſtarved *opinions* devoure all the life and ſub-"ſtance of Religion, as the *lean Kine in Pharaoh's* "*Dream* did eat up the *fat*. Nor laſtly, pleaſe "themſelves onely in the violent oppoſing of other "men's *Superſtitions*, according to the genius of the "preſent times, without ſubſtituting in the room of "them an inward *Principle of Spirit* and *Life* in their "own ſouls. For I fear many of us that pull down "*idols* in churches, may ſet them up in our hearts; "and whilſt we quarrel with *painted glaſſe*, make no "ſcruple at all of entertaining many foul *luſts* in "our ſouls, and committing continual idolatry with "them." He afterwards deſires the Houſe of Commons, that after their care for the advancement of Religion and the public good of the Commonwealth, they would think it worthy of them to promote *ingenuous learning*, and caſt a favourable influence upon it. *I mean not*, ſays he, *that onely, which furniſheth the pulpit, which you ſeem to be very regardfull of; but that, which is remote from ſuch popular uſe, in the ſeveral kinds of it, which yet are all of them both very ſubſervient to Religion, and uſefull to the Commonwealth. There is indeed a* Ψευδοπαιδεία, *as the* Philoſopher *tells us*, a baſtardly kind of Literature, *and a* Ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις, *as the* Apoſtle *inſtructeth us*, a Knowledge falſely ſo called, *which deſerves not to be pleaded for. But the noble and generous improvement of our underſtanding faculty in the true contemplation of the Wiſdome, Goodneſſe, and other Attributes of God, in that great fabrick of the univerſe, cannot eaſily be diſparaged without a blemiſh caſt upon the Maker of it. Doubtleſſe we may as well enjoy that which God hath communicated of himſelf to the creatures by this larger faculty of our* underſtandings, *as by thoſe narrow and low faculties of our* ſenſes; *and yet no body counts it to be unlawfull* to hear a leſſon plaied upon the lute, *or to* ſmell a roſe. *And theſe raiſed improvements of our* natural underſtandings *may be as well ſubſervient and ſubordinate to a divine Light in our minds, as the natural uſe of thoſe outward creatures here below to the life of God in our hearts. Nay all true knowledge doth of itſelf naturally tend to God, who is the Fountain of it; and would ever be raiſing of our ſouls up upon its wings thither, did not we* κατέχειν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ, detain it, *and hold it down* in unrighteouſneſſe, *as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh.* "All "*Philoſophy* to a wiſe man, to a truly ſanctified mind, "as he in *Plutarch* ſpeaketh, is but ὕλη τῆς Θεολογίας, "*matter for Divinity to work upon.* Religion is the "Queen of all thoſe inward endowments of the ſoul, "and all pure *naturall knowledge*, all virgin and "undeflowred *arts* and *ſciences* are her handmaids, "that *riſe up and call her bleſſed.* I need not tell "you how much the ſkill of tongues and languages, "beſides the excellent uſe of all *Philology* in gene-"rall, conduceth to the right underſtanding of the "letter of ſacred Writings, on which the ſpirituall "notions muſt be built; for can thoſe poſſibly be "ignorant of that, which have but once heard of a "*Tranſlation of the Bible?* The Apoſtle exhorteth "private Chriſtians to *whatſoever things are lovely,* "*whatſoever things are of good report, if there be any* "*virtue, if there be any praiſe, to think on thoſe things*; "and therefore it may well become you, (*noble Gen-*"*tlemen*) in your publick ſphere, to encourage ſo "noble a thing as *knowledge* is, which will reflect "ſo much luſtre and honour back again upon your "ſelves (12)."

(12) Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 484, 485, note *D*.

The Intellectual Syſtem is a work of ſuch immenſe learning, and ſuch great celebrity, that a fuller view of its deſign than our Predeceſſor has given cannot but be deſirable.

"In the preface Dr. Cudworth tells us, that when he engaged the preſs, he intended only a diſcourſe concerning *Liberty* and *Neceſſity*, or, to ſpeak out more plainly, againſt the *fatal Neceſſity of all actions and events*; which, upon whatever grounds maintained, will ſerve the deſign of Atheiſm, and undermine Chriſtianity and all Religion, as taking away all guilt and blame, puniſhments and rewards. But afterwards he conſidered, that this, which is indeed a controverſy concerning the *True and Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe*, does in the full extent of it take in other things; the Neceſſity of all actions and events being maintained by ſeveral perſons upon very different grounds, according to the *tripartite Fataliſm* mentioned in the beginning of the firſt chapter; the

(q) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 462.

' preſided, to the whole Univerſity of Cambridge which he adorned (*p*), and to the Church ' and Age in which he lived (*q*).'

(p) Biſhop of Durham's Pref. to the Treatiſe concerning eternal and immutable Morality, p. 12.

the firſt of which, *ſuppoſing the material Neceſſity of all things without a God*, he tells us, is *abſolute Atheiſm*; the ſecond, *Immoral Theiſm*, or *Religion without* any *Natural Juſtice* and *Morality*, all juſt and unjuſt, according to this hypotheſis, being factitious, made by arbitrary will and command only; and the third, ſuch a Theiſm as acknowledges not only a God or omnipotent underſtanding Being, but alſo Natural Juſtice and Morality, founded in him, and derived from him; nevertheleſs no Liberty from Neceſſity any where, and therefore no diſtributive or retributive Juſtice in the world. " Whereas theſe three things " are the fundamentals or eſſentials of true Religion. " Firſt, that all things in the world do not float " without a Head or Governor; but that there is a " God, an omnipotent underſtanding Being, preſid- " ing over all. Secondly, that this God being " eſſentially good and juſt, there is φύσει καλὸν " καὶ δικαιον, ſomething in its own nature immutably " and eternally juſt and unjuſt, and not by arbitrary " will, law, and command only. And laſtly, that " there is ſomething ἐφ' ἡμῖν, or, that we are ſo far " forth the principles or maſters of our own actions, " as to be accountable to juſtice for them, or to " make us guilty and blame-worthy for what we do " amiſs, and to deſerve puniſhment accordingly." Theſe three things, as the Doctor obſerves, taken all together, make up the wholeneſs and entireneſs of that, which he calls, *The True Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe*, in ſuch a ſenſe as *Atheiſm* may be called *a falſe Syſtem* thereof; the word *Intellectual* being added to diſtinguiſh it from the other, vulgarly ſo called, *Syſtems of the World* (that is, the *viſible* and *corporeal World*) the *Ptolomaic*, *Tychonic*, and *Copernican*; the two former of which are now commonly accounted *falſe*, the latter *true*. And thus our Author's proſpect being now enlarged into a *threefold Fataliſm*, or *ſpurious* and *falſe Hypotheſis* of the *Intellectual Syſtem*, making all things neceſſary upon ſeveral grounds, he accordingly deſigned the confutation of them all in three ſeveral Books. The *firſt* againſt *Atheiſm*, (which is the *Democritic* fate) wherein all the Reaſon and Philoſophy thereof is refelled, and the Exiſtence of a God demonſtrated, and ſo that ὑλικὴ ἀνάγκη, or material Neceſſity of all things, is overthrown. The *ſecond*, for ſuch a God as is not mere *arbitrary Will omnipotent*, decreeing, doing, and neceſſitating all actions, bad as well as good; but eſſentially *moral, good, and juſt*; and for a natural *Diſcrimen honeſtorum & turpium*, whereby another ground of the Neceſſity of all human actions will be removed. And the *third* and laſt, againſt *Neceſſity intrinſecal and eſſential to all actions*, and for ſuch a Liberty and *Sui-Poteſtas* in rational creatures, as may render them accountable, capable of rewards and puniſhments, and ſo objects of diſtributive or retributive Juſtice, by which the now only remaining ground of the fatal Neceſſity of all actions and events will be taken away. And all theſe three under that one general title of the *True Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe*; each book having beſides, its own particular title. But the firſt of theſe books only appeared under the title abovementioned; our Author informing the reader in his *preface*, that tho' the other two books *were and ſtill are really intended by us, yet the compleat finiſhing and publication of them will notwithſtanding depend upon many contingencies, not only of our life and health, the latter of which, as well as the former, is to us very uncertain; but alſo of our leiſure or vacancy from other neceſſary employments*. At the cloſe of the *preface* he obſerves, that tho' ſome may think his work ſuperfluous, upon pretence, that an Atheiſt is a chimera, no where to be found in the world, yet ſuch perſons are both unſkilled in the monuments of antiquity, and unacquainted with the preſent age they live in, others having found too great an aſſurance from their own perſonal converſe of the reality of them. " Nevertheleſs, *continues he*, this " labour of ours is not intended only for the con- " verſion of downright and profeſſed Atheiſts (of " which there is but little hope, they being ſunk " into ſo great a degree of ſottiſhneſs,) but for the " confirmation of weak, ſtaggering, and ſceptical " Theiſts. And unleſs thoſe exploders of Atheiſts " will affirm alſo, that all men have conſtantly an " unſhaken faith and belief of the Exiſtence of God " without the leaſt mixture of doubtful diſtruſt or " heſitancy, (which if it were ſo, the world could " not poſſibly be ſo bad as now it is,) they muſt " needs grant, ſuch endeavours as theſe for the con- " firming and eſtabliſhing of men's minds in the be- " lief of a God by philoſophic reaſons, in an age ſo " philoſophical, not to be ſuperfluous and uſeleſs " (13)."

(13) *Ibid.* p. 485, 486, note F.

We ſhall add a farther account of Mr. Wiſe's Abridgment of the Intellectual Syſtem.

" Mr. Wiſe in his *introduction* remarks, that Dr. Cudworth's book, which is the vaſteſt magazine of reaſoning and learning, that ever ſingly appeared againſt Atheiſm, is ſwelled with frequent repetitions, circumlocutions, and digreſſions, and the ſeries and thread of it much interrupted by Greek and Latin quotations, ſo that hardly any writing will better admit of an abridgment; upon which account Mr. Wiſe undertook his work. He then proceeds to obſerve, that Dr. Cudworth, having laid down a general propoſition, that the Heathens univerſally held but one unmade independent God, comes to ſhew that the Platoniſts in particular maintained an unity of the Godhead in their three divine Hypoſtaſes, viz. *Monad* or *Good*, *Mind*, and *Soul*; notwithſtanding that they owned theſe three Hypoſtaſes to be numerically diſtinct, or to have diſtinct ſingular Eſſences of their own. To vindicate the Platoniſts in this point, he tells us, that the *ancient orthodox Fathers of the Chriſtian Church were generally of no other perſuaſion than this, that that Eſſence or Subſtance of the Godhead, which all the three Perſons* or Hypoſtaſes *agree in, as each of them is God, was not ſingular or individual, but only one common or univerſal Eſſence or Subſtance*. This and other aſſertions of the like nature in Dr. Cudworth's *Intellectual Syſtem*, have made ſo much noiſe in the world, that there was ſcarcely a pamphlet or book written for many years concerning the Trinity, eſpecially in England, and in the heterodox way, which did not bring in the Doctor's authority; while on the other hand the orthodox treat his notion with the utmoſt ſeverity. Mr. Wiſe therefore endeavours, as much as poſſible, to clear up and juſtify our Author's doctrine. He afterwards proceeds to conſider Dr. Cudworth's opinion about the Reſurrection, who, as appears from ſeveral paſſages of his *Intellectual Syſtem* thought, that the Reſurrection-Body will not conſiſt of the ſame ſubſtance with that which was buried; and that it will not be a body of fleſh, but an ætherial one; and that the preſent body is only a ſeed of the Reſurrection. However Mr. Wiſe ſhews from ſome other paſſages in his works, that he has as plainly aſſerted the Reſurrection of the ſame numerical Body, as in ſome places he denied it (14)."

(14) *Ibid.*

It is not eaſy to meet with a greater ſtore-houſe of ancient literature than the " Intellectual Syſtem;" and various writers, we believe, have been indebted to it for an appearance of learning which they might not otherwiſe have been able to maintain. That Dr. Cudworth was fanciful in ſome of his opinions, and that he was too devoted a follower of Plato and the Platoniſts, will ſcarcely be denied even by thoſe who are moſt ſenſible of his general merit. What he hath ſaid concerning the Platonic Trinity has lately been remarked upon in the Theological Repoſitory (15).

(15) Theological Repoſitory, vol. iv. p. 95—97.

The reflections that have been caſt upon ſuch a man as our Author, by Mr. Turner, (mentioned in note [*L*]), and by other bigoted writers, are altogether contemptible. It is the lot of diſtinguiſhed merit to be thus treated. Lord Shafteſbury, ſpeaking on this ſubject, has given an honourable teſtimony to the memory of Dr. Cudworth. " You know," ſays his Lordſhip, " the common fate of thoſe who dare to ap- " pear fair authors. What was that pious and " learned man's caſe, who wrote the Intellectual " Syſtem of the Univerſe? I confeſs it was pleaſant " enough to conſider, that though the whole

" world were no leſs ſatisfied with his capacity and " learning, than with his ſincerity in the cauſe of " Deity; yet he was accuſed of giving the upper " hand to the Atheiſt, for having only ſtated their " reaſons, and thoſe of their adverſaries, fairly toge- " ther (16)."

(16) Characteriſtics, vol. ii. p. 262.

It is obſerved by Dr. Birch, that Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe has raiſed him a reputation, to which nothing can add, but the publication of his other writings ſtill extant in manuſcript (17). That theſe writings are very valuable, cannot be doubted. We may be aſſured that they diſplay a great compaſs of ſentiment, and a great extent of learning. Nevertheleſs, from their voluminous quantity, from the abſtruſeneſs of the ſubjects they treat upon, and from the revolutions of literary taſte and opinion, it is morally certain, that the publication of them would not be ſucceſsful in the preſent age. The hiſtory of the fate of Dr. Cudworth's Poſthumous Works is ſomewhat curious. Having been left to the care of his daughter, Lady Maſham, they for a long time quietly repoſed in the library at Oates, in Eſſex. But, about the year 1762, when the late Lord Maſham married his ſecond Lady, his Lordſhip thought proper to remove a number of volumes of ancient learning, which had been bequeathed to the family by Mr. Locke, and the manuſcripts of Dr. Cudworth, to make room for books of polite amuſement. For this purpoſe, he ſold either the whole, or a conſiderable part of them, to Mr. Robert Davis, then a Bookſeller in Piccadilly. Mr. Davis being told, or having concluded, that the manuſcripts were the productions of Mr. Locke, it became an object of conſideration with him, how to convert them, as a tradeſman, to the beſt advantage. They contained, among other things, ſundry notes on ſcripture. About the ſame time, a number of manuſcript ſcriptural notes by Dr. Waterland came into the poſſeſſion of the Bookſellers. The buſineſs, therefore, was, by the aid of ſuch celebrated names as Mr. Locke and Dr. Waterland, to fabricate a new Bible with Annotations. At a conſultation, however, it was ſuggeſted, that, though theſe names were very important, it would be neceſſary, to the complete ſucceſs of the deſign, to join with them ſome popular living character. Dr. Dodd was then in the height of his reputation as a preacher; and, accordingly, he was fixed upon to carry on the undertaking. This was the origin of Dr. Dodd's Bible. Part of the materials put into his hands the Doctor made uſe of in the Chriſtian Magazine. When the manuſcripts were returned to Mr. Davis, he carried them down to Barnes in Surry, which was his country retirement, and threw them into a garret, where they lay expoſed to the dangers of ſuch a ſituation. About the beginning of the year 1777, a Gentleman, who had a veneration for the name of Mr. Locke, and was concerned to hear that any of his writings were in danger of being loſt, went to Barnes, to ſee theſe manuſcripts; and being poſitively aſſured, by Mr. Davis, that they were the real compoſitions of that eminent man, he immediately purchaſed them for forty guineas. He was, however, ſoon convinced, after an examination of them, that the authority of the bookſeller was fallacious. This being the caſe, he remonſtrated againſt the deception; and the vender condeſcended to take them again, upon being paid ten guineas for his diſappointment in the negociation. In the inveſtigation of the manuſcripts, the Gentleman having diſcovered, by many inconteſtable proofs, that they were the writings of Dr. Cudworth, he recommended them to the Curators of the Britiſh Muſeum, by whom they were purchaſed; and thus, at laſt, after many perils and mutilations, they are ſafely lodged in that noble repoſitory (18).

(17) Life of Tillotſon, p. 54.

Mr. Granger obſerves, that Dr. Ralph Cudworth held the ſame rank in Metaphyſics that Dr. Barrow did in the Sublime Geometry; and his daughter he calls the learned and accompliſhed Lady Maſham. Juſtly does her memory deſerve to be held in honour, both for her own attainments and her unſhaken friendſhip to Mr. Locke. Of her Treatiſe concerning the Love of God, which was publiſhed at London, in 1696, in 12*mo.* without her name, we ſhall ſubjoin ſome account, from the General Dictionary.

" She begins with obſerving, that whatever re- " proaches have been made by the Romaniſts, on the " one hand, of the want of books of devotion in the " Church of England; or by the Diſſenters on the " other, of a dead and lifeleſs way of preaching; it " may be affirmed, that there cannot any where be " found ſo good a collection of diſcourſes upon " Moral Subjects, as might be made of Engliſh Ser- " mons and other Treatiſes of that nature written by " the Divines of our Church; which books are cer- " tainly in themſelves of the greateſt and moſt gene- " ral uſe of any, and do moſt conduce to that, which " is the chief aim of Chriſtianity, a good life." She then animadverts upon thoſe, who undervalue Morality, and others, who ſtrain the duties of it to an impracticable pitch, and pretend to aſcend by it to ſomething beyond or above it; and afterwards proceeds to conſider the conduct of thoſe, who *build their practical and devotional Diſcourſes upon principles, which not only will not bear the teſt, but which oblige them to lay down ſuch aſſertions of Morality, as ſober and well diſpoſed Chriſtians cannot underſtand to be practicable.* And here ſhe applies herſelf to the examination of Mr. John Norris's ſcheme in his *Practical Diſcourſes* and other Treatiſes, wherein he maintains, that " mankind are obliged ſtrictly, as their " duty, to love with deſire nothing but God only, " every degree of deſire of any creature whatſoever, " being ſinful." Which aſſertion Mr. Norris defends upon this ground, that *God, not the Creature, is the immediate efficient cauſe of our ſenſations; for whatſoever gives us pleaſure has a right to our love; but God only gives us pleaſure; therefore he only has a right to our love.* This hypotheſis is conſidered with great accuracy and ingenuity by Lady Maſham, and the bad conſequences of it repreſented in a ſtrong light. This *Diſcourſe* was tranſlated into French by Mr. Coſte in 1705 (19)."] K.

(18) Combined from the Gentleman's Magazine for 1788, p. 1186, as extracted from the Critical Review; and from private information given to the Editor, by his late friends, Dr. Law, Biſhop of Carliſle, and Dr. Joſeph Jeffries, Profeſſor of civil law, at Greſham College.

(19) Granger's Biog. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 282, 283. Gen. Dict. *ubi ſupra*, p. 487. note *H.*

CUFF or CUFFE (Henry), a celebrated wit, a famous ſcholar, and the unfortunate Secretary of the unhappy Earl of Eſſex, who ſuffered towards the cloſe of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He is by ſome ſaid, or rather ſuggeſted, to have been but of low birth (*a*); but very unjuſtly, ſince there is good evidence to prove, that his anceſtors had been reputed Gentlemen for ſeveral deſcents, and had lands to a conſiderable value about Creech and Taunton in Somerſetſhire (*b*). He was born at Hinton St. George in that county, about the year 1560 (*c*), was educated at a Grammar-ſchool, and gave very early marks both of genius and application (*d*); inſomuch that, in 1576, he was removed to Oxford, and entered there of Trinity College (*e*). His parts were ſo quick, and his diligence ſo great, that he very ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf from moſt of his contemporaries, more eſpecially in his knowledge of Greek, and his admirable faculty in diſputing. He became, in due time, Fellow of his College, and would, without doubt, have gone through his academical ſtudies with all the ſucceſs and applauſe imaginable, if it had not been for a certain haſtineſs of temper, which induced him to ſpeak his mind very freely on ſubjects and of perſons, with whom he had little or nothing to do. A ſaying of his of Sir Thomas Pope, who was the Founder of the College in which he was educated, proved fatal to him, ſo that he was turned out of his Fellowſhip, and expelled the College (*f*). His merit

(*a*) Sanderſon's Lives of Mary Queens of Scots and King James, p. 238.

(*b*) Viſitation-book of Somerſetſhire, Anno Dom. 1573. MS. in the Herald's office.
(*c*) Fuller's Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28.
(*d*) Remarks upon the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 537.
(*e*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 397.
(*f*) *Liber niger Scaccarii*, edit. T. H. p. 593.

merit, however, was so great, and his reputation for learning so extraordinary, that he was received into Merton-College by Sir Henry Savile, then Warden of it, and who was particularly remarkable for being a most disinterested patron of such as were truly scholars (*g*). In 1586 Mr. Cuff was elected Probationer-fellow of that College, and, being very intimate with many of the greatest men of those times who were bred at this University, he was looked upon as one capable of making a shining figure in the world (*h*); more especially as he was known to turn his thoughts to active life, and to apply himself with great vigour to the more polite as well as abstruser parts of learning. In 1588 he became Fellow of Merton-College, and, on the 20th of February following, he took the degree of Master of Arts (*i*). Amongst other persons of note with whom he had great intimacy, one was the learned Mr. Camden, in commendation of whose excellent *Britannia* he wrote a Greek epigram, that has been much admired (*k*). This indeed was the happiest part of his life, and it had been very fortunate for him if he had contented himself with that easy and honourable situation, which his own learning, and the assistance of his friends in this University, had procured him, notwithstanding the slip he had made in the earlier part of his life, from a vivacity of temper which never left him [*A*]. He was afterwards promoted to the Greek Professorship, and was chosen Proctor of the University April 10th, 1594 (*l*). At what time he left the University, or upon what occasion, does not appear; but there is great reason to believe, that it was for the sake of improving himself by travelling into foreign parts (*m*); for he was always inclined rather to a busy than a retired life, and held, that learning was of little service to any man, if it did not render him fitter for being employed in matters of importance. This disposition of his recommended him very much to the favour of Robert Earl of Essex, who was himself much of the same temper; that is, equally fond of knowledge and business, and strongly perswaded the former was of very little use but as it fitted men for the latter. His Lordship writing admirably well, and being an excellent judge of the writings of other men, thought it would be highly useful to himself, and the means of promoting Mr. Cuffe, if he took him into his service, as well as into his protection; and accordingly, about the time that he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*n*), Mr. Cuffe was appointed his Secretary. It appears, from the private as well as public histories of those times, that he was very much in his confidence; but, whether the Earl intrusted him with the dark designs he carried on with Tyrone, in order to make himself King of England, and Tyrone Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is as little certain, as whether his Lordship ever had any such designs, or was so unfortunate only as to have them imputed to him by his enemies (*o*). This, however, is out of dispute, that, when the Earl returned from his expedition, in August 1599, to Dublin, and resolved to send over an account to the Queen of what he had concluded with Tyrone, he made choice of Mr. Cuffe to be the bearer, and, perhaps, used his assistance in penning those letters. This was certainly both a dangerous and a disagreeable service; which, however, Mr. Cuffe undertook, and very happily performed, delivering his letters safely to her Majesty; and afterwards, upon some insinuations to his prejudice, upon which he was sent for to the Queen, he justified himself to her satisfaction (*p*) [*B*]. As he had naturally a very high spirit, was sincerely attached

(*g*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 466.

(*h*) Bp. Montague's Pref. to his Diatribe upon the first part of the Hist. of Tythes.

(*i*) Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* vol. i. col. 135.

(*k*) It is prefixed in all the Latin editions, and in the two last English translations.

(*l*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 307. *Fasti Oxon.* vol. i. p. 147.

(*m*) See the note [*I*].

(*n*) Camd. Ann. ed. T. H. p. 792.

(*o*) See the declaration of the treasons of Robert Earl of Essex, published by authority, 4*to.* 1601.

(*p*) Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, vol. ii. p. 122.

[*A*] *From a vivacity of temper which never left him.*] It was certainly a mark of the candour, as well as care, of Mr. Wood, that he took so much pains as to search the Heralds Office, in order to find the grant of a coat of arms made to Job Cuffe, our author's ancestor, by Christopher Baker then King at Arms, in the 36th of Henry VIII (1). He was in the wrong however to fix upon a late, and in some respects a low, writer, as author of those detracting passages, that passed so currently in the world to his prejudice; whereas, most undoubtedly, these took rise from what was said of him by a noble author (2), who wrote indeed at that time under direction, and we may believe could not but be rude to his Secretary, after being roundly schooled by the Queen, for speaking with common decency of his master. It was from him therefore that succeeding writers copied, though there wanted not others, well acquainted with those times and with the man, who spoke of him with decency, pity, and even with respect. He was but a very young man when he went to Oxford, and it was by the pregnancy of his parts that he became so early a Fellow of Trinity College. Mr. Wood tells us, in one place, that he was forced to resign his Fellowship for saying somewhat that was true of the Founder (3). In another place, however, that is, in a Collection of Historical Passages, he has set down the whole story, and that upon good authority; which as it very fully justifies what we have said in the text, the reader shall have in his own words (4): 'Dr. Bathurst told 'me, that our Cuffe was of Trinity College, and expelled from thence upon this account: the Founder, Sir Thomas Pope, would, whersoever he went 'a visiting his friend, steal one thing or other that 'he could lay his hands on, put it in his pocket, or 'under his gown. This was supposed rather an humour than of dishonesty. Now Cuffe upon a time, 'with his fellows being merry, said, a pox this is a 'poor beggarly College indeed, the plate that our 'Founder stole would build such another. Which 'coming to the President's ears, was thereupon 'ejected, though afterwards elected into Merton 'College.' How dear he was to Sir Henry Savile, at that time Warden of Merton College, appears not only from his procuring him to be elected upon the very first occasion that offered after his own preferment, but also from a letter of his to the learned Camden, in which, in a very few words, he gives him the highest character, and stiles him his own and Camden's intimate friend.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 307.

(2) Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 395.

(3) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 307.

(4) *Liber niger Scaccarii*, edit. T. H. p. 593.

[*B*] *He justified himself to her satisfaction.*] What we have to explain in this part of the work is, the share that Mr. Cuffe had in the Earl of Essex's proceedings; nor would this be of so much importance, if many of our Histories did not deliver things somewhat remote from truth in several instances, and directly contrary to it in others. It is generally set forth and believed, that the Earl went to Ireland with great joy and alacrity; whence it has been inferred, that he had dangerous designs in his head before he went

attached to the Earl of Eſſex, and looked upon the uſage he met with from the court as effects rather of the power of the oppoſite faction, than the juſt puniſhment of the Earl's offences, he gave way to his reſentments, and was one of thoſe that diſſuaded that unhappy Lord, after his emerging a little from that dark cloud of the Queen's diſpleaſure, in which he had been involved, and ſuffered thereby ſeverely, from proſecuting the recovery of her favour by thoſe methods of humble duty, and deep ſubmiſſion, which others of his Lordſhip's friends adviſed (*q*). It is very poſſible, that both he and they might be prompted to the oppoſite counſels they gave, from certain views to their own intereſt, as well as thoſe of the Earl; for Mr. Anthony Bacon, and Sir Francis his brother, had other friends at Court, and other means to truſt to, than the countenance of the Earl of Eſſex, and might therefore adviſe him to what they thought beſt ſuited their own ſchemes. But it was quite otherwiſe with Mr. Cuffe: his ſole dependance was upon the Earl, and, as he had no other hopes of attaining any conſiderable office than by his favour and protection, he was very deſirous of ſeeing him quickly reſtored to the Queen's good graces, which he thought could not fail if he had once free acceſs to the Court, which, therefore, he prompted him to obtain by any means, and at any rate (*r*) [*C*]. While the Earl of Eſſex followed the advice of the two Bacons, as well as during his Lordſhip's confinement after his precipitate return from Ireland, Mr. Cuffe had little or no acceſs to him; but, after he recovered his liberty, and found that was not attended, as he expected, with a reſtitution of his power and credit, he began to recur to his old projects, and to converſe once more with his old friends, by which means Mr. Cuffe was recalled again to his ſervice, and to that meaſure of intimacy and confidence in which he had been formerly held (*s*). This, together with the great likeneſs of their tempers, was the ſource of both their misfortunes; for the Earl thenceforward began to diſlike, and even to ſuſpect, the repreſentations made to him by thoſe who were deſirous that he ſhould leave it to time,

(*q*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 833.

(*r*) See Sir Francis Bacon's Apology, Sir Henry Wotton's Parallel, and Camden's Annals.

(*s*) *Reliquæ Wottonianæ*, p. 28.

went thither, which he meant to ripen and bring to perfection there (5). However, the contrary of this is very fully proved (6), by a knowing and intelligent writer, who has brought to light many remarkable paſſages relating to theſe times. The truth ſeems to be, that the Earl of Eſſex found himſelf not able to perform any great matters in that kingdom, and was at the ſame time kept there by the Queen's expreſs command. It is very likely that it was this that put him upon his treaty with Tyrone, and afterwards induced him to form that deſperate deſign, of landing with two thouſand men at Milford Haven, from which it was with ſome difficulty he was diſſuaded by the Earl of Southampton and Sir Chriſtopher Blount. It is not at all probable that Mr. Cuffe was ſo much as acquainted with, much leſs in any degree the author of, this ſcheme; for he was ſent over in Auguſt with the Earl's letter to the Queen (7), a particular that ſeems to have been unknown to moſt of the writers upon this ſubject. But however he had not been long in London, before the zeal and diligence he expreſſed in his maſter's ſervice drew upon him the reſentment of ſome great perſons, who gave bad impreſſions of him to the Queen, which occaſioned his being ſent for. This paſſage we learn from a letter written at that very time by Mr. Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, dated September 12, 1599, which runs thus (8): 'The unkindneſs between my Lord of 'Eſſex and Mr. Secretary is grown to extremity. I 'hear my Lord is infinitely diſcontented, and in his 'diſcontentment uſes ſpeeches that may be dangerous 'and hurtful to his ſafety. Mr. Cuffe hath had ac'ceſs to the Queen, who came of purpoſe marvellouſly 'well inſtructed to anſwer ſuch objections as her Ma'jeſty could lay to his charge, and I hear that Cuffe 'hath very wiſely behaved himſelf to her Majeſty's 'better ſatisfaction.'

(5) See the declaration of the treaſons of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(6) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 133, in the notes.

(7) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 792.

(8) Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, vol. ii. p. 122.

[*C*] *By any means, and at any rate.*] This was from firſt to laſt the great point which Mr. Cuffe had in view. He thought that the Earl of Eſſex's friends were ſo numerous, and ſome of them of ſuch high quality, that the method which the Cecilian party took to maintain themſelves in power, might be ſo repreſented as to raiſe a jealouſy in the Queen, who was very tender of her authority, and that if the Earl once came to her preſence, and repreſented theſe matters with his uſual eloquence, and was ſupported by the teſtimonies of thoſe who were prepared to make good his charge, their buſineſs would be done (9). But without doubt, when he firſt thought of this method, he had no deſign of accompliſhing it by force: that fell in afterwards, when experience had diſcovered that acceſs could be had no other way. It is true that ſomething of this nature had been propoſed to the Earl long before, when he was in Ireland: but he rejected it, and foreſeeing that it might be objected to him when his conduct was called in queſtion before the Privy Council, he ſet down an anſwer to this charge in the brief notes that he made for his defence, the ſubſtance of which is preſerved by a grave Hiſtorian (10). It is therefore moſt probable, that when force came again to be thought of, it was originally moved by the ſame perſon that firſt hinted it, and that was Sir Chriſtopher Blount, who had married the Earl of Eſſex's mother. This ſeems alſo to be clearly proved by the Earl of Eſſex's confeſſion, who charged that Gentleman with giving him ſuch advice (11). Upon the whole, therefore, we have good reaſon to believe, that at firſt theſe were two diſtinct deſigns, and that Mr. Cuffe founded all his hopes in the enlarging and increaſing the Earl's faction, by taking in malecontents of all parties and of all religions, but more eſpecially by drawing to him ſuch great men and Miniſters, as were known either to fear Secretary Cecil's reſentment, or to envy his greatneſs; in purſuance of which ſcheme Mr. Cuffe not only acted vigorouſly himſelf, and engaged the Earl in the like ſchemes, but prevailed upon him to employ others in the proſecution of that deſign, which went ſo far as to alarm the Court very much: nor is it at all improbable, that if it had been managed with more temper and diſcretion, and without giving ſuch viſible occaſions of queſtioning the Earl's dutiful intentions, it might have been brought to end otherwiſe than it did, the Earl having moſt part of the city, and not a few at Court, on his ſide. But it was that Nobleman's misfortune, that with very great parts he had very great weakneſſes. He was certainly a man of principle, as well in regard to policy as religion; but as he had very ſtrong paſſions, and thoſe kept conſtantly inflamed by his followers on one ſide, and his enemies on the other, there was little of ſteadineſs in his proceedings. He ſometimes embraced the ſentiments of Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, and of his Court friends; but this method proving ſlow, he came, as it is ſaid in the text, to diſlike that, and fall in with Cuffe's counſels, who ſuſpected the ſincerity of the Courtiers, and thought to make his Lord formidable, by placing him at the head of a numerous party. But this too not anſwering in ſo ſhort a time as his deſires, and indeed his occaſions, required, Sir Chriſtopher Blount's project was brought again upon the carpet, and thus, by only approving the beſt, and purſuing the worſt counſels, this Nobleman ruined himſelf and all who were attached to him.

(9) This is Cuffe's own account of the matter, at his trial, in his confeſſions, and at his death.

(10) Camden. Annal. p. 797.

(11) See the trial of Sir Chriſtopher Blount, and others, in the State Trials, vol. vii. p. 47.

and

and the Queen's known regard for him, to overcome the ill impreſſions ſhe had received, and not, by a haſty reſuming of his former popularity, beget new grounds of diſtaſte, and afford his enemies freſh opportunities of inſinuating things to his prejudice, the only method which, as they perſuaded him, could hinder his coming once more into favour and power (*t*). Yet, as much as the Earl liked the zeal and affection of his Secretary, and notwithſtanding he delighted very much, as indeed he very well might, in his converſation, ſince he had a wonderful facility of applying all that he had learned from books to buſineſs, and of ſuiting the wiſe obſervations of ancient authors to the tranſactions of modern times (*u*); yet, his Lordſhip was but too well acquainted with the nature of Courts, and more eſpecially that he had to deal with, to regard Mr. Cuffe's political reflections as oracles, which the other obſerved, and took amiſs. This led him to ſhew the Earl, that he was not ſo far addicted to him as not to ſee his blind ſide; for that his ſubmiſſion, when called before the Lords of the Privy-Council, had ſunk his character very much without raiſing his fortune at all; that, by admitting his own conduct in Ireland to be wrong, he, in effect, acknowledged all the proceedings againſt him to be right; and therefore, if he meant not to lead a life of dependance, he muſt think of recovering his reputation by ſome diſtinguiſhed action (*w*). This rouzed the Earl, whoſe parts were certainly very good. He ſaw at once the danger of ſuch advice, and the deſtruction that muſt attend his following it; for which reaſon he not only rejected it with diſdain, but ordered Sir Gelly Merrick to diſcharge the Secretary immediately from his ſervice, which, if he had done, ſome writers ſeem to think both their lives had been by it preſerved. So it was however, that Sir Gelly Merrick took no notice of this order, which omiſſion coſt him his life alſo. The reaſon he gave for it was, that he was afraid Mr. Cuffe might be tempted to join with his Lord's enemies; but his real motive was, his agreeing in Cuffe's ſentiments (*x*). However, this produced a coldneſs, which laſted for ſome time. But the Queen denying to renew the Earl's grant for farming the ſweet wines, and ſome other mortifications which he received from Court having again ſoured his temper, he called Mr. Cuffe back to his Councils; to which he might be poſſibly induced for the ſake of managing better a new deſign he was upon, which was intereſting King James in his favour, or, rather, labouring to perſuade that Prince of his cordial affection to his ſervice: a thing not a little ſuſpected before, as appeared by the Jeſuit Parſons's dedicating to his Lordſhip his dangerous book about the Succeſſion, which he had publiſhed under the name of Doleman (*y*). This ſcheme was certainly a better one than the former, and there is ſome reaſon to believe that this alſo was Cuffe's, and was, for ſome time, pretty well managed. But ſuch was the heat of ſome of their aſſociates tempers, that they would not ſuffer the Earl to wait for the good effects that project might have produced. On the contrary, they were continually infuſing into him his danger of becoming a beggar, upon the expiration of his grant for the ſweet wines; in conſequence of which his friends would drop off, and he muſt entirely loſe that credit and influence which had hitherto made him dreadful to his enemies, even under the weight of his misfortunes (*z*). By degrees theſe inſinuations prevailed ſo far upon the Earl's mind, that he departed entirely from his ſcheme of ſubmiſſion, and returned to that ſort of conduct which he had purſued in Ireland, directing, or at leaſt allowing, Sir Gelly Merrick to keep a kind of open table for diſcontented and factious perſons of all parties, though he did not appear in perſon, or converſe with any of them, agreeably to one of Cuffe's maxims, *That it was good to have a multitude at his back, but few heads in his council* (*a*). Upon particular occaſions, and to afford them neceſſary inſtructions for the management of their reſpective parts in the maintenance of his aſſociation, the Earl of Eſſex conferred perſonally, but generally in private, with the principal Lords and Gentlemen of his party; yet without diſcloſing the whole extent of his views, or the means he intended to employ in order to carry them into execution: thoſe were reſerved for his ſecret council, and theſe, as far as we can diſcern, were Sir Chriſtopher Blount and Mr. Cuffe, who ſuggeſted and directed, or at leaſt examined, and gave their approbation, to all his proceedings (*b*) [*D*]. Amongſt other ſchemes ſet on foot

(*t*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 834, 835.

(*u*) *Reliquæ Wottonianæ*, p. 31.

(*w*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 833.

(*x*) *Reliquæ Wottonianæ*, p. 32. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 833.

(*y*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 358.

(*z*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 835, 837.

(*a*) See the declaration of the Earl of Eſſex's treaſons, Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 837.

(*b*) This is collected from the declaration before-mentioned, and the proceedings againſt the Earl and his accomplices.

[*D*] *Or at leaſt examined and directed, and gave their approbation to all his proceedings.*] We have in the text, upon the authority of a grave and great Hiſtorian, given an account of the motives upon which the Earl of Eſſex diſmiſſed Mr. Cuffe (12), and how the meaſure came to prove abortive; but the tale is quite otherwiſe told by a very polite writer, and one who aſſerts he had it from good authority. His ſtory is worth the reading, it runs thus (13): 'There was 'amongſt the Earl of Eſſex's neareſt attendants, one 'Henry Cuffe, a man of ſecret ambitious ends of his 'own, and of proportionate counſels, ſmothered under 'the habit of a ſcholar, and ſlubbered over with a 'certain rude and clowniſh faſhion, that had the ſemblance of integrity. This perſon, not above five or 'ſix weeks before my Lord's fatal irruption into the 'city, was, by the Earl's ſpecial command, ſuddenly 'diſcharged from all further attendance or acceſs 'unto him, out of an inward diſpleaſure then taken 'againſt his ſharp and importunate infuſions, and out 'of a glimmering foreſight, that he would prove the 'very inſtrument of his ruin. I muſt add hereunto, 'that about the ſame time my Lord had received 'from the Counteſs of Warwick (a Lady powerful 'in the Court, and indeed a virtuous uſer of her 'power) the beſt advice that I think was ever given 'from either ſex, That when he was free from reſtraint 'he ſhould cloſely take any out-lodgings at Green-'which, and ſometimes, when the Queen went abroad 'in a good humour, whereof ſhe would give him 'notice, he ſhould come forth and humble himſelf 'before her in the field. This counſel ſunk much 'into

(12) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 833.

(13) *Reliquæ Wottonianæ*, p. 31.

foot at this time by Mr. Cuffe, for the ſupport of the Earl's intereſt, there was one which ſhewed him a true politician, a great maſter in the knowledge of human nature, and a man equally capable of contriving with the utmoſt ſagacity, and executing with the greateſt addreſs. Sir Henry Nevile, who had been the Queen's Ambaſſador in France, and who had ſhewn himſelf, in a long and troubleſome negotiation, as active and able a Stateſman as thoſe times had produced, was then at home, and under a kind of a court cloud, which, though he was nearly related to Sir Robert Cecil, he had ſome cauſe to ſuſpect was of his raiſing; or, at leaſt, he thought he had good grounds to be diſpleaſed, that, by his known power and intereſt, it was not diſpelled (*c*). Upon the diſcontents of this great and wiſe Miniſter, Mr. Cuffe thought it practicable to work; and, though he had never any nearneſs with the Earl of Eſſex in his greateſt proſperity, or the leaſt correſpondence with him ſince his troubles began, yet Mr. Cuffe, who knew with how great efficacy the aſſociating ſo great a perſon, and of ſuch high reputation for his ſagacity in their deſigns, would operate in favour of the Earl's cauſe, undertook to bring it about, and, againſt all ſhew of probability, ſucceeded (*d*). He took an opportunity of inſinuating to Sir Henry, that, after the Queen, his miſtreſs, the nation in general, and the Miniſtry in particular, had received many and great advantages from that vigilance and induſtry with which he had managed public affairs in France, and elſewhere; inſtead of receiving ſuitable rewards, exceptions were taken to his conduct, and himſelf put under difficulties and hardſhips, by the intrigues of Cecil, who was jealous of every man whoſe ſervices were greater, and whoſe parts were better, than his own. By theſe ſuggeſtions he wrought himſelf ſo thoroughly into the confidence of Sir Henry Nevile, that he brought him to have a good opinion of the Earl his maſter's intentions for the public ſervice; and this may be juſtly eſteemed the moſt eminent ſtroke of Cuffe's politicks, and the higheſt proof of his abilities (*e*). His perfect intimacy with the Earl, the great likeneſs of their tempers, his entire knowledge of his affairs, might very well account for the aſcendancy he had over him; but nothing of this, a very long acquaintance excepted, can be ſuggeſted with regard to Sir Henry Nevile; ſo that his intereſt with, and influence over him, could be aſcribed to nothing but his abilities (*f*) [*E*]. We now come to the main point of the conſpi-

(*c*) Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 271.

(*d*) See Sir Henry Nevile's caſe, in Winwood's Memorials.

(*e*) Collected from Sir Henry Nevile's own reflections of this matter.

(*f*) Mr. Cuffe valued himſelf highly upon this at his trial.

'into him, and for ſome days he reſolved it; but, in 'the mean time, through the interceſſion of the Earl 'of Southampton, whom Cuffe had gained, he was 'reſtored to my Lord's ear, and ſo working advan'tage upon his diſgraces, and the vain foundation of 'vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, ſpun 'out the final deſtruction of his maſter and himſelf, 'and almoſt of his reſtorer, if his pardon had not 'been won by inches. True it is that the Earl, in 'Weſtminſter-Hall, did in general diſcloſe the evil 'perſuaſions of this man: but the particulars which 'I have related, of his diſmiſſion and reſtitution he 'buried in his own breaſt, for ſome reaſons apparent 'enough. Indeed, as I conjecture, not to exaſ'perate the caſe of my Lord of Southampton, though 'he might therewithal a little peradventure have 'mollified his own. The whole and true report I 'had by infallible means, from the perſon himſelf 'that both brought the advice from the aforeſaid ex'cellent Lady, and carried the diſcharge to Cuffe, 'who, in a private chamber, was ſtrucken therewith 'into a ſwoon almoſt dead to the earth, as if he had 'fallen from ſome high ſteeple; ſuch turrets of hope 'he had built in his own fancy!' The noble Hiſtorian, who, in his junior years, conſidered the ſubject upon which the author wrote whom we have laſt mentioned, though he mentions him but very ſlightly, yet affords Mr. Cuffe quite another kind of character, and makes him to have been a much better Courtier than his maſter, one who obſerved it as a fault in him, i. e. the Earl of Eſſex, that he wore his paſſions in his countenance, that his affections or his anger were always to be read in his looks, and that he knew not how to conceal either. The noble writer's words deſerve our notice. After ſhewing that there is a ſort of diſſimulation abſolutely neceſſary in a Court, he proceeds to ſhew (14), how indifferently Eſſex was furniſhed in that particular; 'how ill, ſays he, the Earl was read 'in this philoſophy, his ſervant Cuffe (whoſe obſer'vations were ſharp enough, whatever Stoiciſms raved 'in his nature) well diſcerned when he ſaid, *Amorem* '*& odium, ſemper in fronte geſſit, nec celare novit.*

(14) Diſparity between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Eſſex, written by the Earl of Clarendon.

[*E*] *So that his intereſt and influence over him, could be aſcribed to nothing but his abilities.*] It was from a long and intimate acquaintance with Sir Henry Nevile, that Mr. Cuffe undertook to manage ſo dangerous and ſo intricate an affair with him. This we learn from Mr. Cuffe himſelf, who, at his trial, was very much provoked by the Attorney-General's treating him as a meſſenger from the Earl of Eſſex; and this induced him to tell the Court, that he was no ſuch Mercury as Mr. Attorney was pleaſed to make him, but that in whatever he tranſacted with Sir Henry Nevile, he behaved as a principal, and as a common friend to the Earl and to the Knight (15). Indeed this is ſufficiently corroborated by the account given of this matter by Sir H. Nevile, which was read at Cuffe's trial, and what he had aſſerted is clearly confirmed. It was conceived in the following terms, allowing for the inaccuracy of the tranſcribers (16).

(15) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 59.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 47.

'At his (Sir Henry Nevile's) arrival out of France, 'he was told that he had ill offices done him in Court 'by divers, and ſome of great place, and his actions 'at Bullen and carriage there greatly blamed, as 'cauſing the ill ſucceſs of the peace. And by Cuffe 'it was told him, the Earl would have him know he 'was wronged, becauſe he was one that loved him. 'After this Cuffe brought him a letter from the Earl, 'thereby deſiring his love, and to hold it to him, be'ſides many other words only of compliment. To 'which letter he returned an anſwer ſuitable to ſo 'kind provocations: but all this while he never went 'to him; and being in the country within ten miles 'of the Earl, yet never went to viſit him. But 'Cuffe came to him from the Earl and told him, the 'Earl was then at liberty, and all the world that would 'might then freely come unto him: but ſtill he put 'off his going, till, at one time, Cuffe came and told 'him, the Earl expected his coming to him, and 'ſuch a day he would ſtay ſupper for him, and that 'if he came, and Cuffe chanced not to be in the way, 'a Gentleman of the Earl's ſhould attend his coming, 'and bring him to the Earl's cloſet. About eight of 'the clock that night he went to the Earl's, and was 'met by a Gentleman who brought him to his Lord, 'who entertained him kindly, and after a while, 'after many queſtions of his hopes, but uſed no undu'tiful words of the Queen or State, he parted with 'the Earl, there having nothing but ordinary terms of 'compliment paſſed between them. Afterwards, Mr. 'Cuffe repairing often to him, he aſked him at times 'how his Lord's matters ſtood in Court. At one time 'he

conſpiracy, or that deſign laid for reſtoring the Earl's power and greatneſs, which ended in his own, and in his followers ruin. Here it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between Mr. Cuffe's ſcheme, which was contrived and never executed, and the unfortunate Earl's project, which, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, without being thought to play upon words, was executed without any contrivance. As to the firſt it was this: Mr. Cuffe perceiving that the Earl had many friends, ſome of them of great rank and quality, and that Cecil, and his aſſociates in the Miniſtry, had likewiſe many enemies, who were alſo perſons eminent by their birth, fortune, and influence, he thought that, by uniting theſe, and procuring, ſome way or other, acceſs to the Queen, a change might be made in the management of public affairs, at leaſt in her name, if not by her conſent, and the Earl thereby raiſed to a degree of power equal to his friends wants, and his own wiſhes (*g*). Whether this ſudden change for the preſent, was to have derived a future ſupport, by a declaration in favour of the King of Scots claim to the ſucceſſion, or whether that was to be left to farther conſideration, is a point we want lights ſufficient to determine; but, that this was really the baſis of Cuffe's project, and that he flattered himſelf it would not come within the legal conſtruction of treaſon, is what we have good grounds to believe, and, indeed, ſufficient authorities to prove (*h*). When things were thus far brought into order, a reſolution was taken, that a general and ſolemn meeting ſhould be had at Drury-Houſe, where the chiefs of the party might ſee each other, where they might have a full communication in reference to their ſtrength, and come to ſome reſolution as to the attempt that ſhould be made, and the ſafeſt and moſt feaſible method of making it. After much reflection and conſideration, February 2d, 1601, was fixed upon, and, accordingly, upon that day, the Aſſembly was held at the place before-mentioned (*i*). It is very remarkable, that the Earl of Eſſex himſelf was not preſent, to prevent, as was ſaid, any notice or umbrage being taken at Court; but, in reality, that there might be no evidence to affect him for holding ſuch an aſſembly, or thoſe who were preſent at it for conſulting with him, in caſe any thing relating to it ſhould take air. At this aſſembly Mr. Cuffe was likewiſe not preſent, but all his friends, and at his requeſt, and upon his earneſt intreaty amongſt the reſt, Sir Henry Nevile. It was propounded there, that a few perſons had got the Queen and the Government into their hands; that ſuch as they diſliked were no longer ſafe; that they daily ſuffered wrongs and oppreſſions, without any hopes of redreſs; that theſe proceedings were againſt juſtice and common right, and that the only remedy was, to obtain an audience of the Queen, in which theſe grievances might be fairly laid before her (*k*). After theſe preliminaries, the main point, How ſuch an audience ſhould be obtained, came under deliberation, and a ſcheme was then laid down for the Earl of Eſſex gaining acceſs to her Majeſty, and power enough to remove his enemies; but nothing was reſolved in this aſſembly, though a liſt was produced of one hundred and thirty Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of eſtates, that were ready to embark in the Earl's cauſe, and to hazard, as indeed many of them did, and loſt too, for his ſake, their lives and fortunes (*l*). Such was the deſign and iſſue of the conference at Drury-Houſe, in which

(*g*) Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 395.

(*h*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 837, 838.

(*i*) Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 396.

(*k*) See the caſe of Sir Henry Nevile, in Winwood's Mem.

(*l*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 840. Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 396.

'he anſwered him, well; and told him of great hopes 'conceived: at ſome other time he anſwered him 'very diſcontentedly in theſe things, ſaying it made 'no matter, it would cauſe the Earl to take other 'courſes, and ſaid there was a pretext to lay up the 'Earl of Southampton, which was a warning that 'they meant to lay up Lord Eſſex after him, but that 'the Earl was reſolved they ſhould never curb him up 'any more. Cuffe then told him, his Lord had in 'purpoſe ſome matters, but he ſhould not embark 'himſelf further in them than he liſted, and deſired 'him to give a meeting to the Earl of Southampton 'and Sir Charles Danvers: he ſaid he would, but 'with this limitation, that nothing was intended 'againſt the Queen's perſon, which was promiſed. 'But he detained them at two meetings, which cauſ-'ed them to make an ill judgment of his meaning 'towards them and the intendment. Monday, on 'Candlemas-day, ſtanding in Serjeants-Inn Gate, the 'Earls of Eſſex, Southampton, and Sir Chriſtopher 'Blount, paſſed by in a coach, whom he ſaluted paſ-'ſing, and was the firſt time he had ſeen them of 'long. Anon after, Cuffe coming to him, told him 'he had a commiſſion to deliver a ſecret unto him, 'which was, that the Earl finding his life ſought by 'men potent about her Majeſty, he was adviſed to 'make his appearance to the Queen, and go with 'ſtrength for that purpoſe, deſcribing the ſame man-'ner of taking the Court, and making way to the 'Queen, as before is ſet down by others. This 'Cuffe ſaid he was to impart to him, as one in whoſe 'love the Earl was confident. The matters being 'propounded unto him, he made many objections, 'and put great difficulties in the execution, eaſy 'perfecting of things being promiſed; my anſwer 'was, *Multa ſunt quæ non laudantur niſi cum aguntur*. 'When ſome perſons were named for the actors, he 'objected that if many knew it, it would not be con-'cealed; if few were uſed, it would not be performed. 'The Earl of Rutland being named for one, ſaid, 'they would not truſt him long before-hand, for if he 'knew it but two hours before he would tell. In 'concluſion, he was deſired to think of the things 'propounded in caſe they were ſhewed unto him. 'Afterward Cuffe came to him, to whom he related 'all the ſpeeches uſed in that conference, and told 'him he would not allow it, except they would con-'jure and take an oath to attempt nothing againſt the 'Queen's perſon and againſt Mr. Secretary, he would 'never do nor conſent to any thing, for he was nearer 'unto him, therefore they muſt, *duce pudicè*, ſpare 'him in that. Cuffe ſaid to him they would only 'have him preſent when things were doing, and if 'it fell out ſo, that he ſhould be haſtened to diſpatch 'into France before that time, he might defer it by 'feigning ſickneſs. By their appointment he ſhould 'have been Secretary. Further it is required, that 'he ſhould have ſent a Miniſter into London to find 'how the city ſtood affected to the Earl. Cuffe fur-'ther told him of a buz in many mens mouths in 'London, and that there had been warning given to 'the Mayor and Aldermen to look to the city, but 'of

which Mr. Cuffe had ſo deep a ſhare, as well in the managing as in the contriving [F]. There was a ſecond meeting ſome time after, to which Mr. Cuffe uſed many intreaties with Sir Henry Nevile to come, but he abſolutely refuſed; nor would he liſten to what was propoſed, of an interview with the Earl of Eſſex, from a ſuppoſition that he was unwilling to truſt himſelf where there were ſo many people preſent; but, in reality, he had already heard much more than he was inclined to hear, foreſaw but too clearly the conſequences of the former meeting, though he was unwilling, as a man of honour, to betray thoſe who had truſted him, as well as a man of too much ſenſe to truſt himſelf in ſuch a company again (*m*). Things were now ſo far advanced, that it was thought dangerous to go back, at the ſame time that there was no ſafety in going forward. A great reſort of company there was to Eſſex-Houſe, and, to cover this, the maſk of religion was uſed, the Earl pretending that he ſought no relief but from ſpiritual comforts; and, for this reaſon, he had frequent ſermons there; and indeed many of the Clergy in the city ventured to pray for him, and for his preſervation; which, all things conſidered, was a very ſtrange thing (*n*). It is not to be ſuppoſed, that the Court was aſleep all this while, or that Sir Robert Cecil, and his friends, ſhould have ſo growing and dangerous an evil in their neighbourhood, without being appriſed of it, or providing for their own ſafety. There is very good reaſon to believe, that they were not either inattentive or ill-informed, and that having muſtered, in their own opinions, the whole force of the Lord Eſſex's party, they grew convinced, that any ſtep, tending to open force, muſt end in his deſtruction. They therefore, to quicken him, took a variety of methods of ſhewing their contempt of his intereſt, and ſuffered thoſe who had perſonal quarrels with his friends to inſult them (*o*). Though this went to Eſſex's heart, yet he was irreſolute, as not being able to draw together a number of perſons ſufficient to execute the ſcheme that had been talked over at Drury-Houſe. But while he delayed, in hopes of collecting ſtrength, his enemies, having provided for the total diſſipation of his ſchemes, determined not to let him linger any longer; and therefore a meſſage was ſent him on Saturday the ſeventh day of February, from Secretary Herbert, to attend him, which he excuſed, on the ſcore of his indiſpoſition; and this, as it was foreſeen it would, forced him to break out, as he did the next day, with all the force that he could collect; but being diſſwaded from attempting the Court, and failing of that aſſiſtance he expected in the city, he, and all that were with him in Eſſex-Houſe, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners (*p*). By this ſudden reverſe of fortune, Mr. Cuffe found himſelf in the moſt wretched condition poſſible; for the Earl of Eſſex being tried and condemned on the 19th of February, and being ſolicited by the Divines who attended him while under ſentence, not only confeſſed matters that were prejudicial to Mr. Cuffe, and gave thoſe confeſſions under his hand, but likewiſe charged him to his face with being the author of all his misfortunes, and the perſon who principally perſwaded him to purſue violent meaſures (*q*). Sir Henry Nevile alſo being involved in this unhappy buſineſs, charged Mr. Cuffe with being the perſon who invited him to the meeting at Drury-Houſe, but very modeſtly, and without any circumſtances of aggravation (*r*). He was brought to his trial on the fifth of March following, and defended himſelf with great ſteadineſs and ſpirit (*s*) [G]. He was, however, convicted;

(*m*) Sir Henry Nevile's caſe and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(*n*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 839.

(*o*) See Oſborn's Political Deductions from Eſſex's death.

(*p*) Camd. Ann. p. 839. Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 401, 402.

(*q*) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 53.

(*r*) See his caſe and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28. Camden. Annal Eliz. p. 866.

'of twenty-four Aldermen he doubted not of twenty 'at leaſt.' It is evident enough that this narrative was but indiſtinctly taken. However it is the beſt we have, and comes home to the point it was brought to prove, that Sir Henry Nevile had a great confidence in Cuffe, and that it was chiefly from this he was drawn to meddle in the affair.

[F] *In which Mr. Cuffe had ſo deep a ſhare, as well in the managing as in the contriving.*] There is one point left much in the dark in the laſt note, which therefore ſhould be explained in this. It is confeſſed that Sir Henry Nevile was privy to the propoſals made, and the reſolutions taken, in the conſultation at Drury Houſe, and it was for his knowledge of them, and for that only, that Cuffe died: it is requiſite therefore that the reader ſhould be acquainted with what thoſe propoſitions were, and this he ſhall be told with all the ſuccinctneſs poſſible (17). Sir Chriſtopher Blount was, with a choice detachment, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Palace Gate; Davis was to ſeize the Hall; Danvers the Guard-Chamber, which was but ſlightly watched, and the Preſence-Chamber; and Eſſex was to ruſh in from the Meuſe, which were ſtables belonging to the Court, with a ſelect party at his heels, and to beg the Queen on his knees to remove his adverſaries from her preſence, to bring them upon their trial, and then to call a Parliament and make a change in the government. This moſt certainly was not originally Mr. Cuffe's ſcheme, but was made up of his and Sir Chriſtopher Blount's blended together, and to which, in the end, Mr. Cuffe was brought to aſſent, as the only one that was practicable. Of this it was that Sir Henry Nevile gave his opinion, that ſome things were not to be applauded till they were atchieved, and of this it is not improbable, that he gave ſome hints to the Court, at leaſt ſomething like this was ſaid by Secretary Cecil at Cuffe's trial. We now ſee the very depth of this affair, and in what manner, and by what degrees, Mr. Cuffe plunged into this treaſonable abyſs, out of which, though there were ſome who eſcaped, yet it is generally thought that they left the beſt part of their eſtates behind them.

(17) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 839.

[G] *And defended himſelf with great ſteadineſs and ſpirit.*] When the Attorney-General Coke opened a charge againſt Mr. Cuffe, he did it with all that violence which was ſo natural to him (18): he told him that he was the erranteſt traitor that ever came to the bar; he was *polypragma*, the very ſeducer of the Earl, and added, that, ſince he was a ſcholar and a ſophiſter, he would frame him a ſyllogiſm, and bid him deny which part he would. The ſyllogiſm was this, Whoſoever commits rebellion intends the Queen's death, but you committed rebellion, *ergo*, you intended the Queen's death. After abundance of other hard ſayings he enters into the charge, but without producing any witneſs, or any kind of proof, excepting the confeſſion of Sir Henry Nevile, and the ſtories that Secretary Cecil was pleaſed to tell upon the Bench, of the confeſſions of the Earl of Eſſex and of the Earl of Southampton, all which were in this general manner uſed as evidence that Cuffe was the great framer and

(18) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 47.

victed; and, as he was looked upon as the principal author of this fatal buſineſs; conſidered as a man of dangerous capacity; and having had no ſort of intelligence with thoſe that were then in favour, he was, with Sir Gelly Merrick, executed at Tyburn, March 30th, 1601, and died with great conſtancy and courage (*t*) [*H*]. His character has been harſhly (*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 795.

manager of all theſe dangerous deſigns. At length, Mr. Cuffe being allowed to ſpeak for himſelf, ſaid, 'the matters objected againſt him were many, and 'urged againſt him with all force of wit; therefore, 'for the help of his weak memory, he would reduce 'all unto two heads, things plotted, and things acted. 'For the firſt of them, Mr. Attorney thinks he hath 'concluded me in mood and figure, but my anſwer 'is, that if a man may be excuſed of treaſon by committing nothing, I am clear. Yet the number of 'matters heaped upon me, and the inferences and 'enforcements of the ſame uſed againſt me, to make 'me odious, make me ſeem alſo as a monſter of many 'heads in this buſineſs. But ſince by the law all 'accuſations are to be believed, and facts weighed, as 'by evidence they are proved, and things are beſt 'proved being ſingled; I will beſeech Mr. Attorney, 'that we may inſiſt upon ſome point certain, and 'not, as in a ſtream, have all things at once brought 'upon me with violence. For my being in Eſſex 'Houſe the Sunday, I hope it ſhall be conſtrued as in 'the caſe of others. Then, if thoſe who only had 'their being within the walls of that houſe, and no 'hand nor head in that action, were not traitors, I 'hope, that in favour and in charity, you will accordingly judge of me, who ſpent all that day locked up in my chamber amongſt my books, and never 'appeared unto any man till all was yielded up to my 'Lord Admiral. To conclude me to be a traitor, 'becauſe I was in the houſe where treaſon was committed, by the ſame reaſon, if a lion had been there 'locked up in a grate, he had been in caſe of treaſon. 'But whereas your argument, Mr. Attorney, is this, 'that whoſoever intends treaſon, and the ſame is 'afterwards acted by others, there the intender, as 'well as the actor, is a traitor; but I intended treaſon, 'and others acted it, *ergo*. Mr. Attorney it is not 'your *major* that I deny, becauſe my Lords the 'Judges have determined that, but I deny your *minor*. 'For if the thing intended was the going to the Court, 'yet the thing acted was the going into London.' But Mr. Attorney-General taking him ſhort upon his own confeſſion, concluded him a traitor, for in treaſon the very intent is treaſon, if the ſame can be proved. Now it is confeſſed by Mr. Cuffe, that he intended the taking of the Court, which in itſelf is treaſon. Mr. Cuffe ſaid, 'My Lords, the matters forced upon me 'ſo amaze me, as I know not what to ſay: but I beſeech you, even as yourſelves ſhall be judged, judge 'ſo of me both by my words and deeds, for this is the 'law both of God and man; and let not the accuſations of others, or arguments now forced ſo far, have 'power againſt me, as to take from me my juſt defence. I am further charged with contriving plots 'for reſtoring the Earl to greatneſs. True, I muſt 'confeſs, as a ſervant that longed for the honour of 'his maſter, I have often wiſhed to ſee his recalling to 'the Court, and reſtoring to her Majeſty's former 'favour, but beyond the limits of theſe deſires my 'thoughts never carried me, nor aſpired to other 'greatneſs, than to ſee him again in place of a ſervant and worthy ſubject as before he had been. 'And whereas I ſtand accuſed to be as one that turned 'the wheel, which elſe had ſtood, and to be the ſtirrer 'of his mind, which otherwiſe had ſettled to another 'courſe; to clear this I had written two lines, which 'you, Mr. Secretary, knew the Earl would have ſubſcribed if he might have been ſuffered.' But Mr. Secretary affirmed, he perceived no ſuch purpoſe in the Earl, neither remembered any ſuch matter in that which was written. Said Cuffe, 'You know, Mr. 'Secretary, my paper being read to the Earl as he 'read, he ſaid, ſtill as he went, *true, true.*' At the importunity of Mr. Cuffe, Mr. Secretary willed the paper ſhould be read, but it tended only unto this, that if he knew of the Earl's intent to go to the Court, it was with ſuch limitations as the Earl had propounded, otherwiſe not, for he had not ſuggeſted any of theſe new practices. Mr. Attorney, to cut ſhort this defence, began his reply with telling him, 'Come 'Mr. Cuffe, I will give you a cuff ſhall ſet you down;' and then ordered part of the Earl's and Sir Henry Nevile's confeſſion, to be read. Mr. Secretary Cecil then queſtioned Mr. Cuffe, What was meant with reſpect to a Parliament? to which he anſwered that if theſe ſchemes had ſucceeded, many alterations would have followed, and that, for the ſettling of things, a Parliament might then have become neceſſary. Mr. Attorney-General was pleaſed to inform the Court, that, in that Parliament, Mr. Cuffe was to have been Speaker. The Jury found him guilty, in which Mr. Cuffe ſaid that they had done but right in diſcharging their conſciences; he took notice, that when he was ſeized he had but two ſhillings about him, but that there were three hundred and fifty pounds in ready money taken in his chamber; he ſaid, that, upon his being firſt carried to the Tower, he was put into a very bad place, but that he was afterwards removed into a better, where he deſired to continue, which was afterwards granted; he farther requeſted, that he might have a Divine ſent him, and be allowed the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, which were alſo promiſed. Mr. Camden, in his account of Cuffe's trial, ſays (19), that the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, told both the Attorney-General and Mr. Cuffe, that they were but indifferent diſputants, and preſſed the ſtatute of treaſon, by which Cuffe was concluded, ſince it appeared that he was acquainted with what paſſed in the conference at Drury Houſe, and the propoſal of putting the Queen under a force, and ſhewed his approbation of it by citing, in converſation, to Sir Henry Nevile, a paſſage from the poet Lucan, implying, that where juſtice is denied, it might be obtained by force:

(19) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 866.

—— Arma tenenti
Omnia dat, qui juſta negat.

Mr. Fuller, who affects to treat every ſubject merrily, ſays (20), humorouſly enough, that this might be ſtiled Mr. Cuffe's *neck-verſe*, in which how improperly ſoever he ſhews his wit, yet certainly he ſhews his judgment at the ſame time, for without doubt the quoting theſe verſes was the higheſt treaſon that Cuffe committed, and the only proof that he conſented to the project of putting a force upon the Queen, which, in the conſtruction of the law, was treaſon; yet this is ſo far from being proved by two witneſſes, that it could only have been proved by one, and even he was not produced. Such, in compariſon of thoſe in which we live, was the juſtice, or rather ſeverity, of former times.

(20) Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28.

[*H*] *And died with great conſtancy and courage.*] It was an obſervation of Secretary Cecil's, that Cuffe was as ſilent under his misfortunes, as his maſter was open. Indeed there was ſomething very extraordinary in the Earl of Eſſex's behaviour; for, when he once began to confeſs, he charged every body that had any kindneſs for him, as having a hand in his plot; ſuch as the Lord Montjoy, his ſucceſſor in Ireland, and many others; ſo that the very number of them rendered a proſecution unſafe, which is a farther proof that Cuffe's original ſcheme might have ſucceeded, had it been coolly and carefully purſued. The Earl, to prove his ſincerity, deſired to ſee Mr. Cuffe, whom he exhorted to confeſs, as he did, with many paſſionate expreſſions, adding at laſt (21), 'I muſt tell you 'plainly, that this inſtance of diſloyalty is purely owing to your advice.' Mr. Camden tells us, that Mr. Cuffe was ſurprized at this, and in few words, but to the purpoſe, charged the Earl with weakneſs and levity in betraying his friends (22). This was before Mr. Cuffe's trial, and how handſomely he acted thereat has been already ſhewn. At the place of execution all writers agree, that he behaved with the utmoſt reſolution, and the moſt ſteady compoſure.

(21) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 59.

(22) Annal. Eliz. p. 859.

harſhly treated by Lord Bacon (*u*) and Sir Henry Wotton (*w*), and ſome other writers. Camden alſo, who knew him intimately, and had lived for many years in great friendſhip with him, beſtows on him a ſhort but bitter reflection. Others are milder in their cenſures, and all allow him to have been a very learned and very able man. He wrote a book in Engliſh, that was printed after his death ſeveral times, and has been much commended (*x*): and, beſides this, there is another work of his that was never printed, of both which we ſhall give ſome account in the notes [*I*]. The courſe of his life, as well

(*u*) See his Work, vol. iv. p. 395.

(*w*) *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 31.

(*x*) Fuller's Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28. *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 303.

He delivered himſelf, upon this melancholy occaſion, in the following words: 'I am brought hither to pay 'my laſt debt to nature, and to ſuffer for crimes 'committed againſt God, my Prince, and my country; and as I cannot but diſcern the infinite juſtice 'of God, when I reflect on the multitude of my offences, ſo can I as little doubt but the ſeverity of 'my puniſhment will make way for my admiſſion into 'the embraces of his mercy. We are expoſed here 'as ſad ſpectacles, and inſtances of human frailty: 'the death we are to undergo carries a frightful 'aſpect, (for even the beſt of men deſire life), beſides that 'tis as full of ignominy as terror. However, 'tis the portion of the beſt of ſaints, with 'whom I aſſuredly hope to riſe again in Chriſt. Not 'that I would be thought by any one to depend upon 'my own merits, which I abſolutely diſcard, but I 'place my entire truſt and dependance in the atonement of my Saviour's blood. I am fully perſuaded, that, whoever feels a ſecret conſolation within 'himſelf whilſt he groans under the infliction of any 'earthly puniſhment, is chaſtiſed by God with a 'paternal tenderneſs, and not in an angry and judicial way. But to come to the cauſe of my death. 'There is nobody here can be poſſibly ignorant, 'what a wild commotion was raiſed on the 8th of 'February, by a particular great, but unadviſed, 'Earl. I do here call God, his angels, and my own 'conſcience, to witneſs, that I was not in the leaſt 'concerned therein, but was ſhut up on that whole 'day within the houſe, where I ſpent my time in 'very melancholy reflections.' Here he was interrupted, and adviſed not to diſguiſe the truth by diſtinctions, nor palliate his crime by ſpecious pretences. Then he proceeded in theſe words: 'I confeſs 'tis a 'crime as black as treaſon, for a ſubject, who has 'loſt his Prince's favour, to force his way to the 'royal preſence. For my own part, I never perſuaded any man to take up arms againſt the Queen, 'but am moſt heartily concerned, for being an inſtrument of bringing that worthy Gentleman, Sir 'Henry Nevile, into danger; and do moſt earneſtly 'intreat his pardon: and whereas I ſaid, that one 'and twenty Aldermen out of the twenty-four were 'devoted to the Earl's intereſt, I only meant that 'they were his friends, and ready to ſerve him, but 'not in the way of open rebellion.' Here he was again interrupted, and ſo began to apply himſelf to his devotions, which he managed with a great deal of fervour, and then, making a ſolemn profeſſion of his creed, and aſking pardon of God and the Queen, he was diſpatched by the executioner. A man, ſays Camden, of moſt exquiſite learning, and of a penetrating, but ſeditious and crooked, wit (23). *Ver exquiſitiſſima doctrina, ingenioque acerrimo, ſed turbido & tortuoſo.*

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 868.

[*I*] *Of both which we ſhall give ſome account in the notes.*] As for Mr. Cuffe's book, it was, for ſome time after his deceaſe, handed about at Oxford in manuſcript, and conſidered as a very great curioſity. Mr. Anthony Wood tells us, he wrote it in the year 1600, that is, a very little before his death. About ſix years after it was printed under this title:

The Differences *of the* Ages *of* Man's Life, *together with the original Cauſes, Progreſs, and End, thereof. Written by the learned* Henry Cuffe, *ſome time Fellow of* Merton-college *in* Oxford. Lond. 1607, 1638, 8*vo*; 1640, 12*mo*. There is ſomething in this piece very curious and philoſophical; and though, at this time of day, what between our proficiency in experimental philoſophy, in which he was but a beginner, and the uncouthneſs of his ſtile, which was the fault of his time, much of the beauty of his work is loſt; yet the ſtrength of his thoughts, the accuracy of his method, and his connected manner of reaſoning, leave no reaſon at all to doubt, that he deſerved the commendations that have been beſtowed upon him. Mr. Wood ſays (24), that he left behind him many other things ready for the preſs, which were never publiſhed; but he does not think fit to tell us any of their titles. All that we can ſupply from the enquiries of the indefatigable Biſhop Tanner, is the following title of one piece, and the place where it is, or at leaſt was once, to be found (25):

(24) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 308.

De rebus geſtis in ſancto concilio Nicæno, or, 'The 'Tranſactions in the Holy Council of Nice, tranſ-'lated out of Greek into Latin,' and is believed to have been the work of Gelaſius Cyricenus, which was tranſcribed from the original in the Vatican Library, by Henry Cuffe (26). We will conclude this note with the judicious and ſalutary reflection of a celebrated author, upon the uneaſy life, and unfortunate death, of this extraordinary perſon of whom we have been ſpeaking, which teaches the uſe of theſe kind of Hiſtories, and ſhews, that we may borrow as beneficial improvements from contemplating the lives of unhappy men, as from the peruſal of the ſwelling memoirs of perſons more indebted to Fortune for her favours (27). 'Mingle not, ſays he, 'your intereſt with a great man's, made deſperate 'by debts or Court injuries, whoſe breakings out 'prove fatal to their wiſeſt followers and friends, 'averred in the laſt Earl of Eſſex but one, where 'Merrick his Steward, and Cuffe his Secretary, 'though of excellent parts, were both hanged. For 'ſuch unconcocted rebellions turn ſeldom to the 'hurt of any but the parties that promote them, being commonly guided by the directions of their 'enemies, as this was by Cecil, whoſe creatures 'perſuaded Eſſex to this inconſiderate attempt.' C.

(25) *Bibliotheca Cotton.* Nero D. X.

(26) *Bibliotheca Britannica Hibernica*, p. 211.

(27) Oſborn's Advice to his Son, P. i. cap. iv.

[**** From Dr. Birch's memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth it appears, that Mr. Cuff was one of the Secretaries to the Earl of Eſſex ſo early as in 1696, and that he accompanied the Earl in his expedition againſt Cadiz. After the ſucceſsful event of the expedition, Cuff was diſpatched with his Lordſhip's letters to England, and, when he had landed, endeavoured, with the utmoſt ſpeed, to arrive with them at the Court. Being, however, unfortunately taken ill on the road, he was obliged to ſend up the letters, incloſed in one of his own, to Mr. Reynoldes, another of the Earl's Secretaries. Mr. Cuff, agreeably to large inſtructions which he had received from his Lordſhip, had drawn up a diſcourſe concerning the great action at Cadiz, which the Earl purpoſed to be publiſhed as ſoon as poſſible, both to ſtop all vagrant rumours, and to inform thoſe, that were well affected, of the truth of the whole. It was, at the ſame time, to be ſo contrived, that neither his Lordſhip's name, nor Cuff's, nor any other perſon's, connected with the Earl, ſhould either be openly mentioned, uſed, or in ſuch a manner inſinuated, as that the moſt ſlender gueſs could be made, who was the penman. The publication was to have the appearance of a letter that came from Cadiz, and the title of it was to be, "A true relation of the action "at Cadiz, the 21ſt of June, under the Earl of "Eſſex and the Lord Admiral, ſent to a Gentleman "in Court from one that ſerved there in good place." Sir Anthony Aſhley, who was entruſted with the deſign, acted a treacherous part on this occaſion. He betrayed the ſecret to the Queen, and the Lords of her Council; the conſequence of which was, that Mr. Fulke Grevill was charged by her Majeſty to command Mr. Cuff, upon pain of death, not to ſet forth any diſcourſe concerning the expedition with-

well as the manner of his death, rendered him the theme of much diſcourſe in his own times; and our general Hiſtorians have mentioned him in ſuch a manner, as might have raiſed the curioſity of their readers, to be more particularly informed. The Reverend Mr. Fuller (*y*) has given him a place amongſt his Worthies in Somerſetſhire; honeſt Anthony Wood (*z*) has treated him with great fairneſs and freedom; and the learned and induſtrious Biſhop Tanner (*a*) has ſpoken of him, as indeed he does of every body, with great candour, accuracy, and decency. Theſe authorities will ſufficiently juſtify the giving his Memoirs a place in this collection, more eſpecially as it has afforded an opportunity of ſetting ſeveral hiſtorical circumſtances relating to a very dark and intricate affair, in a clear and true light. His death hindered not his limbs from being interred, though we are not able to ſay where; though the manner of it did, as it well might, deprive him of a monument. An old friend of his, however, ventured to embalm his memory in an Epigram (*b*), with which, being very ſhort, we ſhall conclude:

(y) Fuller's Worthies, p. 28.
(z) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 303.
(a) *Bibliotheca Britannica Hibernica*, p. 211.
(b) Owen, *Epigram. lib.* v. *nu.* 107.

Doctus eras Græce felixque tibi fuit Alpha
At fuit infelix Omega Cuffe tuum.

Which has been thus tranſlated:

Thou waſt, indeed, well read in Greek!
Thy Alpha too was crown'd with hope;
But, oh! tho' ſad the truth I ſpeak,
Thy Omega proved but a rope.

out her privity. Such was the ſtate of the liberty of the preſs in thoſe days. Nevertheleſs, matters were ſo managed by Mr. Anthony Bacon, that copies of the diſcourſe were ſent abroad, for the purpoſe of doing juſtice to the honour and reputation of the Earl of Eſſex (28).

(28) Birch's Memoris, vol. ii. p. 81, 82. 95.

In the firſt volume of the Annual Regiſter, and the forty-third of the Gentleman's Magazine, the following remarkable ſpeech is given, as the dying ſpeech of Mr. Cuff. "I am here adjudged to die, "for acting an act never plotted, for plotting a plot "never acted. Juſtice will have her courſe; ac- "cuſers muſt be heard; greatneſs will have the "victory. Scholars and Martialiſts (though learn- "ing and valour ſhould have the pre-eminence) in "England muſt die like dogs, and be hanged. To "miſlike this were but folly: to diſpute it, but time "loſt: to alter it, impoſſible. But to endure it, is "manly; and to ſcorn it, magnanimity. The "Queen is diſpleaſed, the Lawyers injurious, and "Death terrible. But I crave pardon of the Queen; "forgive the Lawyers, and the World; deſire to be "forgiven; and welcome death (29)."

(29) Annual Regiſter, vol. i. p. 377. Gentleman's Mag. vol. xiiii. p. 112.

There is a conciſe energy and ſpirit in this ſpeech, which cannot fail of exciting the admiration of our readers; and, from its being ſo excellently ſuited to the genius and character of Cuff, it carries in it no ſmall degree of internal evidence that it was actually delivered by him. We could have wiſhed, however, that its authenticity had been particularly aſcertained. This was the more deſirable, as it does not accord with the ſpeech that is given in note [*H*], and which appears to be founded on the beſt authority.

In the Epiſtolæ Franciſci et Johannis Hotomanorum, Patris et Filii, et clarorum Virorum ad eos, are ſeveral letters by Cuff, to John Hotman. Theſe are ſaid to exhibit diſtinguiſhed marks of genius and learning; to be written in elegant Latin; and to contain ſome curious particulars. It was, therefore, our earneſt deſire to avail ourſelves of them; but, after much enquiry, we were not fortunate enough to obtain a copy of the work. We hope to ſupply the defect on a future occaſion.] K.

CUMBERLAND (RICHARD), a very learned Divine, and Biſhop of Peterborough in the cloſe of the laſt and beginning of the preſent century. He was the ſon of an honeſt citizen of London, who, by his induſtry, acquired a competent, though not a great fortune (*a*). This Reverend Prelate was born in the pariſh of St. Ann near Alderſgate, July 15th, 1632, though his father lived afterwards in Fleet-ſtreet (*b*). He received the firſt tincture of letters in St. Paul's School, under the care of Mr. John Langley (*c*), and was removed from thence to Magdalen-College in Cambridge, where he was contemporary with ſome very worthy and learned perſons; ſuch as Dr. Hezekiah Burton, his intimate friend and acquaintance, a very learned and pious Divine; Dr. Hollings, an eminent Phyſician at Shrewſbury; Sir Samuel Moreland, admired for his ſkill in the Mathematics; the celebrated Mr. Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty; and the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, to whom himſelf, and his friend Dr. Burton, were Chaplains at the ſame time (*d*). He was very remarkable, while Fellow of his College, for his diligent application to his ſtudies, as well as for the unaffected piety, and unblemiſhed probity, of his life. It does not appear in what year this excellent perſon came to the Univerſity, but from circumſtances it may be very eaſily collected, and we have reaſon to think it was in 1649 (*e*). He took his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1653 (*f*), and in 1656 he became Maſter of Arts (*g*), at which time he had thoughts of applying himſelf to Phyſic, which he actually ſtudied for ſome time (*h*). He was incorporated Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford, July 14th, 1657 (*i*). He went out Bachelor of Divinity at a public commencement at his own Univerſity, A. D. 1663, with univerſal applauſe (*k*). His firſt preferment was the Rectory of Brampton in the Deanery of Haddon, in the Archdeaconry and county of Northampton, which was given him by Sir John Norwich. The Patron was not diſappointed in having a Clerk, who, in all reſpects, anſwered his higheſt expectations, and they lived together in the greateſt unanimity (*l*). This worthy Gentleman was deſcended of a moſt antient and noble family, and was advanced to the dignity of a Baronet

(a) From the Rev. Mr. Payne's Preface to Sanchoniatho's Phœnician Hiſt. p. 3.
(b) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. iii. p. 510.
(c) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.
(d) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 4, 5, 6.
(e) See the following dates, and thoſe of his two dedications.
(f) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.
(g) Extract from the Univerſity Regiſter.
(h) Kennet's Chron. *ubi ſupra.*
(i) Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 118.
(k) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.
(l) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 7.

ronet by King Charles the First. Brampton was his own parish, where he lived in great privacy and retirement. Mr. Cumberland was admitted December 3d, 1658, upon the demise of the Reverend Mr. John Ward (*m*); and after the Restoration, having never had the least scruple to the authority of the Church, he had a legal institution, and read the Thirty-nine Articles, as directed by law, November 24th, 1661 (*n*), and was, the same year, appointed one of the twelve Preachers in the University of Cambridge. This, however, was a temporary avocation only, owing to the high character he had raised by the masterly manner in which he had performed all academical exercises, and from which he quickly returned to the duties of his parochial charge. In this rural retirement he minded little else than the duties of his function, and his studies. His relaxations from these were very few besides his journies to Cambridge, which he made frequently, to preserve a correspondence with his learned acquaintance in that place. Here he thought to have remained, and here he might have remained during the course of his whole life, if his intimate friend and kind benefactor Sir Orlando Bridgeman, upon his receiving the Seals in 1667, had not sent for him up to London, made him his Chaplain, and soon after bestowed upon him the living of Alhallows in Stamford (*o*). He discharged the functions of his ministry in that great town with indefatigable diligence; for, besides the duties incumbent upon him by his parochial charge, he accepted of the weekly lecture, and, by this means, was obliged to preach three times every week in the same church (*p*). This difficult province he went through constantly and assiduously; and though this alone would have been a burthen too heavy for an ordinary man, he discharged it with so much ease, that he carried on at the same time great designs in his Philosophical, Mathematical, and Philological Studies. He gave a noble proof of this, and one which equally demonstrated the soundness of his morals, and the solidity of his parts, in publishing his *Philosophical* ENQUIRY *into the* LAWS *of* NATURE; a book deserving universal applause, and received with the applause that it deserved [*A*]. He was not in the least elevated with the praises

(*m*) Baronettage of England, vol. ii. p. 216. Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(*n*) Regist. Laney Petriburg.

(*o*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 8. But Mr. Willis says that he was Vicar of St. Martin's, Stamford.

(*p*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 9.

[*A*] *And received with the applause that it deserved.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: *De Legibus Naturæ Disquisitio Philosophica, in qua earum forma, summa Capita, Ordo, Promulgatio, & Obligatio è rerum naturâ investigantur; quinetiam Elementa Philosophiæ Hobbeianæ, tum moralis tum civilis, considerantur & refutantur.* Londini 1672, 4*to.* i. e. 'A Philosophical Enquiry into the Laws of Nature, in which 'their Form, principal Heads, Order, Promulgation, and Obligation, are investigated from the 'nature of things; and in which also the Philosophical Elements of Hobbes, moral as well as civil, are 'considered and refuted.' This book was written while he was Chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, to whom it was dedicated, and there is prefixed to it a short Preface to the reader, by the author's friend and fellow Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Dr. Hezekiah Burton. Dr. Cumberland being at a distance from the press when this book was published, it came into the world very incorrectly printed, and in subsequent editions these faults were multiplied in a very surprizing manner (1). We may hence form an idea of the excellency of a work, that could, notwithstanding, support it's author's reputation both at home and abroad, and be constantly esteemed one of the best performances that ever appeared, and that too upon one of the nicest and most important subjects. Mr. Payne says very justly, that it was one of the first pieces written in a demonstrative way on a moral subject, and at the same time the perfectest (2). It is indeed on all hands admitted, that the Philosopher of Malmsbury was never so closely handled, or his notions so thoroughly sifted, as by Dr. Cumberland. He has however taken a new road, very different from Grotius, Puffendorff, and other writers, more difficult, and less entertaining indeed, but, at the same time, much more convincing. It was desired that a piece of such general utility should be made better known by being put into an easier method, and translated into the English language. This the author would not oppose, though he did not undertake it; being very sensible that the obscurity complained of by some, was really in the subject itself, and would be found so by those who meddled with it. The project however was pursued by James Tyrrel, Esq; grandson to the famous Archbishop Usher, who published his performance under the following title: *A brief Disquisition of the Law of Nature, according to the principles and method laid down in the Reverend Dr.* Cumberland's (*now Lord Bishop of* Peterborough) *Latin Treatise on that Subject; as also his Confutations of Mr.* Hobbes's *Principles, put into another Method, with the author's approbation* (3). Mr. Payne, whom we have so often quoted, gives us a very honest and fair account of a design that he also had of the same nature. After mentioning the prejudice that this work had received from it's ill usage at the press, he proceeds thus: 'This may have been some discouragement to the 'reading it, though the difficulty of the subject, and 'the closeness of the reasoning, has been a greater. 'Hardly any men hitherto have made themselves 'acquainted with the argument of it, but such as 'are in the uppermost form of learning. I have 'sometimes wished that his Lordship would have 'been pleased to have revised it, and tried to make 'it more easy and intelligible; but it had lain so long 'out of his hands, that he did not care to take it up 'again. He gave me leave to attempt any thing of 'that kind if I would, and as a help he gave me his 'own interleaved book, which has here and there a 'little addition. I read his book over and over diligently with this view, but never found where I 'could well alter any thing, where I could leave out, 'or where I could add. All I can think on to give 'a little advantage to common readers, is to print 'the book correctly, to give an Analysis of the argumentation, to add contents to each paragraph, and 'to divide them oftener. This I may perhaps find 'leisure to do (4).' It is not impossible, that the Rev. Mr. Payne might be diverted from this purpose of his, which certainly would have been very welcome to the learned world, by a like attempt made some few years after, while he was employed in publishing the Bishop's Posthumous Works, by a Reverend Divine of the kingdom of Ireland, who very probably never heard of his intention, or of the singular advantages he had, and which must have enabled him to perform it better than any other man. This last mentioned gentleman printed an English translation of our Prelate's book by subscription, under the following title: 'A Treatise of the Laws 'of Nature, by the Right Reverend Father in God 'Richard Cumberland, Lord Bishop of Peterborough; 'made English from the Latin by John Maxwell, 'A. M. Prebendary of Connor, and Chaplain to his 'Excellency the Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of 'Ireland: To which is prefixed, an Introduction 'concerning the mistaken notions which the Heathens had of the Deity, and the defects in their Mora-

(1) See the Rev. Mr. Maxwell's Preface to his Translation.

(2) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 26.

(3) Lond. 1692. 8*vo.*

(4) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 27.

praiſes beſtowed upon him, not only by the world in general, but by perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit and learning, upon the ſcore of this excellent performance (*q*). He went on doing his duty with the ſame calmneſs and chearfulneſs as before; and, in this ſtation of a private Clergyman, ſo great was his reputation, that he was importuned by the Univerſity, and by other acquaintance, to take upon him the weighty exerciſe of reſponding at the public Commencement. Nothing but the earneſt ſollicitation of his friends could have prevailed with a man, void not only of ambition but of even the deſire of applauſe, to appear ſo publicly. This he did in the year 1680, in ſo maſterly a manner, that, for many years after, the memory of his performance remained freſh in that Univerſity (*r*) [*B*]. The next ſpecimen of his great abilities and profound learning appeared in the year 1686, in his ESSAY *on Jewiſh* MEASURES and WEIGHTS; a work written with the utmoſt ſagacity, and in which qualities are diſcovered that ſeldom are found in the ſame mind, a deep penetration, extenſive reading, a ſtrong and accurate judgment, together with a candour ſeldom to be met with, and an unaffected humility, which, in conjunction with ſuch talents, is truly admirable (*s*). It was a work not only highly uſeful in its nature, but very much wanted, and was therefore received with the higheſt applauſe by the beſt judges, who were equally pleaſed with the method and matter, as well as the manner and conciſeneſs, of the performance. It was afterwards reprinted, and will continue to ſupport the reputation of its author, as long as this kind of literature is either encouraged or underſtood (*t*) [*C*]. His ſincere attachment to the Proteſtant Religion made

(*q*) See this thoroughly explained in the notes.

(*r*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 9.

(*s*) See this fully explained in the notes.

(*t*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 27.

‘ Morality, whence the uſefulneſs of Revelation may ‘ appear. At the end is ſubjoined an Appendix con- ‘ taining two Diſcourſes, 1. Concerning the Im- ‘ materiality of thinking Subſtance. 2. Concerning ‘ the Obligation, Promulgation, and Obſervance, of ‘ the Law of Nature; by the Tranſlator. Lond. ‘ 1727, 4*to*.’

[*B*] *Remained freſh in that univerſity.*] Theſe kind of exerciſes are common in the univerſity, which, however, does not hinder their being performed with great ſtrictneſs and punctuality; and, as this is always done before a numerous audience, compoſed of perſons who are all of them proper judges, we may be ſatisfied, that whenever diſcourſes are not only received with a temporary applauſe, but dwell upon the memory of ſuch as hear them, and are talked of for many years after, they muſt have an extraordinary degree of merit to recommend them. The topicks that were now handled by our learned and accompliſhed author, were equally weighty and important in themſelves, and, at the ſame time, of a no leſs nice and delicate a nature, ſuch as, demonſtrating his zeal for the Church of England, muſt, at the ſame time, deprive him of any aſſiſtance from either of the two oppoſite factions, each of which, at that time, was known to have a conſiderable influence. The theſes maintained by him were (5), 1. Sancto Petro nulla data eſt juriſdictio in cæteros Apoſtolos; *i. e. St. Peter had no juriſdiction granted him over the reſt of the Apoſtles.* 2. Separatio ab Eccleſia Anglicana eſt ſchiſmatica; *i. e. The ſeparation from the Church of England is ſchiſmatical.*

(5) *Idem. ibid.* p. 9, 10.

[*C*] *Is either encouraged or underſtood.*] The title of his book at large runs thus: *An Eſſay towards the recovery of the Jewiſh Meaſures and Weights, comprehending their Monies, by help of an ancient Standard, compared with ours of England, uſeful alſo to ſtate many of thoſe of the Greeks, Romans, and Eaſtern Nations.* Lond. 1686, 8*vo.*’ The Dedication of this book to Samuel Pepys, Eſq; then Preſident of the Royal Society, is dated October 28, 1685, and from thence it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe a paragraph or two, becauſe they ſhew the reaſon why this piece was written. ‘ Becauſe, Sir, the improvement of ‘ natural knowledge, for which the Royal Society ‘ was founded, may be attained, in ſome degree, by ‘ recovering ſome parts thereof which the Antients ‘ had, but are now unknown, I thought it not im- ‘ proper to preſent to you, who deſervedly preſide ‘ in that illuſtrious Society, this attempt to reſtore ‘ thoſe eldeſt ſtandards of meaſures and weights, ‘ which are mentioned in the moſt antient records, ‘ the Sacred Scriptures, as commonly known when ‘ they were written. But ſuch hath been the igno- ‘ rance and careleſſneſs in theſe matters, of many ‘ intervehient ages, by whoſe care theſe things ſhould ‘ have been tranſmitted to us their poſterity, that ‘ moſt of our late diligent enquirers have declared ‘ their opinion to be, that though the retrieving of ‘ them be highly deſirable, yet that ſucceſs in ſuch ‘ an endeavour is ſcarce to be hoped. Nevertheleſs, ‘ being deſired by ſome learned Divines of our ‘ Church, in ſubſerviency to ſome brief Annotations ‘ on the Bible, by them intended, to do the beſt I ‘ could in this affair, I have, by this treatiſe, at- ‘ tempted to reſcue this moſt antient and uſeful piece ‘ of learning from the grave of oblivion and neglect, ‘ into which many deſpairing men were caſting it, ‘ before it was quite dead, or paſt recovery. Learn- ‘ ing I call this knowledge of weights and meaſures, ‘ becauſe the firſt conſtitution of them, and the rea- ‘ ſon and proportions contained in their mutual cor- ‘ reſpondencies, do import not only prudent obſer- ‘ vation which is learning's foundation, but alſo ‘ ſome elements of Geometry, Arithmetick, and ‘ Staticks, which are eſſential parts of its ſuper- ‘ ſtructure, thence peculiarly called μαθηματα, or, ‘ The Learning. And for this cauſe I have been ‘ forced, in the proſecution of this enquiry, to call ‘ in to my aſſiſtance ſome of the eaſieſt mathematical ‘ notions, which are as old almoſt as mankind, aſſo- ‘ ciating thereunto ſome obſervations of nature, ‘ whoſe conſtancy, from the beginning, gives reaſon ‘ to believe, that they were known early by men, ‘ together with the eldeſt works of art, remaining in ‘ the pyramids, ſhekels, and other remains of Eaſtern ‘ and Weſtern antiquity; that, from the concurrent ‘ evidence of theſe aged witneſſes, I might be en- ‘ abled to give this my verdict, which is now brought ‘ in before you.’ We have no account any where of the Annotations, for the furtherance of which this diſcourſe was written; but, from the friendſhip between their authors, and ſome other circumſtances, I am inclined to think they were the Commentaries of Dr. Patrick, Biſhop of Ely (6). In another part of his Dedication, our author obſerves to his patron, that nothing pleaſed him better, or gave him greater comfort in the proſecution of the difficult taſk he had undertaken, than that it related not to any quarrelſome intereſt, but the peaceable doctrine of meaſures and weights, which in their general nature are the common concern of all mankind, as being the neceſſary inſtruments of juſt dealing and fair commerce between all nations. He mentions alſo his own induſtry in avoiding all appearance of contention, which had led him ſo far as not to name the known diverſities of opinion amongſt men about this matter. All this, however, did not ſecure him from contradiction; for a certain writer attacked him, though without naming him (7), and our author wrote ſome ſheets to juſtify his calculations: but his affection for peace was ſo great, that after all he laid them aſide, and left his book to ſhift for itſelf, which it has done very well. A celebrated Journaliſt has given a very large extract of this work (8), which ſhews how much he eſteemed it; as, on the other hand, that certainly does

(6) Whoſe ſentiments he mentions and defends in his poſthumous works, in ſeveral places.

(7) *Bernard de Menſaris & ponderibus Antiquis. Oxon.* 1688, 8*vo.*

(8) Le Clerc, *Bibliotheque Univerſelle & Hiſtorique, tom.* v. p. 149—192.

made him very apprehenſive of its danger; and the melancholy proſpect of affairs in the reign of King James made ſo deep an impreſſion on this excellent perſon, as to contribute to a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, one of the ſevereſt fevers from which ever man recovered. He continued after the Revolution in the ſame ſituation as before, and without any thoughts of ſoliciting for better preferment. Indeed, through the whole courſe of his life, this ſeems never to have entered into his head: he was always content with the lot that befel him, and applied himſelf, with the utmoſt vigour and diligence, to diſcharge his duty in that ſtation where Providence had placed him (*u*). It was, therefore, a greater ſurprize to himſelf than to any-body elſe, when walking, after his uſual manner, on a poſt day to the coffee-houſe, he read there in a newſpaper, that one Dr. Cumberland, of Stamford, was named to the Biſhopric of Peterborough. This piece of intelligence however proved true, and he had the ſingular ſatisfaction of finding himſelf raiſed to a Biſhopric, not only without pains or anxiety, but without having ſo much as fought for it (*w*). This accidental, we ought rather to ſay providential, promotion, was highly honourable for him. It was looked upon, at that time, as a thing neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of the new government, that men, who were to be raiſed to ſuch high ſtations in the Church, ſhould be ſuch only as had been moſt eminent for their learning, moſt exemplary in their lives, and firmeſt to the Proteſtant intereſt. Whilſt theſe qualifications were only conſidered, ſuch a man could not eaſily be overlooked, though he himſelf did leaſt of any man look for ſuch a promotion. The King was told, that Dr. Cumberland was the fitteſt man he could nominate to the biſhopric of Peterborough. Thus a private country Clergyman, without poſting to Court, a place he had rarely ſeen, without ſuing to great men, without taking the leaſt ſtep towards ſoliciting for it, was pitched upon to fill ſo great a truſt, only becauſe he was fitteſt for it [*D*]. He was elected in the room of Dr. Thomas White, who refuſed the new oath, May 15th; was conſecrated, with other Biſhops, July 5th; and inthronized September 12th, 1691, in the Cathedral of Peterborough (*x*). Thus in the ſixtieth year of his age, when his parts were as ſtrong as ever, his body unbroken with infirmities, and his experience at a juſt height, he entered on a new ſcene. He now applied himſelf to the work of a Biſhop. Studious men acquire habits, that make them not overforward to put themſelves out into action. The ſpeculations of their minds employ the whole man. The natural calmneſs of his Lordſhip's temper added ſtill to this diſpoſition: yet no man took more care not to be defective in his proper duty. He made no omiſſions to conſult his own eaſe, or to ſpare his pains; and the deſires of his mind, that all under him ſhould do their duty, were very earneſt and ſincere. His compoſition had no alloy of vain glory. He never did any thing to court applauſe, or gain the praiſe of men. He never acted a part, never put on a maſk. His tongue and heart always went together. If he ran into any extreme, it was the exceſs of humility, the ſafeſt ſide for every Chriſtian to err on. He lived with the ſimplicity and plainneſs of a primitive Biſhop, converſed and looked like a private man, hardly maintaining, as the world calls it, the dignity of his character. He was not one that loved to have the preeminence, and he contended with nobody for prerogative and precedence. He uſed hoſpitality without grudging: no man's houſe was more open to his friends, and the eaſe and freedom with which they always found themſelves entertained, was peculiar to it. The poor had ſubſtantial relief at his door, and his neighbours and acquaintance a hearty

(*u*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p 642.

(*w*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 12.

(*x*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. iii. p. 510.

does our author great honour, ſince, beſides his being a very bold and free Critick, there was hardly any ſubject with which he was more thoroughly acquainted.

[*D*] *Only becauſe he was fitteſt for it.*] What has been delivered in the text upon this ſubject is founded upon the authority, and expreſſed in the very words, of the Reverend Mr. Payne, a very competent and unſuſpected witneſs to the truth of the facts which he has preſerved, and which, but for his duty and gratitude, might have been loſt to poſterity. But notwithſtanding the circumſtances which relate to Biſhop Cumberland reſt upon his teſtimony ſolely, yet, as to his promotion in general, a certain Prelate, well acquainted with the politicks of thoſe times, has given us a large account, which it may be the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee. The Biſhop of Ely's (Dr. Turner's) Letters to St. Germains (9), ſays he, 'gave ſo fair an occaſion of filling thoſe Sees (whoſe 'Biſhops would not take the oaths) at this time, that 'the King reſolved to lay hold on it; and Tillotſon, 'with great uneaſineſs to himſelf, ſubmitted to the 'King's command: and ſoon after the See of York 'falling void, Dr. Sharp was promoted to it, ſo that 'thoſe two Sees were filled with the two beſt preachers 'that had ſat in them in our time; only Sharp did 'not know the world ſo well, and was not ſo ſteady 'as Tillotſon was. Dr. Patrick was advanced to 'Ely, Dr. More was made Biſhop of Norwich, Dr. 'Cumberland was made Biſhop of Peterborough, 'Dr. Fowler was made Biſhop of Glouceſter, Ironſide was promoted to Hereford, Grove to Chicheſter, and Hall to Briſtol, as Hough (the Preſident of Magdalen's) was the year before this made 'Biſhop of Oxford; ſo that in two years time the 'King had named fifteen Biſhops, and they were 'generally looked on as the learneſt, the wiſeſt, 'and the beſt men, that were in the Church. It 'was viſible, that in all theſe nominations, and the 'filling the inferior dignities that became void by 'their promotion, no ambition nor Court favour had 'appeared; men were not ſcrambling for preferment, nor uſing arts, or employing friends, to ſet 'them forward; on the contrary, men were ſought 'for, and brought out of their retirements, and moſt 'of them very much againſt their own inclinations. 'They were men both of moderate principles, and 'of calm tempers. This great promotion was ſuch 'a diſcovery of the King and Queen's deſigns, with 'relation to the Church, that it ſerved much to remove the jealouſies, that ſome other ſteps the King 'had made were beginning to raiſe in the Whigs, 'and very much ſoftened the ill humour that was 'ſpread among them.'

(9) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 76.

welcome to his table, after the plentiful and plain manner in which he lived. Every thing in his houſe ſerved for friendly entertainment, nothing for luxury or pomp. His deſire was to make every body eaſy, and to do them good. He diſpenſed with a liberal hand to the neceſſities of others, though his contented mind made him require little for his own. His kindneſs to his relations and acquaintance that wanted it, the ſums he parted with to ſuch as were indigent, are deeds not proper to be proclaimed. Half ſuch ſums, diſtributed with oſtentation by thoſe who deſire to have glory of men, would have gained the fame of great liberality and generoſity. In theſe caſes he truly obſerved our Saviour's precepts, to do his alms in ſecret, and even *not to let his left-hand know what his right-hand did*. His ſpeeches to the Clergy at his viſitations, and his exhortations to the Catechumens before his confirmations, though they had not the embelliſhments of oratory, yet they were fervent expreſſions of the inward deſires of his ſoul to do what good he was able, and to excite others to be influenced by it; the pious breathings of a plain and good mind. On all occaſions he treated his Clergy with ſingular regard and indulgence. An expreſſion, that often came from him, was, *I love always to make my Clergy eaſy*. This was his rule on all applications made to him by them, and if he erred, it was always on this ſide. When the duties of his office required it, he never ſpared himſelf. To the laſt month of his life it was impoſſible to diſſuade him from undertaking fatigues, that every body about him feared were ſuperior to his ſtrength. He was inflexible to their intreaties, and his anſwer and reſolution was, *I will do my duty as long as I can* (*y*). He had acted by a maxim like this in his vigour. When his friends repreſented to him, that, by his ſtudies and labours, he would injure his health, his uſual reply was, *A man had better wear out than ruſt out*. The laſt time he viſited his Dioceſe, he was in the eighties year of his age: it was apprehended that he could not but ſuffer through the fatigues of it, though it pleaſed God he had no inconvenience from it. At his next triennial, when he was in the eighty-third year of his age, it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he could be diſſuaded from undertaking again the viſitation of his Dioceſe. To draw the Clergy nearer than the uſual decanal meetings, to make his viſitations eaſier to himſelf, was a thing he would not hear of. He would never take a burthen from his own ſhoulders to lay it on other peoples (*z*). Such were the public acts of this great Prelate, in the diſcharge of his duty as a Father of the Church. In reſpect to his temporal concerns, and his management of the revenue ariſing from his See, an account will be found in the notes [*E*]. His natural parts were not quick, but ſtrong and retentive. He was a perfect maſter of every ſubject he ſtudied. Every thing he read ſtaid with him. The ideas in many mens minds are too like the impreſſions made in ſoft wax; they never are diſtinct and clear, and are ſoon effaced: in his mind they were like impreſſions cut in ſteel: they took ſome time in

(*y*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 14.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 15.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 20

[*E*] *An account will be found in the notes.*] Every body concerned with him, ſays the ingenious Mr. Payne (10), 'felt the advantage of his benevolence 'and goodneſs of his temper. He had a paternal 'eſtate, the leſſees of which found him a landlord 'kind indeed. He never raiſed his rents, or hardly 'changed a tenant; they grew old in his farms, and 'were afterward ſucceeded by their children. Such 'was he alſo to them that held under him, as he was 'a Biſhop, good natured I am almoſt tempted to ſay 'to a fault. They were ſure to find no preſſure 'from him: the point in queſtion always was, his 'preſerving the juſt rights of his See. If he could 'be prevailed on to raiſe a fine, where the reaſon 'and equity of it was moſt apparent, it was always 'with great difficulty, and never his own voluntary 'act. In renewing ſome of his leaſes he ſhewed 'great inſtances of kindneſs and compaſſion, I wiſh 'they who received the obligation were ſenſible 'enough of it: For indeed, tenants under Biſhops 'are generally a thankleſs ſort of men; they conſider not the eſtate they hold as another man's, but 'look upon it as their own, and part grudgingly 'with what goes out of it, as a hardſhip on themſelves. As the great Chriſtian graces in which he 'excelled were humility and meekneſs, and theſe 'concurring with a ſedentary and ſtudious habit, it 'is not to be expected that there ſhould be in the 'ſame man any great degree of warmth and activeneſs. God almighty gives not perfection to any 'man in this mortal ſtate.' As to his modeſty, condeſcenſion, and good nature in private life, he obſerves (11), —— 'Learned men often love and 'affect to be ſilent. His Lordſhip was ſo humble, 'that he thought nobody too low to be converſed 'with; and ſo benevolent, that he was willing every 'body that came near him ſhould partake of his 'knowledge. As he was the moſt learned, ſo he 'was the moſt communicative man I ever knew. No 'converſation pleaſed him ſo well as what turned 'upon ſome point of learning. The firſt experience 'I had of this, continues Mr. Payne, was while I 'was under-graduate in the univerſity, ſoon after 'his Lordſhip's promotion. I was then ſtudying 'ſome parts of the Mathematical ſciences. He did 'me the honour to talk with me on thoſe ſubjects. 'It ſtruck me with ſurprize to ſee ſo much condeſcenſion, familiarity of converſation, and love to 'inform a young man, in a perſon of his learning, 'age, and ſtation. The years I ſince have ſpent in 'greater freedom with him, have been the happy 'part of my life; a bleſſing that by me can never 'be ſufficiently valued. He was my oracle to conſult on any author, or whatever ſubject I read. 'Whatever was difficult I was ſure to have reſolved 'by him. He was unacquainted with nothing I 'could aſk him, even in ſmall matters, in low authors, which it might be expected, by a man whoſe 'mind was taken up with ſo much higher ſpeculations, ſhould have been paſſed over unheeded.— 'His ſoul was through his whole life in a conſtant 'calm and ſerenity, hardly ever ruffled with any 'paſſion. Having thus a mind friendly to his body, 'and being exactly regular and temperate in his 'way of living, he attained to a good old age with 'perfect ſoundneſs of mind and body. He was not 'afflicted with, or ſubject to, any ailing or diſtemper; never complained that he was ill or out 'of order, came almoſt conſtantly from his chamber 'in a morning with a ſmile in his countenance (12).' Such great, and ſuch amiable qualities as theſe, more eſpecially when they are teſtified to the world by evidence that cannot be ſuſpected, much leſs diſbelieved, do honour, not only to our Church and nation, but to human nature, and may be the more freely inſiſted upon when they do occur, becauſe ſuch as are beſt acquainted with mankind know well, that they occur but very rarely.

(10) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 18.

(11) *Idem, ibid.* p. 22.

(12) *Idem, ibid.* p. 23.

(13) At L 1720. 8

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forming, but they were clear, distinct, and durable (*a*). The things he had chiefly studied were searches into the most antient times, Mathematics in all its parts, and the Scripture in its original languages: these were the great works of his life; but he had, by the bye, diverted into almost all other studies. He was thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of Philosophy; he had good judgment in Physic, knew every thing that was curious in Anatomy, had an intimacy with the Classics. Indeed he was a stranger to no part of learning, but every subject he had occasion to talk of he was as much a master of it, as if the direction of his studies had chiefly lain that way. He was thoroughly conversant in Scripture, and had laid up that treasure in his mind. No hard passage ever occurred, either occasionally or in reading, but he could readily give the meaning of it, and the several interpretations, without needing to consult his books (*b*). He sometimes had thoughts of writing an exposition of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. It was a misfortune to the world, that he wanted that spur so necessary to excite men to action, the desire of praise. It is believed, that if he had proceeded in this design, he would have set the doctrine of Justification in a light very different from that in which it has been hitherto considered by most Divines. But the great business of his life was the examination of SANCHONIATHO'S *Phœnician History*, about which the greatest men had been most mistaken, and in relation to which none had entered into so strict an examination as our learned Prelate thought it deserved (*c*). He spent many years in these speculations; for he began to write several years before the Revolution, and he continued improving his design down to 1702. It may be justly wondered, that, after taking so much pains, and carrying a work of such difficulty to so high a degree of perfection, he should never judge it expedient to publish it; for, though his Bookseller refused to print the first part, at a critical season, yet afterwards both might have seen the light; and for this the most probable reason that can be assigned is, that thorough dislike he had to controversy. His son-in-law however, the Reverend Mr. Payne, has done justice to his memory, and published that work, which, by all competent judges, has been received with the utmost esteem and respect (*d*) [*F*]. After he had once engaged his thoughts upon this subject, fresh matter was continually rising, for the distribution of which into a proper method, so as to render a very perplexed subject intelligible, he found himself under the necessity of undertaking a yet more extensive work than the former, in which he made some progress in the space of above twenty years, during which we are assured that it employed his thoughts. To this piece, when finished, he proposed to have given the title of *Origines Antiquissimæ* (*e*), which were transcribed in his life-time, and, by his direction, through the care of the same person, who, from a most laudable sense of duty and gratitude, published the other work. This treatise also is now likewise in print, and justifies, in every respect, all that we have said of this learned and venerable Prelate, upon the credit chiefly of the editor. This last piece is properly a supplement to the first,

(*a*) These facts are rendered highly probable, if not incontestably proved by his writings.

(*b*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 21, 22.

(*c*) This fully appears from our Prelate's whole work, but more especially from his Review of the Cosmogany and History.

(*d*) Printed at Lond. 1720. 8vo

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 20, 21.

[*F*] *With the utmost esteem and respect.*] The title of this work at large will give the reader some notion of it's contents. It runs thus: 'SANCHONIATHO'S 'Phœnician History, translated from the first book of 'Eusebius *de Preparatione Evangelica*. With a Continuation of Sanchoniatho's History by Eratosthenes 'Cyrenensis Canon, which Dicæarchus connects with 'the first Olympiad. These authors are illustrated 'with many Historical and Chronological Remarks, 'proving them to contain a Series of Phœnician and 'Egyptian Chronology, from the first man to the 'first Olympiad, agreeable to the Scripture accounts. By the Right Reverend R. Cumberland, 'D. D. late Bishop of Peterborough. With a Preface, giving a brief account of the Life, Character, 'and Writings, of the Author. By S. Payne, M. A. 'Rector of Barnack in Northamptonshire, his Lordship's domestick Chaplain (13).' Mr. Payne observes, that our author had a quicker sense than many other men of the advances Popery was making upon us, and was affected with the apprehension of it to the last degree. This made him turn his thoughts to the enquiry, by what steps and methods idolatry got ground in the world. The oldest account of this he believed he found in Sanchoniatho's fragment. This he saw was a professed apology for idolatry, and owned openly what other Heathens would have made a secret of, that the gods of the Gentile world had been all mortal men. He studied this fragment with no other view, than as it led to the discovery of the original of idolatry. He spent some time upon it, before ever he had a thought of extracting from it footsteps of the history of the world preceding the flood. While other Divines of the Church of England were engaged in the controversy with the Papists, in which they gained over them so compleat a victory, our author was endeavouring to strike at the root of their idolatrous religion (14). Such are the sentiments of this gentleman concerning our Prelate's work, which is in truth full of the most abstruse learning, and shews a sagacity and penetration equally singular and admirable. These fragments have exercised the talents of some of the ablest scholars that foreign nations have produced, and several of these, being able to make nothing clear or consistent out of them, incline to think they were forgeries, and consequently not worthy of notice. Our Prelate was not only of a different sentiment, but, with great knowledge and great labour, has made it very evident that these fragments are genuine, and that he thoroughly understood them. He has proved, that they contain the most antient system of atheism and idolatry, that very system which took place in Egypt, and was set up against the true religion contained in the writings of Moses. It cannot be expected that we should, in the compass of a note, enter into the plan of so large and so compact a performance, for our author was not a diffuse writer, but expressed himself clearly in few words, and has brought into a very narrow compass, what an author, covetous of fame, would have extended into a very large volume. But this great man aimed only at truth, and though the discovery of it cost him much time and pains, yet he was willing to conduct his reader to it by the shortest road possible. He saw indeed, that many useful deductions might be made from this discovery, and it was this that put him upon composing a second volume, of which we shall speak in the next note.

(13) At London, 1720. 8vo.

(14) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 17.

and

and equally valuable in every reſpect [G]. We have now done with his Hiſtory as a Father of the Church, and an ornament of the Republic of Letters: we will conclude with ſome account of his private life and diſpoſition when in the decline of his days, a ſeaſon in which the weakneſſes even of the greateſt men are frequent and excuſable. In him, however, there was no need of any apology of this ſort. His Lordſhip lived beyond what Horace called old age; but never were characters more unſuitable to any man, than thoſe beſtowed by that Poet on old men were to him: it is literally true, that he was, in every reſpect, the very reverſe of them. A perſon, who would have retired from every thing that was cenſorious, querulous, uneaſy, or diſquieting, muſt have gone into his company, and the room where he ſat. The eaſineſs and ſweetneſs of his temper were ſuch as is not to be deſcribed by words: nothing but converſation with him, and the experience of it, could give a man a juſt idea of it. This happy diſpoſition was become a habit to him, and continued to the laſt day of his life. His ſenſes and bodily ſtrength laſted better than could well be expected, in a man whoſe courſe of life had been ſtudious and ſedentary. Yet I, who converſed every day with him, ſays Mr. Payne, thought that the faculties of his mind were leſs impaired than thoſe of his body (*f*). He remained a maſter of all the parts of learning he had ſtudied when he was young. He ever loved the Claſſics, and, to the laſt week of his life, would quote them readily and appoſitely. When Dr. Wilkins had publiſhed his Coptic Teſtament, he made a preſent of one of them to his Lordſhip, who ſat down to ſtudy this when he was paſt eighty three. At this age he maſtered the language, and went through great part of this verſion, and would often give excellent hints and remarks as he proceeded in reading it. At length, in the autumn of the year 1718, he was ſtruck in an afternoon with a dead palſey, from which he could not be recovered (*g*). He had no previous notice of this at all, for he roſe in the morning rather better, and more vigorous, than uſual. He breathed his laſt in his Palace at Peterborough on the ninth of October, in the ſame year, in the eighty-ſeventh year of his age. His corps was interred in his own Cathedral, where a plain tomb has been erected, with a modeſt inſcription, to his memory (*h*) [*H*]. The turn of his ſtudies did not at

(*f*) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hiſt. p. 24, 25.

(*g*) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(*h*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. iii. p. 510.

[G] *And equally valuable in every reſpect.* The title of this book was: '*Origines Gentium antiquiſſimæ:* or, 'Attempts for diſcovering the times of the firſt 'planting of Nations; in ſeveral tracts. By the 'Right Reverend R. Cumberland, D. D. late Biſhop 'of Peterborough. Publiſhed from his Lordſhip's 'manuſcript, by S. Payne, M. A. Rector of Barnack in Northamptonſhire (15).' This work conſiſts of the following tracts, 1. A Diſcourſe on Gen. xxxvi. concerning the ſettlement of Eſau's family from Mount Seir to Elparan, the antient ſeat of the Horites, and of the government of that land before and after their ſettlement; with an enquiry about the times thereof. 2. A Diſcourſe on Deut. ii. 23. The Avims which dwelt in Hazarim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor, deſtroyed them, and dwelt in their ſtead. 3. Notes on the Synchroniſms of Canaan and Egypt. 4. Concerning the poſſibility of a ſufficient increaſe of men, from the three ſons of Noah, to a number large enough to found all the nations mentioned in the oldeſt credible Hiſtories; and that, in the times aſſigned to their foundations, agreeably with the Hebrew accounts. With ſome ſuggeſtions about the diſperſion of men to plant in ſeveral parts of the earth, particularly the building of Nineveh, the metropolis of the Aſſyrian monarchy. 5. An appendix to the preceding chapter, in an Eſſay towards the better ſtating of the interval between the founding of Nineveh and the fall of Sardanapalus, which broke from the antient Aſſyrian empire two monarchies: I. That of the Babylonians, beginning with Nabonaſſar. II. That of the Medes, begun in Dejoces, yet left to Tiglath Pilezer and his ſucceſſors, an Aſſyrian empire, which recovered good ſtrength, ſo as to conquer Syria, and to captivate the ten tribes of Iſrael. 6. Proofs from Scripture, and from Heathens, of the Aſſyrian empire before Nabonaſſar. 7. A Diſcourſe, endeavouring to connect the Greek and Roman Antiquities, with thoſe of the eldeſt Eaſtern monarchies in Aſia and Egypt, and, conſequently, with the diſperſion from Babel, which came near the great flood; in two chapters, 1. Concerning Greece, eſpecially the Pelaſgi. 2. Concerning Italy, particularly the Tyrrheni, or, as the elder Greeks call them, the Tyrſni; theſe, beſides the Egyptians, being colonies from the Aſſyrian empire, and the beginning of the Greek and Roman empires. 8. *Appendix de Cabiris, addenda Diſquiſitioni de Pelaſgi*, i. e. An Appendix as to the Cabiri, to which is added, a Diſquiſition concerning the Pelaſgis. 9. *Appendicula de Legibus quibus tenebantur Patriarchæ tam ante, quam poſt diluvium, uſque ad tempus quo ſolemnitur ſancitum eſt Fœdus Moſaicum, quod leges continet præcipuas quibus tenebatur populus Judaicus poſt Exodum ex Ægypto*; that is, 'A ſuccinct Diſſertation 'concerning the Laws obſerved by the Patriarchs, as 'well before as after the Flood, down to the ſolemn 'ſettlement of the Law of Moſes, more eſpecially 'thoſe under which the People of Iſrael lived after 'going out of Egypt.' To pretend adding any farther explication of this work, would be a needleſs preſumption; ſince, to competent judges, this ſhort table of contents will prove more ſatisfactory, than any thing we could offer upon the ſubject. All therefore that we ſhall take the liberty to ſay more is only this, that notwithſtanding our Prelate treats of the moſt antient Hiſtory, it is in a manner entirely new. His learning, though deep and ſound, has nothing in it harſh or unpleaſant; and, amongſt other advantages to which this work may put in a juſt claim, there is in it this ſingularity, that, notwithſtanding all the points treated therein are remarkably perplexed, the author has handled them with the utmoſt perſpicuity, made all of them plainer than they were, and many of them as plain as it is poſſible.

(15) At London, 1784. 8*vo*.

[H] *With a modeſt inſcription to his memory.*] As this is very ſhort, we thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader, that it found a place with a tranſlation in the notes (16).

(16) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 510.

Juxta jacet doctiſſimus ſanctiſſimuſque præſul Richardus Cumberland, hujus Civitatis Epiſcopus, qui cum Eccleſiæ & Republicæ diu & feliciter invigilaverat migratus ad aliam quam ſolam quærebat Civitatem, Honorum & Dierum ſatur, obdormivit in Domino Anno Chriſti 1718, ætatis 86.

Macte, malæ fraudis Domitor Defenſor Honeſti
Legum Naturæ Juſtitiæque Pugil:
O quantum debent quas læſerat Hobbius ambas
Recta ſimul Ratio Relligioque tibi!

Duport in *Hobbium* à *Cumberlandio* Confutatur n.

In

at all conduce to make our Prelate eminent in his life-time. There were a great variety of books written againſt Hobbes; but, amongſt this crowd of refuters, each of their books was not conſidered as a refutation. On the contrary, Hobbes maintained his notions very well againſt moſt of them, not through the juſtice of his cauſe, or the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, but becauſe he underſtood his ground perfectly well, and, like a ſkilful fencer, kept that advantage, and made the moſt of it. But our author was not to be ſo treated: he conſidered the ground well before he engaged, diſcerned his antagoniſt's advantage, and drove him from it; but as this was a hard and laborious taſk to himſelf, ſo his method of arguing was not to be underſtood but by cloſe application in his readers, ſo that it was a long while before the merit of his performance was fully known (*i*). At preſent, indeed, his reputation is very great at home, and much greater abroad; for foreign writers, of all nations, have been very ready to do him juſtice, and to ſpeak of him with the praiſes he deſerves [*I*].

(*i*) See the Rev. Mr. Maxwell's Preface to his tranſlation of our author's works, as alſo Dr. Hezekiah Burton's Short Diſcourſe preſixed to the original.

In Engliſh thus:

Near this place lies interred, that moſt learned and holy Prelate, Richard Cumberland Biſhop of this city, who, when he had long and faithfully watched for the Church and State, was tranſlated to that other city, which alone he ſought: full of days and of honour he ſlept in the Lord, in the year of Chriſt 1718, *of his age* 86.

Proceed foul error's ſcourge, and friend to right,
Champion of Nature's laws, and Juſtice too;
How much! the aſſaſſin Hobbes now put to flight,
To thy ſharp pen, do faith and reaſon owe?

From *Duport*'s poem upon the confutation of Hobbes by Cumberland.

Underneath two books, with theſe words engraven on the leaves:

Biblia Sacra.	*Legibus Naturæ.*
The Holy Bible.	Of the Laws of Nature.

[*I*] *With the praiſes he deſerves.*] We find the Life of our Prelate very exactly written from his ſon-in-law Mr. Payne's Memoirs, by Father Niceron (17), who commends highly his book againſt Hobbes. The learned Morhoff mentions that work of his twice (18), and tells us, that in his judgment it was written with great labour and no leſs diligence; and obſerves farther, that he goes to the bottom in detecting the falſe reaſoning of Mr. Hobbes. Another German author, who has written expreſsly upon the ſame ſubject, gives a great character of our author's book (19); and the learned Stollius gives likewiſe a fair character, and a very good account, of our author and his writings (20). His ſentiments, with regard to Sanchoniatho's Hiſtory, are greatly applauded by a gentleman (21) who had ſtudied theſe matters with much care, and who, it is very certain, was far enough from being diſpoſed to commend others without reaſon. It does not appear, that hitherto his Poſthumous Works have been tranſlated into Latin, or into any modern language. Whenever that ſhall happen, the fame of Dr. Cumberland will extend much farther than it has done hitherto; for whether his particular opinions be approved or not, it is impoſſible that his extenſive learning, his profound ſagacity, and his perfect acquaintance with the beſt authors of antiquity, ſhould not procure him juſt reverence and eſteem. C.

(17) *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des hommes illuſtres, tom.* v. p. 328.
(18) *Danielis Morhoffii Polyhiſtor.* ii. 1. 15. 15.—iii. 6. 1. 4.
(19) *Thomaſii Hiſt.* p. 84.
(20) *Introduct. Hiſt. Litterariam*, p. 762, 763.
(21) *Fourmont Reflexions Critiques ſur les Hiſtoires des anciens peuples*, &c.

*** [CUNNINGHAM (ALEXANDER), Author of a Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the Revolution to the Acceſſion of King George I. was a native of Scotland; but we have not been able to aſcertain either the time or place of his birth. It appears, however, that his father was miniſter of the pariſh of Ettrick, in the preſbytery of Selkirk (*a*). He is ſaid to have received part of his education in Holland; and he paſſed ſome of the earlier years of his life as a travelling governor. He was a friend to the principles of the Revolution; was much with the Scottiſh refugees at the Hague previouſly to that event; and it has been conjectured, that he was in Holland in 1688, and that he even embarked on board the fleet with the Prince of Orange; but of this there is not ſufficient evidence. He travelled with James, afterwards Earl of Hyndford, and with the Hon. Mr. William Carmichael, father of the preſent Earl, who was younger brother to that Nobleman. They paſſed two winters at Utrecht and Franeker, between the years 1692 and 1695, and travelled together for ſome time afterwards (*b*). Mr. Cunningham was alſo much connected with the family of Archibald, Earl of Argyle: he appears to have had a conſiderable ſhare in the education of that Nobleman's ſon, Lord Lorne, afterwards well known under the name of John Duke of Argyle (*c*); and he afterwards travelled with him abroad [*A*]. In 1701, he was in France, and was employed in ſome negociations relative

(*a*) Introduction to Cunningham's Hiſt. of Great Britain, by William Thomſon, LL.D. p. xxiv.
(*b*) *Ibid.* p. xv.
(*c*) *Ibid.* p. xxii.

[*A*] *Travelled with him abroad.*] In a letter from the Earl of Argyle to Mr. Carſtares, dated Edinburgh, July 10, 1697, and publiſhed in that Gentleman's State Papers, is the following paſſage: 'I 'have writ to Mr. Cunningham to lay aſide any 'thoughts he had for ſome time yet of leaving my 'ſon (1).' And in a letter of Mr. Cunningham's to Mr. Carſtares, printed in the ſame collection, dated Bruges, Oct. 20, 1697, Mr. Cunningham ſays, 'I do not yet know whether I ſhall go to Paris, 'or not, before I return to London. My Lord 'Argyle has not yet written any thing concerning 'his ſon. He was gone from this place to his regi-'ment before I came here, which I am glad of; for 'I know his lieutenant-colonel will take care of him. 'He is mightily concerned for his regiment: every 'body tells him it will be broken. I have aſſured 'him, that you will do your utmoſt for him. I muſt 'preſume to give you the trouble to carry over a few 'books of mine, which I have ordered to be ſent to 'your brother's. You will be pleaſed to paſs them 'as your own, elſe the cuſtom would amount to the 'fourth part they are worth; but am confident that 'what books any of the King's Chaplains takes over 'will be free; becauſe it may be ſaid that they are 'the books he carried abroad with himſelf for his 'own uſe.'—'As for the project, I know you will 'not only uſe all your credit with Secretary Ogilvy, 'but will alſo recommend the thing to all the Scots 'Nobility and Gentry you ſhall meet with at London (2).' At the time when Mr. Cunningham wrote this letter, Lord Lorne was Colonel of a regiment, which his father, the Earl of Argyle, had raiſed, and which was ſent over for the King's ſervice

(1) Carſtares's State Papers, p. 318.
(2) *Ibid.* p. 360, 361.

relative to the Scottiſh trade with that kingdom [*B*]. About this time he appears alſo to have had the care of ſome other perſon of rank, whom he carried with him into Italy (*d*).

(*d*) Dr. Thomſon's Introduction, *ubi ſupra*, p. xviii.

In 1703, he was at Hanover, in company with Mr. Addiſon [*C*]; and returned to England in that year (*e*). By this time he appears to have formed ſome important political connexions; for, after his arrival in England, the ſame year, we find him, through the intervention of Dr. Moore, then Biſhop of Norwich, engaged in a ſecret negociation for the purpoſe of reconciling Lord Somers and Mr. Harley; in which he ſucceeded, at leaſt for a time; the reconciliation between theſe ſtateſmen being perfected, as he informs us, at the houſe of Lord Halifax (*f*). About this time alſo he was conſulted at London concerning the appointment of a new miniſtry for Scotland. He recommended the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Roxburgh; but if their youth were conſidered as an objection to theſe Noblemen, he pointed out, as the fitteſt miniſter for that kingdom, next to them, the Marquis of Tweedale (*g*). In 1704, he was ſo much in the confidence of the Engliſh miniſtry, as to be conſulted by them, at London, whether the royal aſſent ſhould be given to the Scotch Act of Security (*h*). It appears that he was ſtill in London in the following year, from a paſſage which occurs in his Hiſtory, wherein he mentions his having had a converſation with Sir Iſaac Newton about attacking Toulon [*D*], two years before the attack, which was made in 1707 (*i*).

(*e*) *Id. ibid.*

(*f*) Hiſtory of Great Britain from the Revolution, vol. i. p. 353, 354. and Thomſon's Introduction, p. xviii.

(*g*) Hiſt. *uti ſupra*, p. 361, and Thomſon's Introduction, *ibid.*

(*h*) Thomſon, *ut ſupra*.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. xix.

In 1706, Mr. Cunningham appears to have gone abroad again; and it is ſuppoſed, that during that year he was in Holland, and that the following year he travelled into Italy (*k*). But before the cloſe of the year 1707, he was again in London, and took a very active part in promoting the Bill for the abolition of the Scotch Privy-council [*E*]; as he did alſo the following year in ſupport of a Bill relative to collegiate and cathedral churches, and for ſubjecting deans and prebendaries to their dioceſans (*l*). He likewiſe exerted all his influence, that the Members of the Houſe of Commons, choſen for Scotland, ſhould be ſtrenuous aſſertors of the principles of the Revolution (*m*).

(*k*) *Id. ibid.*

(*l*) Introd. p. xx. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 161.

(*m*) Introd. p. xxi. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 356.

vice in Flanders. Lord Lorne was appointed to the command of this regiment in 1694, when he was not quite ſeventeen years of age. But Dr. Thomſon is miſtaken in ſaying, that Lord Lorne was not ſeventeen at the time when Mr. Cunningham wrote this letter. His Lordſhip was born in 1678.

The literary project referred to by Mr. Cunningham, in this letter (3), is ſuppoſed, by Dr. Thomſon, to have been an intended edition of the Pandects of Juſtinian. And 'if we ſuppoſe,' ſays that Gentleman, 'that the literary project to which Cunningham alludes, was an intended edition of Juſtinian's Pandects, obvious reaſons are not wanting why he ſhould collect books, and why he ſhould ſolicit the countenance and aid of the Scotch nation. The civil is the grand baſis of the Scotch law; and he might receive aſſiſtance from the advocates pecuniary fund, as well as from their famous library, which is one of the beſt in the world. And, in fact, it appears from the records of the faculty of advocates, that, in order to enable him to accompliſh this deſign, he was allowed from that fund an allowance of fifteen pounds a year, a ſum towards the cloſe of laſt century not inconſiderable (4).'

(3) Introduction to Cunningham's Hiſtory, p. xiv.

(4) *Ibid.* p. xlvii.

[*B*] *Some negociations relative to the Scottiſh trade with that kingdom.*] Two of Mr. Cunningham's letters upon this ſubject are publiſhed in Mr. Carſtares's State Papers (5), in one of which he gives an account of an interview which he had relative to that buſineſs with the Count de Torcy. He is ſuppoſed alſo to have been employed at this time in procuring intelligence, for the Engliſh miniſtry, relative to the military preparations then making throughout France (6); but of this there appears not ſufficient evidence.

(5) P. 709, 710, 711.

(6) Thomſon's Introduction, *ubi ſupra*, p. 13, 14.

[*C*] *In* 1703, *he was at Hanover, &c.*] In his Hiſtory, ſpeaking of the Court of Hanover in that year, he ſays, 'Mr. Joſeph Addiſon alſo, and Mr. Alexander Cunningham, came thither, who, happening to have travelled through thoſe countries, as well as to have made themſelves well acquainted with all the ſecret Counſels in England, were as ſupercilioufly treated by the Germans, as they were graciouſly received by the Elector and the Princeſs Sophia (7).'

(7) Vol. i. p. 307, 308.

[*D*] *A converſation with Sir Iſaac Newton about attacking Toulon.*] The paſſage in his Hiſtory is as follows: 'I remember well, that the excellent Sir Iſaac Newton, who was no lover of war, had ſome diſcourſes with me about attacking Toulon, two years before the attempt was made upon it: but there appeared ſo many and ſo great difficulties to Alexander Cunningham, who knew the place and the roads about it, that he differed in opinion from Sir Iſaac, not only on account of the difficulties of the place itſelf, but alſo of the diſinclination of the reſt of the confederates, which he always ſuſpected in relation to that affair: foraſmuch as by this one action, all the maritime power of the Popiſh Princes would be loſt, and the whole dominion of the Mediterranean ſea thereupon would alſo fall into the hands of the Engliſh and Dutch; from which the Emperor Joſeph was as much averſe, as he was ambitious to gain the ſovereignty of Italy (8).'

(8) Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 103.

Dr. Thomſon remarks, that we find Mr. Cunningham, 'in another part of his Hiſtory, uniting his advice with that of Mr. Iſaac Newton, relating to the coin of Great Britain; and that, on ſundry occaſions, he mentions the perſon, genius, and diſcoveries of Newton, with diſtinguiſhed reſpect and admiration: an honour the greater to our author, that Sir Iſaac had not, at that time, attained to the unrivalled celebrity which his name has ſince juſtly obtained in the world (9).'

(9) Introduction, p. xix.

[*E*] *Promoting the Bill for the Abolition of the Scotch Privy Council.*] He ſays in his Hiſtory, that, "from his youth, he had borne a juſt hate againſt "the Privy Council of Scotland (10)," which he repreſents as extremely arbitrary. In his account of the debates in parliament on this ſubject, he ſays, that Mr. George Baillie 'elegantly and briefly expoſed the immoderate power of the Privy Council in former times, the rigorous exerciſe of their authority, and what dreadful examples they had exhibited of all ſorts of cruelty.' He afterwards adds, that 'the courtiers, who were for protracting the time, made many and great delays, and propoſed expedients, but to no purpoſe; for Sir Godfrey Copley, Sir Peter King, and Sir Joſeph Jekyl, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Wortley, Mr. Aiſlabie, and others of both parties, celebrated for their eloquence in parliament, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly, that now a Privy Council could be of no other uſe in Scotland, than that the Court might thereby govern every thing at pleaſure, and by their own direction procure whomſoever they thought fit to be returned to ſerve in parliament; againſt which it was the common intereſt, both of the Scots and Engliſh, now united into one people, carefully to guard (11).'

(10) Vol. ii. p. 135.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 137.

When

When a new miniſtry was about to be formed, and the Tories began to acquire an aſcendancy, Mr. Cunningham again went abroad [*F*]; and in October, 1711, he was at Milan, in company with Richard Lord Lonſdale, with whom he was introduced to the Emperor Charles VI. [*G*] then in that city, and juſt raiſed to the imperial throne. He appears

[*F*] *Mr. Cunningham again went abroad.*] Before he quitted the kingdom, he appears to have had a conference with Mr. Harley, of which he has related the following particulars in his Hiſtory: 'At this 'time a certain private Gentleman of the Whig 'party (by which he is underſtood to mean himſelf), 'but who had long kept an acquaintance with Mr. 'Harley, ſeeing a cloud gathering over his country, 'reſolved to travel abroad. Before he ſet out, Mr. 'Harley deſired a conference with him, and invited 'him to dine with him alone. Many things were 'freely diſcourſed of, according to their wonted 'familiarity and long acquaintance, concerning the 'inclinations of the people, and the perverſe diſ-'poſition of the allies; and the other ſhewed Mr. 'Harley, how hard and difficult a taſk he had un-'dertaken. But they both perſiſted in their own 'opinions. After Mr. Harley had entreated him to 'ſtay here, the Gentleman ſaid, Tell me, I pray, 'Sir, is the parliament to be diſſolved? for this was 'very much ſuſpected; but Mr. Harley was not 'willing to anſwer him. Then, ſaid the Gentle-'man, When you tell me that, I ſhall eaſily grant 'all you can ſay of the happy times to come: but 'conſider well that ſaying of Virgil,

'*Fertur equis auriga, nec audit currus habenas* (12).'

(12) Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 303, 304.

Mr. Cunningham ſays in another place, 'Mr. 'Harley, to whom it was natural to give fair words 'to every body, gained upon many people by his 'addreſs, who were far from being of his ſentiments '(13).' And he alſo ſays, 'Mr. Harley judged it 'moſt prudent to proceed with moderation: and it 'is ſaid he perſuaded his friends, and the Queen 'herſelf, to diſſemble many things concerning the 'Pretender, on account of the Duke of Marl-'borough's forces, and his extraordinary power both 'at home and abroad. He was alſo afraid of the 'authority and inconſtancy of the parliament. The 'Tories therefore reſolved, that the preſent parlia-'ment ſhould be diſſolved, and another called. Mr. 'Harley, who had formed this whole ſcheme, gave 'many inſtructions to divers men of different parties, 'how to reconcile the minds of the people to him, 'and to render them ſubſervient to his meaſures. 'Many were inquiſitive to know his deſign. Nay, 'ſome ſaid, he either had no deſign at all, or elſe 'that it was moſt artfully concealed, leſt by the 'diſſent of any one, the whole combination ſhould 'be broken. Thoſe who ſuppoſed they knew him 'thoroughly, own that he was averſe to the Pre-'tender: but, if we may judge of him by his ac-'tions, men of all parties agreed in concluding, 'that his deſigns were in his favour. And it is cer-'tain, that he affected to have it thought ſo '(14).'

(13) *Ibid.* p. 308.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 303.

Of the calling a new parliament, and the uſe made of Sacheverell, and his reception in the country, Mr. Cunningham gives the following account: 'When 'the proclamation was iſſued for a new parliament, 'all England was in an uproar; and ſo enflamed by 'the churchmen, that their fury was to determine 'of the Members for the Houſe of Commons, and 'their elections, without any regard to the rights of 'the electors. For the canvaſſings and elections were 'carried on with ſuch feuds, as had never before 'been known in England. In many places they 'were carried by open violence. That firebrand of 'ſedition, Dr. Sacheverell, employed his whole time 'and pains to this purpoſe. Religion was therefore 'looked upon as the only popular cauſe; in the 'ſupport of which all the furies were raiſed to pro-'cure votes, and ran together, as it were, to the 'funeral of the government and the public liberty.'— 'Dr. Sacheverell, making a progreſs around the 'country, was looked upon as another Hercules for 'the church militant. Wherever he went, his emiſ-'ſaries were ſent before with his pictures; pompous 'entertainments were made for him, and a mixed 'multitude of country ſingers, fiddlers, prieſts and 'ſextons, and a mob of all conditions, male and 'female, crowded together to meet and congratulate 'him; among whom, drunkenneſs, darkneſs, and 'a furious zeal for religion, extinguiſhed all regard 'to modeſty. When this gueſt drew near with his 'guards, he found open houſes, lodging and enter-'tainment ready provided for him, in many country 'towns, as if he had been a demi-god: and days 'and nights were ſpent every where in ſhews, and 'the clamorous noiſe of thoſe religious furies. In 'order to gain the more upon the minds of the mul-'titude, wine, and the pleaſures of banquetting, 'were conſecrated, as it were, to religious uſes: 'whence aroſe ſuch a contagion of evils, that, in the 'country elections, ſome matters were carried on by 'deceit, and many by open force. For money was 'publickly beſtowed, and free treats, more than 'uſual, given to the voters. In many places, the 'Doctor's pictures paſſed for ready money; but in a 'ſhort time they became of little value. For, when 'they ceaſed to be a novelty, people began to de-'ſpiſe them; and the Doctor himſelf, as an enemy 'to the government, and a contemptible tool of a 'party, was either rudely treated, or utterly refuſed 'admittance, in many places and companies. When 'he was coming towards Ely, the people there were 'ſo provoked, that they threatened to do him a 'miſchief. And in many places they purſued him, 'both with violent hands, and with curſes. This 'ſo alarmed him, that he ſuddenly turned ſhort, and 'more deſirous of money than the honour of martyr-'dom, made the beſt of his way to London; and 'his pictures, which were of late ſo highly prized, 'and pompouſly handed about, were now contemp-'tuouſly applied to the baſeſt uſes, and paſted upon 'band-boxes (15).'

(15) *Ibid.* p. 305, 306, 307.

[*G*] *He was introduced to the Emperor Charles VI.*] The allies had been for ſome time labouring to eſtabliſh this Prince on the throne of Spain, and he had accordingly been proclaimed King at Madrid; but he was afterwards obliged to relinquiſh the Spaniſh Crown. When Mr. Cunningham was at Milan, many Princes, Ambaſſadors, and perſons of rank, came there to congratulate the new Emperor on his acceſſion to the imperial throne; but it was at this time that ſuſpicions firſt began to be entertained, that the Engliſh miniſtry were about to abandon the allies. Mr. Cunningham, in his Hiſtory, after obſerving, that "all Italy crowded to" Milan, to congratulate the Emperor on his acceſſion, ſays, 'The Duke of 'Savoy went to meet him, as did alſo the Dukes of 'Parma and Modena. Theſe, and many other 'Princes, ſent their Ambaſſadors to compliment 'him as Emperor. The great Duke of Tuſcany's 'younger ſon came to ſalute him. The republics of 'Venice and Lucca ſent a ſplendid embaſſy. And 'the Pope himſelf ſent Cardinal Imperiali, a man 'of great celebrity, and highly acceptable to him, 'as his legate à latere.'—'Amidſt this great con-'courſe of all the Italian and German Princes and 'Ambaſſadors, Richard Lord Viſcount Lonſdale, 'and Mr. Alexander Cunningham, his fellow travel-'ler, who were the only men of the Britiſh nation 'at that time in thoſe parts, came to Milan. And 'as they were no ſtrangers to what was then privately 'tranſacted in England, they immediately deſired 'to be admitted to pay their duty to his Majeſty, 'which was granted. His Majeſty gave them a 'gracious audience. For he was well aſſured of the 'fidelity and zeal which both of them had for his 'ſervice, and how much they abhorred all thoughts 'of having any concern in the baſe meaſures which 'were then carrying on in England. His Majeſty 'ſpake much in commendation of the civility of the

private

appears to have continued abroad the following year, and at Venice met with the Duke of Argyle [*H*], with whom he ſpent a week in that city. When he returned to England, we do not find, nor are any farther particulars related of him during this reign; but in the reign of King George I. he was appointed miniſter from the Court of Great Britain to the republic of Venice. He arrived in that city in 1715, and continued there, in the character of reſident, till the year 1720, when he returned again to London. He lived many years after, which he ſeems chiefly to have paſſed in a ſtudious retirement. In 1735, he was viſited in London by Lord Hyndford, by the direction of his Lordſhip's father, to whom he had been tutor, when he appeared to be very old (*n*). He ſeems to have lived about two years after; for the body of an Alexander Cunningham lies interred

(*n*) Thomſon's Introd. p. xxxviii.

' private ſubjects in England, and of the good offices ' done to him there; but ſaid not a word of the ' Queen or her Counſels. And in this, indeed, he ' ſhewed his great wiſdom, as they were only private ' perſons, and far from having any ſhare either in ' her Majeſty's Counſels, or in the adminiſtration of ' the public affairs. He alſo commanded his Mi- ' niſters to entertain them with the utmoſt civility ' and reſpect, and to furniſh them with all ſorts of ' accommodation. Though they were not in want ' of any thing, yet they were invited to many enter- ' tainments. Being invited to ſup that night with ' Count Wratiſlaw, as they were coming to ſupper, ' they were overwhelmed, as it were with a ſudden ' tempeſt, by the news brought by an expreſs from ' Count Gallas, that the cauſe of the confederates ' was betrayed in England. On this they were ſo ' ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, that they crowded about ' the two Engliſhmen in the Palace, aſking them ' queſtions; but all to no purpoſe.

' The young Lord Lonſdale, alarmed at the novelty ' of his ſituation, and the tumult of the Germans, ' whiſpered to Cunningham, that it would be pru- ' dent for them to withdraw from the Palace. But ' Cunningham refuſed to do this, and diſſembling ' his fear, inquired, What was the matter? The ' Germans told them every thing: that the Queen ' had entered into a treaty with the French King; ' that the confederates were betrayed; and that ' Count Gallas was ordered to leave England in two ' days, and was now actually come over to Holland. ' To this Cunningham replied, " Theſe are ſtrange " times! This is ſtrange news! I have been afraid, " indeed, ever ſince the beginning of this confede- " rate war, and eſpecially within the two laſt years, " of ſome unhappy effects of a female government: " I therefore reſolved voluntarily to travel abroad, " rather than to ſtay at home to be a ſpectator of " ſuch things; even now to bear a ſhare with you " in your injuries, than to have any thing to do with " thoſe works of iniquity. Do not think that the " Engliſh nation are ſo ſtupid; as after ſo many " victories obtained, when the prize is now juſt ready " to fall into their hands, to ſuffer it to eſcape " them. Ye tell me ye are betrayed: but it is in- " credible. Do but look back upon the fidelity of " the Engliſh, of which ye have had ſo much ex- " perience hitherto; and then ye will rather confide " in them ſtill, than ſuſpect them to be capable of " deceiving you now." He added, a great ' many ' other arguments and words of courſe, that both ' himſelf and fellow-traveller might the more readily ' eſcape the frowns of the Germans.'

' In the mean time, Count Wratiſlaw conducted ' them to ſupper. There the Germans again aſked ' many queſtions about the Queen, and about her ' Miniſters. Cunningham confeſſed, that the loſs ' of reputation and credit was greater than could be ' imagined, and made ſuch other anſwers as he ' thought proper: but he laid the chief blame upon ' the clergy, whoſe blindneſs and influence in the ' parliament was at that time incredibly great; and ' deſired them not to be too haſty to give credit to ' any reports, till they ſhould firſt ſee how theſe ' things would end.

' After ſupper, the two Engliſhmen returned to ' their own apartments. Soon after this the Earl of ' Peterborough arrived ſuddenly in that city, and ' received the compliments of Count Wratiſlaw, and ' others of his Majeſty's Miniſters, the ſame night. ' They inquired of him, What was the reaſon of the ' change of meaſures in England? Which of the ' confederates had offended the Queen? And why ' her Majeſty would now give up her allies as a ' ſacrifice, and betray their glorious cauſe to the ' common enemy? The Earl of Peterborough, with ' great promptitude and preſence of mind, invented ' ingenious apologies, and made ſuch anſwers as he ' thought fit, without much inward concern, how- ' ever, at that alteration of affairs, which gave them ' ſo much uneaſineſs and diſpleaſure.

The next day the Lord Viſcount Lonſdale and ' Mr. Cunningham took an opportunity to viſit his ' Lordſhip, and to congratulate him on his arrival. ' After their mutual compliments, the Earl of Peter- ' borough ſaid, " What is the matter here? I per- " ceive his Majeſty's Miniſters to be full of uneaſi- " neſs. I had ſcarcely come into town before they " fell upon me, and teazed me with a thouſand " queſtions; ſo that I had neither a wink of ſleep " laſt night, nor any reſt this morning. Tell me, " therefore, I pray you, what is the meaning of it?" ' Mr. Cunningham made him this anſwer: " It is " very well for us that your Lordſhip is come. It " is impoſſible to relate what we went through the " laſt night. But as your Lordſhip is acquainted " with all her Majeſty's Counſels, you muſt needs " know every thing that is doing in England: and " ſince you are able to anſwer all their queſtions, " and to ſatisfy all their deſires, be pleaſed, my " Lord, to impart that ſatisfaction, which they de- " ſire ſo eagerly, to us. They tell us here very " ſtrange things; that the Queen is ſecretly treat- " ing with the French King about a peace; and " that Count Gallas, the Ambaſſador, was ordered " to depart the kingdom; and what not. That any " unjuſtifiable meaſures are carrying on in England, " is a ſad thing to be reported, and moſt afflicting to " us to hear. If this be true, you muſt know it; " and for my part, if they aſk me any more queſ- " tions about it, I ſhall refer them to your Lordſhip."

' The Earl of Peterborough replied, " I have a " very weighty affair to negociate here; not leſs " than twenty thouſand pounds payable to me by " King Charles." " That is, indeed," ſays ' the ' other, " a weighty affair. Your Lordſhip muſt, " therefore, ſuit yourſelf to their humour, diſſemble " your own ſentiments of the peace, and conſult the " glory and welfare of our nation, as you would " have others conſult your own intereſt." He ' alſo added many other things concerning the diſ- ' honour this peace would reflect upon England; ' concluding with a wiſh, that the Queen would ' continue this one year firm to her alliance with the ' new Emperor, and once more try his fortune in ' the field (16).'

(16) Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 386—390.

[*H*] *At Venice met with the Duke of Argyle.*] He ſays in his Hiſtory, ' In thoſe gloomy times, the ' Duke of Argyle, returning from Spain, though ' not yet perfectly recovered of his tertian ague, ' came to Venice. There he was met by Mr. ' Alexander Cunningham, whom, on account of old ' acquaintance, the Duke honoured with great ' friendſhip and familiarity for a whole week. They ' laid aſide all party diſputes, and converſed at great ' length with perfect freedom. The Duke of Argyle ' expreſſed his ſenſe of the dangers to which the ' intereſts of Great Britain, and the common ſafety ' of the confederates, were expoſed; and declared ' his reſolution, as ſoon as he could poſſibly return ' to England, to oppoſe the miniſtry, and the peace, ' and to join the Whigs (17).'

(17) Vol. ii. p. 409, 410.

in the vicar chancel of St. Martin's church, who died in the eighty-third of his age, on the 15th day of May, 1737 (*o*); and who was probably the ſame perſon.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. xli.

His "Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the Revolution in 1688, to the acceſſion of "George the Firſt," was publiſhed in two volumes, 4to. in 1787. It was written by Mr. Cunningham in Latin, but was tranſlated into Engliſh by the Rev. William Thomſon, L. L. D. The original manuſcript came into the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Dr. Hollingbery, Archdeacon of Chicheſter, ſome of whoſe relations had been connected with the author. He communicated it to the Earl of Hardwicke, and to the Rev. Dr. Douglas, now Biſhop of Carliſle, both of whom recommended the publication. In a ſhort preface to the work, the Archdeacon ſays, "My firſt deſign was to have produced it in the original; but "knowing how few are ſufficiently learned to underſtand, and how many are indiſpoſed "to read two quarto volumes in Latin, however intereſting and entertaining the ſubject "may be, I altered my purpoſe, and intended to have ſent it into the world in a tranſla-"tion. A nervous fever depriving me of the power, defeated the ſcheme." But he afterwards transferred the undertaking to Dr. Thomſon; and Dr. Hollingbery obſerves, that Dr. Thomſon "has expreſſed the ſenſe of the author with fidelity." The work was undoubtedly well deſerving of publication. It contains the hiſtory of a very intereſting period, written by a man who had a conſiderable degree of authentic information, and his book contains many curious particulars not to be found in other hiſtories. His characters are often drawn with judgment and impartiality: at other times they are ſomewhat tinctured with prejudice. This is particularly the caſe with reſpect to Biſhop Burnet, againſt whom he appears to have conceived a ſtrong perſonal diſlike. But he was manifeſtly a very attentive obſerver of the tranſactions of his own time; his work contains many juſt political remarks; and the facts which he relates are exhibited with great perſpicuity, and often with much animation. Throughout his book he frequently interſperſes ſome account of the literature, and of the moſt eminent perſons of the age concerning which he writes; and he has alſo adorned his work with many alluſions to the claſſics, and to antient hiſtory.

Alexander Cunningham, the author of the Hiſtory of Great Britain, has been ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon with Alexander Cunningham, who publiſhed an edition of Horace at the Hague, in two volumes, 8vo. in 1721, which is highly eſteemed. But, from the beſt information we have been able to collect, they were certainly different perſons; though they were both of the ſame name, lived at the ſame time, had both been travelling tutors, were both ſaid to have been eminent for their ſkill at the game of cheſs [*I*], and both lived to a very advanced age. The editor of Horace is generally ſaid to have died in Holland, where he taught both the civil and canon laws (*p*), and where he had collected a very large library, which was ſold in that country.] T.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. xxxix.

[*I*] *Eminent for their ſkill at the game of cheſs.*] The editor of Horace was very particularly celebrated for his ſkill as a cheſs-player; and of one of the Cunninghams the following ſtory is related. 'When 'Lord Sunderland was at the Hague, he contracted 'a particular intimacy with Mr. Cunningham, as 'they were both remarkable cheſs-players. Whenever his Lordſhip was at leiſure, he either drove to 'Cunningham's lodgings, which were at ſome diſtance, or ſent his carriage for him. After playing for a courſe of time, Lord Sunderland diſcovered, that he who was jolted in the carriage 'before they ſat down, was always ſure to loſe every 'game: for which reaſon, he gave over going to 'Cunningham's, but always ſent for him, and always beat him, to his no ſmall aſtoniſhment, as 'he was conſcious that he underſtood the game as 'well as his adverſary. At laſt, when he was very 'much out of humour, Lord Sunderland told him 'the trick, and Cunningham inſiſted, that they 'ſhould drive to one another's lodging alternately; 'which confirmed his Lordſhip's obſervation, and 'reſtored Cunningham to his former level: for, 'from that time, they won and loſt alternately '(18).'—"This fact," ſays Dr. Thomſon, "which "appears not at all incredible, for the ſtreets of the "Hague were not, in the laſt century, ſo ſmooth "as thoſe of London are at preſent, proves how "nicely the capacities of Sunderland and Cunning-"ham were balanced againſt each other: but it is "more curious and intereſting on another account; "it ſhews the intimate connection between our "corporeal frame and the faculty of thinking (19)." It ſeems to be the editor of Horace of which this ſtory is related; but which ever of the Cunninghams it was, the ſtory ſeems not ſufficiently authenticated to ground upon it much philoſophical reaſoning.]

(18) Thomſon's Introd. p. xxvii.

(19) *Id. ibid.*

*** [CUTTS (John Lord), a ſoldier of moſt hardy bravery in King William's wars, was a younger ſon of Richard Cutts, Eſq (*a*); of an ancient and diſtinguiſhed family, ſettled about the time of Henry VI. at Matching in Eſſex, where they had conſiderable property. His father removed to Childerley in Cambridgeſhire, on a good eſtate being given him by Sir John Cutts, Bart. who died without iſſue. This eſtate, after the deceaſe of an elder brother, devolved on John; who ſold it, to pay incumbrances, to equip himſelf as a ſoldier, and to enable himſelf to travel (*b*). After an academical education at Cambridge, he entered early into the ſervice of the Duke of Monmouth, and followed his fortunes abroad; was Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of Lorrain in Hungary, and ſignalized himſelf in a very extraordinary manner at the taking of Buda by the Imperialiſts in 1686; which important place had been for nearly a century and a half in the hands of the Turks. Mr. Addiſon, in a Latin poem (*c*) worthy of the Auguſtan age, plainly hints at Mr. Cutts's diſtin-

(*a*) Morant's Eſſex, vol. ii. p. 497.

(*b*) Harl. MSS. 3625.

(*c*) *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, vol. ii. p. 2.

diſtinguiſhed bravery [*A*] at that ſiege. He was afterwards Colonel of a regiment in Holland under the States, and accompanied King William to England, who "being graciouſly pleaſed (*d*) to confer a mark of his royal favour upon Colonel John Cutts, for his faithful ſervices, and zealous affection to his royal perſon and government, thought fit to create him a Baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the ſtyle and title of Baron Cutts of Gowran in the ſaid kingdom, December 6, 1690." He was appointed Governor of the Iſle of Wight, April 14, 1693; made a Major General; and, when the aſſaſſination-project was diſcovered, 1695-6, was Captain of the King's Guard. He was twice married; firſt, to Elizabeth (*e*), daughter of George Clark of London, Merchant, (relict of John Morley, of Glynd, in Suſſex, and after, of John Trevor, Eſq; eldeſt brother to the firſt Lord Trevor). This Lady died in Feb. 1692; and that ſame year he had both his legs hurt in the battle of Steenkirk (*f*). His ſecond wife, an amiable young woman, was educated under the care of her grandmother, the Lady Pickering [*B*], of Cambridgeſhire. She was brought to bed of a ſon, September 1, 1697, and died in a few days after, aged only 18 years and as many days. Her character has been admirably delineated by Biſhop Atterbury [*C*], who thus inſcribes a Sermon to her ſurviving Lord.

(*d*) London Gazette.

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, art. HAMPDEN.

(*f*) Harl. MSS. *ubi ſupra.*

"MY LORD, Dec. ... 1697.

"AT your command I preached this Diſcourſe; but upon ſo ſhort a warning, that nothing leſs than your repeated commands could have excuſed me for publiſhing it [*D*]. The

[*A*] *Mr. Cutts's diſtinguiſhed bravery.*]

"Hic, ubi ſaxa jacent diſperſo infecta cerebro,
Atque interruptis hiſcunt divortia muris,
Vexillum intrepidus fixit, cui tempora dudum
Budenſes palmæ, peregrinaque laurus obumbrat (1)."

(1) See the whole poem, intitule', "*Pax Gulielmi auſpiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697," in Addiſon's Works.

[*B*] *Care of her grandmother, the Lady Pickering.*] For an ingenious conjecture concerning Lady Pickering, ſee the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. liv. p. 120.

[*C*] *Admirably delineated by Biſhop Atterbury.*] The whole of this character is well worth tranſcribing, if our limits would allow it. The concluſion of it we cannot omit.

"Soon after her marriage, ſhe declared to ſeveral friends her thoughts, that every woman of quality was as much more obliged, as ſhe was more enabled than other women, to do good in the world; and that the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way of doing this was, to endeavour by all means to be as good a Chriſtian, and as good a wife, and as good a friend, as was poſſible.

"She endeavoured to be all this, and ſhe fell not far ſhort of it: for ſhe excelled in all the characters that belonged to her, and was in a great meaſure equal to all the obligations that ſhe lay under: ſhe was devout, without ſuperſtition; ſtrict, without ill-humour; good-natured, without weakneſs; chearful, without levity; regular, without affectation. She was to her huſband the beſt of wives, the moſt agreeable of companions, and moſt faithful of friends; to her ſervants, the beſt of miſtreſſes; to her relations, extremely reſpectful; to her inferiors, very obliging; and by all that knew her, either nearly or at a diſtance, ſhe was reckoned, and confeſſed to be, one of the beſt of women.

"And yet all this goodneſs, and all this excellence, was bounded within the compaſs of eighteen years, and as many days: for no longer was ſhe allowed to live among us. She was ſnatched out of the world as ſoon almoſt as ſhe made her appearance in it; like a jewel of high price, juſt ſhewn a little, and then put up again; and we were deprived of her by that time we had learnt to value her. But circles may be complete, though ſmall; the perfection of life doth not conſiſt in the length of it: if it did, our Saviour, to be ſure, would not have died ſo ſoon after thirty.

"Short as her life was, ſhe had time enough to adorn the ſeveral ſtates of virginity and marriage; and to experience the ſadneſs of a kind of widowhood too: for ſuch ſhe accounted it, when her Lord was long abſent from her, mourned as much, and refuſed as much to be comforted, till his return.

"As her life was ſhort, ſo her death was ſudden; ſhe was called away in haſte, and without any warning. One day ſhe drooped, and the next ſhe died: nor was there the diſtance of many hours between her being very eaſy in this world, and very happy in another.

"However, though ſhe was ſeized thus ſuddenly by death, yet ſhe was not ſurprized; for ſhe was ever in preparation for it; 'her loins girt' (as the Scripture ſpeaks), 'and her lamp ready trimmed, 'and burning.' The moment almoſt that ſhe was taken ill, ſhe was juſt riſen from her knees, and had made an end of her morning devotions. And to ſuch an one a ſudden death could be no misfortune. We pray indeed againſt it, becauſe few, very few, are fit for it; and the Church is to proportion her forms to the generality of Chriſtians: but where a good ſoul is in perfect readineſs, there the ſooner the fatal ſtroke is ſtruck the better; all delays in this caſe are uncomfortable to the dying, as well as to thoſe friends who ſurvive them.

"In truth, ſhe could not be called away more haſtily than ſhe was willing to go. She had been uſed ſo much to have 'her converſation in Heaven,' and her ſoul had been ſo often upon the wing thither, that it readily left its earthly ſtation upon the leaſt notice from above; and took the very firſt opportunity of quitting her body, without lingering, or expecting a ſecond ſummons. She ſtayed no longer after ſhe was called, than to aſſure her Lord of her entire reſignation to the Divine Will, and of her having no manner of uneaſineſs upon her mind; and to take her leave of him with all the expreſſions of tenderneſs. When this was over, ſhe had nothing more to do with her ſenſes; ſhe ſunk immediately under her illneſs, and, after a ſhort unquiet ſlumber, ſlept in peace.

"Thus lived, and thus died, this excellent Lady, whoſe character I have ſo far repreſented, as my time, and the meaſure of ſuch diſcourſes as theſe, would ſuffer me; and endeavoured to renew a faint image of her ſeveral virtues and perfections upon your minds. I have done it in a confuſed manner, and without the nice diviſions of art; for grief is not methodical: it is enough, if I have been able to ſet before you ſome reſemblance of her, though I ſhould not have done it after the beſt and livelieſt manner: when the life is gone, a picture, drawn even by an unſkilful hand, hath its uſe and value; and thoſe who loved what it doth (however unequally) repreſent, will be touched at the ſight of it (2)."

(2) Atterbury's Miſcellaneous Works, 1789, p. 120—143.

[*D*] *That nothing leſs than your repeated commands could have excuſed me for publiſhing it*] Two other Sermons were publiſhed on the ſame occaſion; one by John Provoſte, M. A. with an account of her moſt pious life and lamented death, and a dedication to Lord Cutts; the other, preached at Kenſington Church, Dec. 5, 1697, by W. Wigan, M. A. Vicar of Kenſington. Wigan and Atterbury were both at this time Chaplains in ordinary to his Majeſty. Atterbury's Sermon was probably alſo preached at Kenſington.

ſubject

ſubject of it is death; a thing which you, my Lord, have very familiarly converſed with, and ſeen in all its ſhapes; but never, I believe, found it ſo truly terrible as in the face of my Lady. All that were about you were witneſſes with how ſenſible a concern you bore the loſs of her: and indeed it was ſuch a loſs, as even all your courage was but little enough to bear. I pray God, it may turn to account to your Lordſhip another way; and may furniſh you with ſuch reflections, and inſpire you with ſuch reſolutions, as, if well purſued, will make you amends for any loſs on this ſide Heaven. Your Lordſhip has choſen to expreſs ſome part of your grief this way, by giving the world an opportunity of grieving with you; which it will certainly do, wherever my Lady Cutts's character is truly known; and I have endeavoured to make it known in the following pages, with all the ſincerity that becomes my profeſſion; a quality which, I muſt own to your Lordſhip, I would not forfeit upon any account; no, not though I were ſure of doing the greateſt good by it. Some part of what is there written I know, and the reſt I do in my conſcience believe to be true, after a very ſtrict and particular enquiry. If I may be ſo happy, in what I have ſaid, as to contribute any ways towards fixing a true opinion of my Lady's merit, and ſpreading the intereſts of virtue and piety by the means of it, I have all the ends I propoſed to myſelf in this diſcourſe; beſide the honour of publiſhing to the world, that

" I am your Lordſhip's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

" FRANCIS ATTERBURY."

In 1695, and the three following parliaments, Lord Cutts was regularly elected one of the repreſentatives both for the county of Cambridge, and for the borough of Newport in the Iſle of Wight; but made his election for the former. In two parliaments which followed (1702 and 1705) he repreſented Newport (*b*). In 1698 he was complimented by Mr. John Hopkins (*i*), as one to whom " a double crown was due," as a hero and as a poet. In 1699, he is thus introduced (*k*) in a compliment to King William on his conqueſts:

(*b*) Cave's Parliamentary Regiſter, 1741.
(*i*) Nichols's Select Collection of Poems, vol. ii. p. 327.
(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 192.

" The warlike Cutts the welcome tidings brings,
" The true brave ſervant of the beſt of Kings;
" Cutts, whoſe known worth no herald needs proclaim,
" His wounds and his own worth can ſpeak his fame."

He was Colonel of the Coldſtream, or ſecond regiment of guards, in 1701; when Steele, who was indebted to his intereſt for a Captain's commiſſion in the Lord Lucas's regiment of fuſileers, inſcribed to him his firſt work, " The Chriſtian Hero [*E*]." On the acceſſion of Queen Anne, he was made a Lieutenant-General of the forces in Holland. Feb. 13, 1702-3, he was appointed Commander in Chief of the Engliſh forces on the Continent

[*E*] *The Chriſtian Hero.*]

To the Right Honourable the Lord Cutts, Colonel of his Majeſty's Coldſtream Regiment of Guards, &c.

" My Lord, Tower Guard, March 23, 1701.

" The addreſs of the following papers is ſo very much due to your Lordſhip, that they are but a mere report of what has paſſed upon my guard to my Commander; for they were writ upon duty, when the mind was perfectly diſengaged, and at leiſure, in the ſilent watch of the night, to run over the buſy dream of the day; and the vigilance which obliges us to ſuppoſe an enemy always near us, has awakened a ſenſe that there is a reſtleſs and ſubtle one, which conſtantly attends our ſteps, and meditates our ruin.

" Thoughts of this nature a man may with freedom acknowledge to your Lordſhip, who have ever been ſo far from running into the faſhionable vice of exploding religion, that your early valour firſt appeared againſt the profeſſed enemies of Chriſtianity; and Buda had tranſmitted you to late poſterity, but that you yourſelf have obliterated your part in that glorious ſcene by the freſher memory of you at Limerick and Namur.

" With one honeſt purpoſe of life, and conſtant ſervice of one intereſt and one cauſe, in what country have you not fought? in what field have you not bled? But I know I here offend you, nor will you allow warmth in commendation to be like a friend; but if, my Lord, to ſpeak you generous, honeſt, and brave, be not friendly, I do aſſure you it is the only thing I will ever do in common with your enemies.

" I ſaid your enemies; but if there are any who have ignorance or malice enough to be ſuch, their little hates muſt be loſt in the diſtinction the better world allow you; and that county (3) (whoſe diſcerning is refined by a learned and elegant univerſity) has done you ſo great an honour in making you unanimouſly their repreſentative in parliament, that they who would oppoſe your reputation, do but confeſs they are unacquainted with what paſſes in the world, and ſtrangers to the reſidence of knowledge and virtue. It was there you received thoſe rudiments of honour, which have rendered your life conſpicuous enough to make you appear a worthy deſcendant of an ancient and diſtinguiſhed family, which has ſerved the Crown in the moſt eminent ſtations, and been equally favourites of their country. It was there you imbibed thoſe impreſſions which inſpire that true uſe of your being, which ſo juſtly divides your time between labour and diverſion, that the one does but recreate for the other, and which give a generous contempt of both when in competition with the ſervice of that country which you love, and that God whom you worſhip.

(3) Cambridgeſhire.

" Go on, my Lord, thus to contemn, and thus to enjoy life; and, if ſome great Engliſh day does not call for that ſacrifice which you are always ready to offer, may you in a mature age go to ſleep with your anceſtors, in expectation, not of an imaginary fame, but a real and ſenſible immortality.

" As for the preſent I now make you, if you will accept it with your uſual goodneſs and affection to me, I ſhall entertain no farther hopes; for as your favour is my fortune, ſo your approbation is my fame.

" I am, my Lord,
" your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,
" moſt faithful, and moſt humble ſervant,

" RICHARD STEELE."

during

during the abſence of the Duke of Marlborough; Commander in Chief of the forces in Ireland, under the Duke of Ormond, March 23, 1704-5; and afterwards one of the Lords Juſtices of that kingdom, to keep him out of the way of action, a circumſtance which broke his heart. He died at Dublin, Jan. 26, 1706-7, and was buried there on the 29th, in the Cathedral of Chriſt-church (*l*). He was a perſon of eminent natural parts, well cultivated by ſtudy and converſation; of a free, unreſerved temper; and of undaunted bravery and reſolution. As he was a ſervant to Queen Mary when Princeſs of Orange, and learned the trade of war under her Conſort, he was early devoted to them both, and a warm ſupporter of the Revolution (*m*). He was an abſolute ſtranger to fear; and, on all occaſions, gave diſtinguiſhing proofs of his intrepidity, particularly at the ſiege of Limerick in 1691, at the memorable attack of the Caſtle of Namur in 1695, and at the ſiege of Venlo [*F*] in 1702. Macky (*n*) ſays of him, in 1703, "He hath abundance "of wit, but too much ſeized with vanity and ſelf-conceit; he is affable, familiar, and "very brave. Few conſiderable actions happened in this as well as the laſt war, in which "he was not, and hath been wounded in all the actions where he ſerved; is eſteemed to "be a mighty vigilant officer, and for putting the military orders in execution; he is "pretty tall, luſty, well-ſhaped, and an agreeable companion; hath great revenues, yet "ſo very expenſive, as always to be in debt; towards fifty years old." Swift, in a MS. note on the above paſſage, with his uſual laconic cruelty, calls Lord Cutts, "The vaineſt "old fool alive." He wrote a poem on the death of Queen Mary (*o*); and publiſhed, in 1687, "Poetical Exerciſes, written upon ſeveral Occaſions, and dedicated to her Royal

(*l*) Le Neve, *Nomum. Anglic.* i. 120.

(*m*) Annals of Q. Anne, 1706, p. 498.

(*n*) Memoirs of Secret Sources, &c. 1733, p. 155.

(*o*) Printed among the Court Poems.

[*F*] *Particularly at the ſiege of Limerick in* 1691, *at the memorable attack of the Caſtle of Namur in* 1695, *and at the ſiege of Venlo in* 1702.]

"In the Netherlands, the Earl of Marlborough not being able to bring the French to an engagement, the Deputies of the States in the army repreſented to him, that it would be much to the advantage of Holland, to diſpoſſeſs the enemy of the places they held in the Spaniſh Guelderland, whereby the navigation of the Maeſe would be opened. And accordingly preparations were made for the ſiege of Venlo, which was inveſted the 29th of Auguſt, and on the 7th of September the trenches were opened. I ſhall not take upon me to give a diary of every ſiege during this long war, but there are ſome heroic actions that muſt not be paſſed by: ſuch was that performed by my Lord Cutts before this place. On the 18th of September his Lordſhip was commanded to attack Fort St. Michael, between the Baſtion that is next the plain, and the Ravelin that lies on the North ſide of it, having under his command Brigadier General Hamilton, with the Royal Regiment of Ireland, and General Hukelem's regiment, 172 Grenadiers, and 100 Fuſileers, moſt Engliſh, under a Lieutenant Colonel; as alſo 300 workmen, with a competent number of Engineers under Colonel Blood. His Lordſhip's orders were to make a lodgment from the point of the Ravelin to the Baſtion, leaving him at liberty to proceed farther if he found it practicable. And at the ſame time the Prince of Anhalt, with the ſame number of troops, was to make an attack between the Baſtion and the Ravelin on the North ſide, with the like diſcretionary orders, either to lodge himſelf, or to advance as he ſhould ſee occaſion. The ſignal for both attacks, which was to be the blowing up a tun of powder, and the diſcharge of all the batteries of the beſiegers, both cannon and mortars, was accordingly made a little before ſix in the evening. The Lord Cutts had given orders on this attack to the Officers that led the Grenadiers, firſt to clear the covered way of the enemy, and if they ſaw it practicable when that was done, to attack the Ravelin ſword in hand; aſſuring them, in the hearing of all the Grenadiers, that as ſoon as he ſaw fifty of the latter on the top of the Ravelin, he would ſacrifice himſelf and his troops rather than not ſuſtain them; and that therefore they might go on with undauntedneſs if they found it poſſible to paſs. His Lordſhip heightened their courage and alacrity by promiſing rewards in her Majeſty's name to all ſuch who ſhould ſignalize themſelves. His Lordſhip's orders were executed with inexpreſſible vigour and chearfulneſs; and as ſoon as the Grenadiers, whom his Lordſhip with diſtinguiſhed intrepidity and admirable preſence of mind ſuſtained with freſh numbers, had cleared the Counterſcarp with their fire, and avoided a Mine which was unſucceſsfully ſprung by the enemy, they boldly attacked the Ravelin with ſword in hand, encouraging and aſſiſting one another upon the aſſurance of being ſeconded; which the Lord Cutts perceiving, he marched with all his forces, engaged the enemy, and was ſoon maſter of the Ravelin. The French then made a great fire upon the Engliſh from the rampart of the Fort; whereupon the Lord Cutts ſent orders to the Officers that were at the head of the Grenadiers, to throw in their granadoes and attack the Fort ſword in hand, if it were poſſible to find a paſſage; which they did, by charging and following the enemy ſo cloſe, that they had not time to break the bridge, though it was hotly diſputed by fire and puſh of pike, and eſpecially by the enemy's Grenadiers from the flank of one of their Baſtions. But the bravery of the Engliſh Grenadiers, by the example of their Officers, and ſome Volunteers of diſtinction, (as the Earl of Huntington, my Lord Lorn, my Lord Marckar, the Prince D'Avergne, Sir Richard Temple, Colonel Webb, and Mr. Dalrymple,) was inexpreſſible: ſome of them attacked the bridge, and ſome clambered up the ramparts, after having thrown in their granadoes, and forced their way into the Fort. The enemy continued to defend themſelves, till the Engliſh poured in ſo faſt upon them, that they were no longer able to reſiſt; which as ſoon as the Lord Cutts perceived, he checked the fury of the ſoldiers, and put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. The Engliſh took above 200 priſoners, whereof 30 were Officers, with a Brigadier General and the Governor; but all the reſt that were in the Fort, to the number of 600 were killed or drowned, endeavouring to eſcape, except 12 who happily paſſed the Maeſe in ſmall boats.

"When the Lord Cutts found himſelf entirely in poſſeſſion of the Forts, having left 400 men in the outworks, he poſted a guard at the great Port towards the town, and a ſmall guard at each ſally Port, ſeized the Magazines, ſent out 100 Grenadiers to diſcover on the ſide of the Maeſe, if any of the enemy were there drawn up; the reſt of his troops upon the rampart, towards the town, turned the enemies cannon upon them, made a diſcharge to give notice to the camp that all was well, and continued under arms all night. Of the Engliſh in this action two Captains were wounded, two Lieutenants and one Enſign killed, and three wounded, one Serjeant killed, and three wounded, 130 men killed, and 132 wounded: And the Lord Cutts's Aid de Camp, Captain Bolas, with Mr. Eley, an Engliſh Volunteer, killed on the ſpot. The loſs of the Dutch was no leſs than that of the Engliſh.

"On the 25th of September the town of Venlo beat a parley, and the garriſon ſurrendered upon honourable terms, and were conducted to Antwerp (4)."

(4) Life of Queen Anne, p. 114—120.

"Highneſs

"Highneſs Mary Princeſs of Orange; licenſed March 23, 1686-7, Roger L'Eſtrange." It contains, beſides the dedication ſigned "J. Cutts," verſes to that Princeſs; a poem on Wiſdom; another to Mr. Waller on his commending it; ſeven more copies of verſes (one of them called "La Muſe Cavalier," which had been aſcribed to Lord Peterborough, and as ſuch mentioned by Mr. Walpole in the liſt of that Nobleman's writings), and eleven ſongs; the whole compoſing but a very thin volume; which is by no means ſo ſcarce as Mr. Walpole ſuppoſes it to be (*p*). The author ſpeaks of having more pieces by him. A ſpecimen of his poetry (of which the five firſt lines are quoted by Steele in his fifth Tatler) is added in the note below [*G*]. N.

(*p*) Nichols's Select Collection, vol. ii. p. 338.

[*G*] *Is added in the note below.*]

"Only tell her that I love,
Leave the reſt to Her and Fate;
Some kind planet from above
May perhaps her pity move;
Lovers on their ſtars muſt wait;
Only tell her that I love.

Why, oh, why ſhould I deſpair?
Mercy's pictur'd in her eye:
If ſhe once vouchſafe to hear,
Welcome Hope, and welcome Fear.
She's too good to let me die;
Why, oh, why ſhould I deſpair?"

APPENDIX TO LETTER C. No. I.

VOL. III. Page 450.

*** [CHATTERTON (THOMAS), a youth of a very extraordinary genius, was born of a family in no reſpect illuſtrious; but which is more nearly connected with ſome of the circumſtances of his literary hiſtory than that of moſt other votaries of the Muſes. It appears that the office of Sexton of St. Mary Redcliffe, in Briſtol, had continued in different branches of this family for more than one hundred and fifty years; and that John Chatterton, the laſt of the name who enjoyed that office, was elected in March 1725, and continued Sexton till his death, which happened in the year 1748 (*a*). Thomas Chatterton, the nephew of the preceding, and father to the extraordinary perſon who is the ſubject of theſe memoirs, had, we are informed, been in the early part of life in the ſtation of a writing uſher to a claſſical ſchool (*b*), was afterwards engaged as a ſinging man of the Cathedral of Briſtol, and latterly was Maſter of the Free School in Pyle-ſtreet in the ſame city (*c*). He died in Auguſt 1752, leaving his wife then pregnant of a ſon, who was born on the twentieth of November, and baptized the firſt of January following, by the name of THOMAS, at St. Mary Redcliffe, by the Rev. Mr. Gibbs, Vicar of that Church.

(*a*) Dr. Milles's Preliminary Diſſertation to Rowley's Poems, page 6.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.* Mr. Bryant's Obſ. p. 514.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

The life of Chatterton, though ſhort, was eventful: it commenced as it ended, in indigence and misfortune. By the premature loſs of his father he was deprived of that careful attention which would probably have conducted his early years through all the difficulties that circumſtances or diſpoſition might oppoſe to the attainment of knowledge; and by the unpromiſing aſpect of his infant faculties he was excluded a ſeminary, which might have afforded advantages ſuperior to thoſe he afterwards enjoyed. His father had been ſucceeded in the ſchool at Pyle-ſtreet by a Mr. Love, and to his care Chatterton was committed at the age of five years. But either his faculties were not yet opened, or the waywardneſs of genius, which will purſue only ſuch objects as are ſelf-approved, incapacitated him from receiving inſtruction in the ordinary methods; and he was remanded to his mother as a dull boy, and incapable of improvement (*e*). Nothing is more fallacious than the judgments which are formed during infancy of the future abilities of youth. Mrs. Chatterton was rendered extremely unhappy by the apparently tardy underſtanding of her ſon, till *he fell in love*, as ſhe expreſſed herſelf, with the illuminated capitals of an old muſical manuſcript, in French, which enabled her, by taking advantage of the momentary paſſion, to initiate him in the alphabet (*f*). She taught him afterwards to read from an old black-lettered Teſtament, or Bible (*g*). Perhaps the bent of moſt men's ſtudies may, in ſome meaſure, be determined by accident, and frequently in very early life; nor is it unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that his peculiar attachment to antiquities may, in a conſiderable degree, have reſulted from this little circumſtance.

(*e*) Bryant's Obſ. p. 519.

(*f*) *Ibid* Milles's Prelim. Diſſ. p. 5.

(*g*) Milles's Preliminary Diſſ. p. 5.

We are not informed by what means or by what recommendation he gained admiſſion into Colſton's Charity-ſchool; but doubtleſs, in the ſituation of his mother at the time, it muſt have been a moſt deſirable event; however unſuitable ſuch a courſe of diſcipline might be to the improvement of Chatterton's peculiar talents. Moſt of thoſe prodigies of genius, who had hitherto aſtoniſhed mankind, by the early diſplay of abilities and learning, had been aided by the advantage of able inſtructors, or had at leaſt been left at liberty to purſue the impulſe of their ſuperior underſtandings. It was the lot of Chatterton to be confined to the mechanical drudgery of a charity-ſchool; and the little ordinary portions of leiſure, with which boys in his ſituation are indulged, was the only time allowed him to lay the foundation of that extenſive and abſtruſe erudition which decorated even his early years. This ſeminary, founded by Edward Colſton, Eſq; is ſituate at St. Auguſtine's Back in Briſtol, and is much upon the ſame plan with Chriſt's Hoſpital in London, (the only plan perhaps on which a charity-ſchool can be generally uſeful,) the boys being *boarded* in the houſe, clothed, and taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Chatterton, at this period, wanted a few months of eight years of age, being admitted on the third of

Auguſt 1760 (*b*). The rules of this inſtitution are ſtrict. The ſchool hours in ſummer are from ſeven o'clock till twelve in the morning, and from one till five in the afternoon; and in winter, from eight to twelve, and from one to four. The boys are obliged to be in bed every night in the year at eight o'clock, and are never permitted to be abſent from ſchool, except on Saturdays and Saints days, and then only from between one and two in the afternoon till between ſeven and eight in the evening. The detail of theſe apparently trivial particulars may at preſent ſavour of a culpable minuteneſs; but their importance will be experienced before I have concluded.

(*b*) On the authority of a letter ſigned G. B. dated Briſtol, Aug. 30, 1778, printed in the St. James's Chron. In Dr. Milles's Prelim. Diſſ. it is 1761; but this muſt be a miſprint, as all agree that he was between ſeven and eight years old when admitted.

The firſt years of his reſidence at this ſeminary paſſed without notice, and perhaps without effort. His ſiſter, indeed, in her letter to Mr. Croſt, remarks, that he very early diſcovered a thirſt for pre-eminence, and that even before he was five years old he was accuſtomed to preſide over his play-mates [*A*]. There is a curious letter from Mr. Thiſtlethwaite of Briſtol, publiſhed by Dr. Milles in his edition of Rowley's Poems, which contains many intereſting particulars concerning Chatterton. In the ſummer of 1763, Mr. Thiſtlethwaite, who was then very young, contracted an intimacy with one Thomas Philips [*B*], an Uſher or Aſſiſtant-maſter at Colſton's ſchool. Though the education of Philips had not been the moſt liberal, he yet poſſeſſed a taſte for hiſtory and poetry; and by his attempts in verſe, excited a degree of literary emulation among the elder boys. It is very remarkable, that Chatterton is ſaid to have appeared altogether as an idle ſpectator of theſe poetical conteſts: he ſimply contented himſelf with the ſports and paſtimes which appeared more immediately adapted to his age; he apparently poſſeſſed neither inclination nor ability for literary purſuits, nor does Mr. Thiſtlethwaite believe that he attempted a ſingle couplet during the firſt three years of his acquaintance with him (*k*). Whatever grounds Mr. Thiſtlethwaite might have for this opinion, it, however, only ſerves to furniſh an additional proof of the deceitfulneſs of thoſe conjectures which are formed concerning the abilities of youth. The pert and forward boy, of active, but ſuperficial talents, generally bears away the palm from the modeſty and penſiveneſs of genius. Such a diſpoſition, which is in reality the reſult of inſenſibility, too frequently meets with encouragement, which produces indolence, impudence, and diſſipation; while the leſs ſhewy, but more excellent underſtandings, are depreſſed by neglect, or diſheartened by diſcouragement. Chatterton, doubtleſs, at that very period, was poſſeſſed of a vigour of underſtanding, of a quickneſs of penetration, a boldneſs of imagination, far ſuperior to the talents of his companions. But that penetration itſelf led him, perhaps, to feel more ſtrongly his own deficiences. Thoſe delicate, yet vivid feelings which uſually accompany real abilities, induced him to decline a conteſt, in which there was a danger of experiencing the mortification of being inferior. If he produced any compoſitions, his exquiſite taſte led him to ſuppreſs them. In the mean time he was laying in ſtores of information, and improving both his imagination and his judgment. About his tenth year he acquired a taſte for reading; and out of the trifle, which was allowed him by his mother for pocket-money, he began to hire books from a circulating library. As his taſte was different from children of his age, his diſpoſitions were alſo different. Inſtead of the thoughtleſs levity of childhood, he poſſeſſed the gravity, penſiveneſs, and melancholy of maturer life. His ſpirits were uneven: he was frequently ſo loſt in contemplation, that for many days together he would ſay very little, and apparently by conſtraint. His intimates in the ſchool were few, and thoſe of the moſt ſerious caſt. Between his eleventh and twelfth year, he wrote a Catalogue of the Books he had read, to the number of ſeventy. It is rather unfortunate that this Catalogue was not preſerved: his ſiſter only informs us that they principally conſiſted of hiſtory and divinity (*l*). At the hours allotted him for play, he generally retired to read, and he was particularly ſolicitous to borrow books (*m*). Though he does not appear to have manifeſted any violent inclination to diſplay his abilities, yet we have undoubted proofs that very early in life, he did not fail to exerciſe himſelf in compoſition. His ſiſter having made him a preſent of a pocket-book as a New-Year's gift, he returned it to her at the end of the year filled with writing, chiefly poetry (*n*). It was probably from the remains of this pocket-book, that the author of Love and Madneſs tranſcribed a poem, which appears by the date (April 14th, 1764) to have been written at the age of eleven years and a half [*C*]. This fact is certainly

(*k*) Milles's Rowley, p. 454.

(*l*) Mrs. Newton's Letter in Love and Madneſs.

(*m*) Dr. Milles's Prelim. Diſſ. p. 5.

(*n*) Mrs. Newton's Letter.

[*A*] *He was accuſtomed to preſide over his play-mates.*] There is an anecdote of Chatterton (it is given, however, only on a vague and indiſtinct report) partly to the ſame purpoſe. When very young, a manufacturer promiſed to make Mrs. Chatterton's children a preſent of ſome earthen-ware. On aſking the boy what device he would have painted on his—"Paint me (ſaid he) an angel, with wings, and a trumpet, to trumpet my name over the world (1)."

(1) Love and Madneſs, p. 161.

[*B*] *With one Thomas Philips.*] In all probability the perſon on whoſe death Chatterton compoſed an Elegy. I wiſh we were poſſeſſed of more perfect memoirs of Philips. His taſte for poetry excited a ſimilar flame in ſeveral young men, who made no mean figure in the periodical publications of that day, in Chatterton, Thiſtlethwaite, Cary, Fowler, and others.

[*C*] *Which appears to have been written at the age of eleven years and a half.*] It may not be improper to produce this Poem, not only as it is the earlieſt exiſting ſpecimen of Chatterton's compoſitions, but alſo for the ſake of ſome remarks, which will probably throw ſome light on the genius and character of its author.

APOSTATE WILL, by T. C.

In days of old, when Weſley's pow'r
Gather'd new ſtrength by every hour;
Apoſtate Will juſt ſunk in trade,
Reſolv'd his bargain ſhould be made;

Then

tainly a ſtrong contradiction to Mr. Thiſtlethwaite's aſſertion; yet perhaps it is not on the whole ſo difficult to be reconciled as may at firſt be ſuſpected. In the regiſters of the memory, a few months is but a trifling anachroniſm. Beſides, though Chatterton might compoſe at that time, it does not follow that he was under any neceſſity of imparting his compoſitions to Mr. Thiſtlethwaite or Mr. Philips. Indeed, he was the leſs likely to make them public, as they were of the ſatirical kind, and conſequently, if diſcovered, the boy might be apprehenſive of expoſing himſelf to puniſhment.

At twelve years old he was confirmed by the Biſhop: His ſiſter adds, that he made very ſenſible and ſerious remarks on the awfulneſs of the ceremony, and on his own feelings preparatory to it (*o*). Happy had it been for him if theſe ſentiments, ſo congenial to the amiable diſpoſitions of youth, had continued to influence his conduct during his maturer years. He ſoon after, during the week in which he was door-keeper, made ſome verſes on the laſt day, paraphraſed the ninth chapter of Job, and ſome chapters of Iſaiah. The bent of his genius, however, more ſtrongly inclined him to ſatire, of which he was tolerably laviſh on his ſchool-fellows; nor did the Upper-maſter, Mr. Warner, eſcape the rod of his reprehenſion. The firſt poetical eſſays of moſt young authors are in the paſtoral ſtyle, when the imagination is luxuriant, the hopes and contemplations romantic, and when the mind is better acquainted with the objects of nature and of the ſight than with any other. But Chatterton, without the advantages of education or encouragement, and, on theſe accounts, diffident perhaps of his own powers, wanted the ſtimulative of indignation to prompt him to action; and a quickneſs of reſentment appears through life to have been one of his moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics [*D*]. From what has been related, it is probable that Chatterton was no great favourite with Mr. Warner: he, however, found a

(*o*) Mrs. Newton's Letter.

Then ſtrait to Weſley he repairs,
And puts on grave and ſolemn airs;
Then thus the pious man addreſs'd,
Good Sir, I think your doctrine beſt,
Your ſervant will a Weſley be,
Therefore the principles teach me.
The preacher then inſtructions gave,
How he in this world ſhould behave,
He hears, aſſents, and gives a nod,
Says every word's the word of God.
Then lifting his diſſembling eyes,
How bleſſed is the ſect he cries,
Nor Bingham, Young, nor Stillingfleet
Shall make me from this ſect retreat.
He then his circumſtance declar'd,
How hardly with him matters far'd,
Begg'd him next meeting for to make
A ſmall collection for his ſake;
The preacher ſaid, do not repine,
The whole collection ſhall be thine.
With looks demure and cringing bows,
About his buſineſs ſtrait he goes;
His outward acts were grave and prim,
The Methodiſt appear'd in him.
But, be his outward what it will,
His heart was an Apoſtate's ſtill;
He'd oft profeſs an hallow'd flame,
And every where preach'd Weſley's name;
He was a preacher and what not,
As long as money could be got;
He'd oft profeſs with holy fire,
The labourer's worthy of his hire.

It happen'd once upon a time,
When all his works were in their prime,
A noble place appear'd in view,
Then—to the Methodiſts, adieu:
A Methodiſt no more he'll be,
The Proteſtants ſerve beſt for *he*:
Then to the curate ſtrait he ran,
And thus addreſs'd the rev'rend man;
I was a Methodiſt, 'tis true,
With penitence I turn to you;
O that it were your bounteous will
That I the vacant place might fill!
With juſtice I'd myſelf acquit,
Do every thing that's right and fit.
The curate ſtraitway gave conſent—
To take the place he quickly went.
Accordingly he took the place,
And keeps it with diſſembled grace.

April 14, 1764.

In the firſt place, this Poem ſhews the early turn and bent of his genius to ſatire, which predominated throughout his ſhort life, and with which he began and ended his literary career. Not only his ſchool-fellows and his inſtructors became the ſubjects of it at this early period, but his acquaintance and his friends felt its force.

In the next place, it appears that he was then no ſtranger to the works of Bingham, Young, and Stillingfleet, which were probably among the books of divinity that compoſed the liſt of thoſe he had read or conſulted, as mentioned in Mrs. Newton's Letter.

Laſtly, let it be obſerved, that the perſon he ſatirizes is ſuppoſed to have turned methodiſt for mercenary motives, and to have preached the goſpel merely to put money in his purſe.—Now Mr. Thiſtlethwaite, in his letter to Dean Milles, after mentioning Chatterton's intentions of leaving his maſter's ſervice and going to London, ſays—"I interrogated him as to the objects of his views and expectations, and what mode of life he intended to purſue on his arrival at London. The anſwer I received was a memorable one: My firſt attempt, ſaid he, ſhall be in the literary way; the promiſes I have received are ſufficient to diſpel doubt; but ſhould I, contrary to my expectations, find myſelf deceived, I will in that caſe turn Methodiſt preacher. Credulity is as potent a deity as ever, and a new ſect may eaſily be deviſed," &c.

(2) Milles's Rowley, p. 459.

Chatterton might in ſome meaſure have in view the character which he had before ſo ſucceſsfully depicted, when he thus expreſſed himſelf to Mr. Thiſtlethwaite. As his genius was verſatile, and his reading extenſive, it is poſſible this profeſſion might not be without ſome ſerious foundation. Indeed, if we are to believe that the fragment of a ſermon, which he produced as Rowley's, was really his own compoſition, certainly many a quack preacher ſets out upon a much ſlenderer ſtock of divinity than Chatterton was maſter of at that time. The imagination, however, forms many ſchemes which the heart wants fortitude to reduce to action; and perhaps, after all, his declaration to Mr. T. might be no more than a temporary piece of gaiety, and that he might ſtill, though releaſed from religious ſcruples, abhor the diſhonourable character of a hypocrite.

[*D*] *Appears through life to have been one of his moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics.*] A late French writer, in his Memoirs of the Poet De la Harpe, who had manifeſted a like turn for ſatire in his early years, ſays—"La ſatyre eſt la premiere qualité qui ſe develope ordinairement dans un jeune poete. Celui ſe l'exerce d'unefaçon ridicule envers ſes maitres & meme envers M. Aſſalin."

friend in the Under-maſter, Mr. Haynes, who conceived for him, I have been informed, a ſtrong and affectionate attachment.

" A very remarkable fact is recorded by Mr. Thiſtlethwaite in the letter already quoted. " Going down Horſe-ſtreet, near the ſchool, one day," ſays he, " I accidentally met with Chatterton. Entering into converſation with him, the ſubject of which I do not now recollect, he informed me that he was in the poſſeſſion of certain old manuſcripts, which had been found depoſited in a cheſt in Redcliffe church, and that he had lent ſome or one of them to Philips. Within a day or two after this I ſaw Philips, and repeated to him the information I had received from Chatterton. Philips produced a manuſcript on parchment or vellum, which I am confident was Elenoure and Juga (*p*), a kind of paſtoral eclogue, afterwards publiſhed in the Town and Country Magazine for May 1769. The parchment or vellum appeared to have been cloſely pared round the margin; for what purpoſe, or by what accident, I know not, but the words were evidently entire and unmutilated. As the writing was yellow and pale, manifeſtly (as I conceive) occaſioned by age, and conſequently difficult to decypher, Philips had with his pen traced and gone over ſeveral of the lines, (which, as far as my recollection ſerves, were written in the manner of proſe, and without any regard to punctuation,) and by that means laboured to attain the object of his purſuit, an inveſtigation of their meaning. I endeavoured to aſſiſt him: but from an almoſt total ignorance of the characters, manners, language, and orthography of the age in which the lines were written, all our efforts were unprofitably exerted; and though we arrived at the explanation of, and connected many of the words, ſtill the ſenſe was notoriouſly deficient (*q*)." If this narrative may be depended on, Chatterton had diſcovered theſe manuſcripts before he was twelve years of age. It is, however, ſcarcely conſiſtent with other accounts, ſince both Mrs. Chatterton and her daughter ſeem to be of opinion, that he knew nothing of the parchments brought from Redcliffe Church, which were ſuppoſed to contain Rowley's poems, till after he had left ſchool (*r*). Under all the diſadvantages of education, the acquiſitions of Chatterton were ſurpriſing. Beſides the variety of reading which he had gone through, the author of Love and Madneſs remarks, that he had ſome knowledge of muſic (*s*). Is it not probable that a few of the rudiments of vocal muſic made a part of the education of a charity boy? He had alſo acquired a taſte for drawing, which afterwards he greatly improved; and the Uſher of the ſchool aſſerted he had made a rapid progreſs in arithmetic (*t*). Soon after he left ſchool, he correſponded with a boy, who had been his bed-fellow while at Colſton's, and was bound apprentice to a Merchant at New-York [*D*]. Mrs. Newton ſays, he read a letter at home, which he wrote to this friend: it conſiſted of a collection of all the hard words in the Engliſh language, and he requeſted his friend to anſwer it in the ſame ſtyle. An extraordinary effect of his diſcovering an employment adapted to his genius is remarked in the ſame letter. He had been gloomy from the time he began to learn, but it was obſerved that he became more cheerful after he began to write poetry (*u*).

On the firſt of July 1767, he left the Charity-ſchool, and was bound apprentice to Mr. John Lambert, Attorney, of Briſtol, for ſeven years, to learn the art and myſtery of a ſcrivener. The apprentice fee was ten pounds; the maſter was to find him in meat, drink, lodging, and clothes; the mother in waſhing and mending. He ſlept in the ſame room with the foot-boy, and went every morning at eight o'clock to the office, which was at ſome diſtance, and, except the uſual time for dinner, continued there till eight o'clock at night, after which he was at liberty till ten, when he was always expected to be at home. Mr. Lambert affords the moſt honourable teſtimony in Chatterton's favour, with reſpect to the regularity of his attendance, as he never exceeded the limited hours but once, when he had leave to ſpend the evening with his mother and ſome friends (*w*). His hours of leiſure alſo Mr. Lambert had no reaſon to ſuſpect were ſpent in improper company, but generally with his mother, Mr. Clayfield, Mr. Barrett, or Mr. Catcott. He never had occaſion to charge him with neglect of buſineſs, or any ill behaviour whatever. Once, and but once, he thought himſelf under the neceſſity of correcting him, and that was the pure effect of his diſpoſition for ſatire. A ſhort time after he was bound to Mr. Lambert, his old Schoolmaſter received a very abuſive anonymous letter, which he ſuſpected came from Chatterton, and he complained of it to his maſter, who was ſoon convinced of the juſtice of the complaint, not only from the hand-writing, which was ill-diſguiſed [*F*], but from the letter being written on the ſame paper with that which was uſed in the office. On this occaſion Mr. Lambert corrected the boy with a blow or two. He, however, accuſes him of a ſullen and gloomy temper, which particularly diſplayed itſelf among the ſervants (*x*). Chatterton's ſuperior abilities, and ſuperior information, with the pride which uſually accom-

(*p*) See Rowley's Poems, p. 19, 3d edit.

(*q*) Milles's Rowley.

(*r*) Milles's Prelim. Diſſ. p. 5. There appears good reaſon for ſuſpecting ſome miſtake in Mr. Thiſtlethwaite's narrative, either as to the date, or ſome other circumſtance.

(*s*) Love and Madneſs, p. 167.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 161.

(*u*) Milles's Prelim. Diſſ. p. 5.

(*w*) Mrs. Newton's Letter above quoted.

(*x*) From the information of Mr. Lambert to a friend of the author.

[*E*] *Bound Apprentice to a Merchant at New-York.*] At the deſire of this friend, he wrote love verſes to be tranſmitted to him, and exhibited as his own. It is remarkable, that when firſt queſtioned concerning the old poems, he ſaid he was engaged to tranſcribe them for a Gentleman, who alſo employed him to write verſes on a Lady with whom he was in love.

[*F*] *Which was ill-diſguiſed.*] This circumſtance is not unworthy of notice. If Chatterton was really the forger of the MSS. attributed to Rowley, how came he in this inſtance to be unable to diſguiſe his own hand-writing?

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panies theſe qualities, doubtleſs rendered him an unfit inhabitant of the kitchen, where his ignorant aſſociates would naturally be inclined to envy, and would affect to deſpiſe thoſe accompliſhments, which he held in the higheſt eſtimation: and even the familiarity of vulgar and illiterate perſons, muſt undoubtedly be rather diſguſting than agreeable to a mind like his.

Mr. Lambert's was a ſituation not unfavourable to the cultivation of his genius. Though much confined, he had much leiſure. His maſter's buſineſs conſumed a very ſmall portion of his time: frequently, his ſiſter ſays, it did not engage him about two hours in a day (*y*). While Mr. Lambert was from home, and no particular buſineſs interfered, his ſtated employment was to copy precedents; a book of which, containing 344 large folio pages, cloſely written by Chatterton while he remained in the office, is, I believe, ſtill in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Lambert, as well as another of about thirty pages. The office library contained nothing but law books; except an old edition of Camden's Britannia. There is no doubt, however, but Chatterton took care amply to ſupply his mental wants from his old acquaintance at the circulating libraries.

(*y*) Mrs. Newton's Letter above quoted.

He had continued this courſe of life for upwards of a year; not, however, without ſome ſymptoms of an averſion for his profeſſion, before he began to attract the notice of the literary world. In the beginning of October 1768, the new bridge at Briſtol was finiſhed. At that time there appeared, in Farley's Briſtol Journal, an account of the ceremonies on opening the old bridge, introduced by a letter to the printer, intimating that "The following deſcription of *the Fryars firſt paſſing over the old bridge*, was taken from an ancient manuſcript," and ſigned "Dunhelmus Briſtolienſis [*G*]." The paper, if it be allowed to be the fabrication of modern times, demonſtrates ſtrong powers of invention, and an uncommon knowledge of ancient cuſtoms. So ſingular a memoir could not fail to excite curioſity, and many perſons became anxious to ſee the original. The printer, Mr. Farley, could give no account of it, nor of the perſon who brought the copy; but after much inquiry, it was diſcovered that the manuſcript was brought by a youth between fifteen and ſixteen years of age, of the name of Thomas Chatterton (*z*). "To the threats of thoſe who treated him (agreeably to his appearance) as a child, he returned nothing but haughtineſs, and a refuſal to give any account (*a*)." By milder uſage he was ſomewhat ſoftened, and appeared inclined to give all the information in his power. He at firſt alledged, that he was employed to tranſcribe the contents of certain ancient manuſcripts by a Gentleman, who alſo had engaged him to furniſh complimentary verſes, inſcribed to a Lady with whom that Gentleman was in love. On being farther preſſed, he at laſt informed the inquirers, that he had received the paper in queſtion, together with many other manuſcripts, from his father, who had found them in a large cheſt in the upper room over the chapel, on the North ſide of Redcliffe Church (*b*). But a ſtill more circumſtantial account of the diſcovery of theſe manuſcripts, is preſerved in Mr. Bryant's Obſervations on Rowley's Poems. Over the North porch of St. Mary Redcliffe Church, which was founded, or at leaſt rebuilt, by Mr. W. Canynge, (an eminent Merchant of Briſtol in the fifteenth century, and in the reign of Edward the Fourth), there is a kind of monument room, in which were depoſited ſix or ſeven cheſts, one of which in particular was called

(*z*) Preface to Rowley's Poems.

(*a*) Croft's Love and Madneſs, p. 145.

(*b*) See Mr. Catcott's account in the preface to Rowley's poems.

[*G*] *And ſigned "Dunhelmus Briſtolienſis."*]

"Deſcription of the Fryars paſſing over the Old "Bridge, taken from an ancient manuſcript.

"On Fridaie was the time fixed for paſſing the "new-brydge. Aboute the time of tollynge the "tenth clocke, Maſter Greggoire Dalbenye mounted "on a fergreyne horſe, informed Maſter Maier all "thynges were prepared, when two Beadils went "firſt ſtreying ſtre. Next came a manne dreſſed up "as follows, hoſe of gootſkyne crinepart outwards, "doublette & waiſcot, alſo over which a white robe "without ſleeves, much like an albe but not ſo long, "reachinge but to his hands. A girdle of azure "over his left ſhoulder, rechede alſo to his hands "on the right & doubled back to his left, bucklynge "with a goulden buckle dangled to his knee, thereby "repreſentinge a Saxon earlderman.

"In his hands he bare a ſhield, the maiſtre of "Gille a Brogton, who painted the ſame, repreſenting Sainte Warburgh croſſing the foorde; then a "mickle ſtrong man in armour, carried a huge anlace, after whom came ſix claryons and ſix minſtrels, who ſong the ſong of Sainte Warburgh. "Then came Maſter Maier mounted on a white "horſe dight with ſable trappyngs wrought about by "the Nunnes of Saint Kenna, with gould and "ſilver, his hayre braded with ribbons & a chaperon "with the auntient armes of Briſtowe faſtened on "his forehead. Maſter Maier bare in his hande a "goulden rodde, & a congean ſquire bare in his "hande his helmet, waulkinge by the ſyde of the "horſe. Then came the earlderman & city broders, "mounted on ſabyell horſes dyght with white trappyngs & plumes & ſcarlet caps & chaperons having "thereon ſable plumes; after them, the preeſts & "frears, pariſh mendicant & ſecular, ſome ſyngynge "Sainte Warburghs ſonge, others ſoundynge clarions "thereto & others ſome citrialles.

"In thilke manner reachynge the brydge the "manne with the anlace ſtode on the fyrſt top of a "mounde, yreed in the midſt of the brydge, then "went up the manne with the ſheelde, after him "the minſtrels & clarions; and then the preeſtes & "freeres all in white albes, making a moſt goodly "ſhewe, the maier & earldermen ſtandinge rounde, "they ſonge with the ſound of claryons, the ſonge "of Sainte Baldwyne, which being done, the manne "on the top threw with great myght his anlace into "the ſea & the clarions ſounded an auncient charge "& forloyne. Then theie ſong again the ſong of "Sainte Warburge, & proceeded up Xts hill to the "croſſe, where a Latin ſermon was preached by "Ralph de Blunderville, & with ſound of clarion "theye againe want to the brydge and there dined, "ſpendynge the reſt of the daye in ſports and plaies, "the freers of Sainte Auguſtyne doing the play of "the knights of Briſtow meekynge a great fire at "night on Kynſlate hill."

Mr. Canynge's cofre [*H*]. This cheſt, it is ſaid, was ſecured by ſix keys, two of which were entruſted to the Miniſter and Procurator of the Church, two to the Mayor, and one to each of the Church-wardens. In proceſs of time, however, the ſix keys appear to have been loſt; and about the year 1727, a notion prevailed that ſome title deeds, and other writings of value, were contained in Mr. Canynge's cofre. In conſequence of this opinion, an order of veſtry was made, that the cheſt ſhould be opened under the inſpection of an attorney; and that thoſe writings which appeared of conſequence, ſhould be removed to the ſouth porch of the church. The locks were therefore forced, and not only the principal cheſt, but the others, which were alſo ſuppoſed to contain writings, were all broken open. The deeds immediately relating to the church were removed, and the other manuſcripts were left expoſed as of no value. Conſiderable depredations had, from time to time, been committed upon them, by different perſons; but the moſt inſatiate of theſe plunderers was the father of Chatterton. His uncle's being Sexton of St. Mary Redcliffe gave him free acceſs to the church. He carried off, from time to time, parcels of the parchments, and one time alone, with the aſſiſtance of his boy, is known to have filled a large baſket with them. They were depoſited in a cupboard in the ſchool, and employed for different purpoſes, ſuch as the covering of copy books, &c. In particular, Mr. Gibbs, the Miniſter of the pariſh, having preſented the boys with twenty Bibles, Mr. Chatterton, in order to preſerve theſe books from being damaged, covered them with ſome of the parchments. At his death, the widow being under a neceſſity of removing, carried the remainder of them to her own habitation. Of the diſcovery of their value by the younger Chatterton, the account of Mr. Smith, a very intimate acquaintance, which he gave to Dr. Glynn of Cambridge, is too intereſting to be omitted. "When young Chatterton was firſt articled to Mr. Lambert, he uſed frequently to come home to his mother, by way of a ſhort viſit. There, one day, his eye was caught by one of theſe parchments, which had been converted into a thread-paper. He found not only the writing to be very old, the characters very different from common characters, but that the ſubject therein treated was different from common ſubjects. Being naturally of an inquiſitive and curious turn, he was very much ſtruck with their appearance, and, as might be expected, began to queſtion his mother what thoſe thread papers were, how ſhe got them, and whence they came. Upon farther enquiry, he was led to a full diſcovery of all the parchments which remained (*c*)." The bulk of them conſiſted of poetical and other compoſitions, by Mr. Canynge, and a particular friend of his, Thomas Rowley, whom Chatterton at firſt called a Monk, and afterwards a Secular Prieſt of the fifteenth century. Such, at leaſt, appears to be the account which Chatterton thought proper to give, and which he wiſhed to be believed. It is, indeed, confirmed by the teſtimony of his mother and ſiſter. Mrs. Chatterton informed a friend of the Dean of Exeter, that on her removal from Pyle-ſtreet, ſhe emptied the cupboard of its contents, partly into a large long deal box, where her huſband uſed to keep his clothes, and partly into a ſquare oak box of a ſmaller ſize; carrying both with their contents to her lodgings, where, according to her account, they continued neglected and undiſturbed, till her ſon firſt diſcovered their value; who having examined their contents, told his mother, 'that he had found a treaſure, and was ſo glad nothing could be like it:' that he then removed all theſe parchments out of the large long deal box, in which his father uſed to keep his clothes, into the ſquare oak box: that he was perpetually ranſacking every corner of the houſe for more parchments, and, from time to time, carried away thoſe he had already found by pockets full: that one day happening to ſee Clarke's Hiſtory of the Bible covered with one of thoſe parchments, he ſwore a great oath, and ſtripping the book, put the cover into his pocket, and carried it away; at the ſame time ſtripping a common little Bible, but finding no writing upon the cover, replaced it again very leiſurely (*d*). "Upon being informed of the manner in which his father had procured the parchments, he went himſelf to the place, and picked up four more, which, if Mrs. Chatterton rightly remembers, Mr. Barrett has at this time in his poſſeſſion (*e*)." "Mrs. Newton, his ſiſter, being aſked, if ſhe remembers his having mentioned Rowley's poems, after the diſcovery of the parchments; ſays, that he was perpetually talking on that ſubject, and once in particular, (about two years before he left Briſtol) when a relation, one Mr. Stephens of Saliſbury, made them a viſit, he talked of nothing elſe (*f*)."

(*c*) Bryant's Obſ. p. 511—529.

(*d*) Milles's Prelim. Diſſ. p. 7. It does not appear that any of the parchments exhibited to Mr. Barrett, or Mr. Catcott, were of a ſize ſufficient for a covering for an octavo book, much leſs for a quarto or folio. O.

(*e*) Milles's Prelim. Diſſ. p. 7.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

Nearly about the time when the paper in Farley's Journal, concerning the old bridge, became the ſubject of converſation, as Mr. Catcott of Briſtol, a Gentleman of an inquiſitive turn, and fond of reading, was walking with a friend in Redcliffe church, he was informed by him of ſeveral ancient pieces of poetry, which had been found there, and which were in the poſſeſſion of a young perſon with whom he was acquainted. This perſon proved to be Chatterton, to whom Mr. Catcott deſired to be introduced. He accordingly had an interview; and ſoon after obtained from him, very readily, without any reward, the Briſtow

[*H*] *Was called Mr. Canynge's cofre.*] When rents were received and kept in ſpecie, it was uſual for corporate bodies to keep the writings and rents of eſtates left for particular purpoſes, in cheſts appropriated to each particular benefaction, and called by the benefactor's name. Several old cheſts of this kind are ſtill exiſting in the Univerſity of Cambridge. O.

Tragedy,

(g) See Rowley's Poems, p. 44.

Tragedy (*g*), Rowley's Epitaph upon Mr. Canynge's anceſtor (*h*), with ſome other ſmaller pieces. In a few days he brought ſome more, among which was *the Yellow Roll*. About this period, Mr. Barrett, a reſpectable Surgeon in Briſtol, and a man of letters, had projected a hiſtory of his native city, and was anxiouſly collecting materials for that work. Such a diſcovery, therefore, as that of Chatterton, could ſcarcely eſcape the vigilance of Mr. Barrett's friends. The pieces in Mr. Catcott's poſſeſſion, of which ſome were copies and ſome originals, were immediately communicated to Mr. Barrett, whoſe friendſhip and patronage by theſe means our young literary adventurer was fortunate enough to ſecure. During the firſt converſations which Mr. Catcott had with him, he heard him mention the names of moſt of the poems ſince printed, as being in his poſſeſſion. He afterwards grew more ſuſpicious and reſerved; and it was but rarely, and with difficulty, that any more originals could be obtained from him. He confeſſed to Mr. Catcott that he had deſtroyed ſeveral; and ſome which he owned to have been in his poſſeſſion, were never afterwards ſeen. One of theſe was the tragedy of the Apoſtate, of which a ſmall part only has been preſerved by Mr. Barrett. The ſubject of it was the apoſtatizing of a perſon from the Chriſtian to the Jewiſh faith (*i*). Mr. Barrett, however, obtained from him at different times ſeveral fragments, ſome of them of a conſiderable length. They are all written upon vellum, and he aſſerted them to be a part of the original manuſcripts, which he had obtained in the manner which has been already related. A *fac ſimile* of one of theſe fragments is publiſhed in Mr. Tyrwhitt's and Dr. Milles's editions of Rowley's Poems; and the fragments in proſe, which are conſiderably larger, we are taught to expect in Mr. Barrett's Hiſtory of Briſtol. In the ſame work we are alſo promiſed "*A Diſcorſe on Briſtowe*," and the other hiſtorical pieces in proſe, which Chatterton at different times delivered out, as copied from Rowley's manuſcripts (*k*)."

(h) *Ibid.* p. 277.

(i) Bryant's Obſ. p. 517.

(k) Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. 11. It is now ſaid that Mr. B. does not mean to inſert any of theſe pieces in his Hiſtory.

The friendſhip of Mr. Barrett and Mr. Catcott was of conſiderable advantage to Chatterton. They ſupplied him occaſionally with money, as a compenſation for ſome of the fragments of Rowley, with which he gratified them [*I*]. He ſpent many agreeable hours in their company; and their acquaintance introduced him into a more reſpectable line than he could eaſily have attained without it. His ſiſter remarks, that after he was introduced to theſe Gentlemen, his ambition daily and perceptibly encreaſed; and he would frequently ſpeak in raptures of the undoubted ſucceſs of his plan for future life. "When in ſpirits, he would enjoy his riſing fame; and, confident of advancement, he would promiſe his mother and I ſhould be partakers of his ſucceſs (*l*)." Both theſe Gentlemen alſo lent him books. Mr. Barrett lent him ſeveral medical authors (*m*), and, at his requeſt, gave him ſome inſtructions in ſurgery. His taſte was verſatile, and his ſtudies various. In the courſe of the years 1768 and 1769, Mr. Thiſtlethwaite frequently ſaw him, and deſcribes in a lively manner the employment of his leiſure hours. "One day," ſays Mr. T. "he might be found buſily employed in the ſtudy of heraldry and Engliſh antiquities, both of which are numbered among the moſt favourite of his purſuits; the next diſcovered him deeply engaged, confounded and perplexed amidſt the ſubtleties of metaphyſical diſquiſition, or loſt and bewildered in the abſtruſe labyrinth of mathematical reſearches; and theſe in an inſtant again neglected and thrown aſide, to make room for muſic and aſtronomy, of both which ſciences his knowledge was entirely confined to theory. Even phyſic was not without a charm to allure his imagination, and he would talk of Galen, Hippocrates, and Paracelſus, with all the confidence and familiarity of a modern empirick (*n*)." It may naturally be ſuppoſed, that his acquaintance with moſt of theſe ſciences was very ſuperficial; but his knowledge of antiquities was extenſive, and we might perhaps ſay profound. With a view of perfecting himſelf in theſe favourite ſtudies, he borrowed Skinner's Etymologicon of Mr. Barrett, but returned it in a few days as uſeleſs, moſt of the interpretations being in Latin. He alſo borrowed Benſon's Saxon Vocabulary, but returned it immediately on the ſame account (*o*). His diſappointment was partly compenſated by the acquiſition of Kerſey's Dictionary, and Speght's Chaucer, (the Gloſſary to which he carefully tranſcribed (*p*). With theſe books he was furniſhed by Mr. Green, a Bookſeller in Briſtol. Probably the mortification he received at not being able to make that uſe which he deſired of Skinner and of Benſon, might be an additional ſtimulative to the great inclination which he manifeſted to acquaint himſelf with Latin, and his deſign to attempt it without a maſter. From this project his friend, Mr. Smith, took great pains to diſſuade him, and adviſed him rather to apply to French, a competent knowledge of which might be ſooner attained, and which promiſed to be of more eſſential ſervice (*q*). Whatever plan he adopted, he enteted upon it with an earneſtneſs and fervour almoſt unexampled. Indeed, the poetic enthuſiaſm was never more ſtrongly exhibited than in Chatterton. Like Milton, he fancied he was more capable of writing well at ſome particular times than at others, and the full of the moon was the ſeaſon when he imagined his genius to be in per-

(l) Mrs. Newton's letter before quoted.

(m) *Ibid.*

(n) Milles's Rowley, p. 456.

(o) Bryant's Obſ. P. 532.

(p) Milles's Prelim. Diſſ. p. 5, and 17.

(q) Bryant's Obſ. P. 532.

[*I*] *With which he gratified them.*] Some of his later compoſitions, however, demonſtrate, that he was not thoroughly ſatisfied with his Briſtol patrons; and Mr. Thiſtlethwaite does not heſitate to aſſert, that he felt himſelf greatly diſappointed in his expectations of pecuniary rewards for his communications. K.

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fection; at which period, as if the immediate preſence of that luminary added to the inſpiration, he frequently devoted a conſiderable portion of the night to compoſition (*r*).— " He was always," ſays Mr. Smith, " extremely fond of walking in the fields, particularly in Redcliffe meadows, and of talking about theſe (Rowley's) manuſcripts, and ſometimes reading them there. " Come (he would ſay) you and I will take a walk in the " meadow. I have got the clevereſt thing for you imaginable. It is worth half-a-crown " merely to have a ſight of it, and to hear me read it to you." When we arrived at the place propoſed, he would produce his parchment, ſhew it and read it to me. There was one ſpot in particular, full in view of the church, in which he ſeemed to take a peculiar delight. He would frequently lay himſelf down, fix his eyes upon the church, and ſeem as if he were in a kind of trance. Then, on a ſudden and abruptly, he would tell me, " that ſteeple was burnt down by lightning: that was the place where they formerly " acted plays (*s*)." His Sundays were commonly ſpent in walking alone into the country about Briſtol, as far as the duration of day-light would allow; and from theſe excurſions he never failed to bring home with him drawings of churches, or of ſome other objects, which had impreſſed his romantic imagination [*K*].

(*r*) Mr. Newton's letter to Mr. C.

(*s*) Bryant's Obſ. P. 530.

His attention, while at Briſtol, was not confined to Rowley: his pen was exerciſed in a variety of pieces, chiefly ſatirical, and ſeveral eſſays, both in proſe and verſe, which he ſent to the Magazines. I have not been able to trace any thing of Chatterton's in the Town and Country Magazine (with which he appears to have firſt correſponded) before February 1769; but in the acknowledgments to correſpondents for November 1768, we find " D. B. of Briſtol's favour will be gladly received." *Dunhelmus Briſtolienſis* was the ſignature he generally employed. In the courſe of the year 1769, he was a conſiderable contributor to that publication. One of the firſt of his pieces which appeared was a letter on the tinctures of the Saxon heralds, dated Briſtol, February 4; and in the ſame Magazine a poem was inſerted on Mr. Alcock, of Briſtol, an excellent Miniature Painter, ſigned *Aſaphides* [*L*]. In the ſame Magazine for March are ſome extracts from Rowley's manuſcripts; and in different numbers for the ſucceeding months, ſome pieces called Saxon Poems, written in the ſtyle of Oſſian.

The whole of Chatterton's life preſents a fund of uſeful inſtruction to young perſons of brilliant and lively talents, and affords a ſtrong diſſuaſive againſt that impetuoſity of expectation, and thoſe deluſive hopes of ſucceſs, founded upon the conſciouſneſs of genius and merit, which lead them to neglect the ordinary means of acquiring competence and independence. The early diſguſt which Chatterton conceived for his profeſſion, may be accounted one of the prime ſources of his misfortunes. Among the efforts which he made to extricate himſelf from this irkſome ſituation, the moſt remarkable is his application to the Hon. Horace Walpole, in March 1769 (*t*); the ground of which was an offer to furniſh him with ſome accounts of a ſeries of great painters, who had flouriſhed at Briſtol, which Chatterton ſaid had been lately diſcovered, with ſome old poems, in that city. The pacquet ſent by Chatterton was left at Bathurſt's, Mr. Walpole's Bookſeller, and contained, beſide this letter, an ode or little poem, of two or three ſtanzas in an alternate rhyme, on the death of Richard I. as a ſpecimen of the poems which were found. Mr. Walpole had but juſt before been made the inſtrument of introducing into the world Mr. M'Pherſon's forgeries: a ſimilar application, therefore, ſerved at once to awaken his ſuſpicion. He, however, anſwered Chatterton's letter, deſiring farther information; and in reply, was informed, that " he (Chatterton) was the ſon of a poor widow, who ſupported him with great difficulty; that he was apprentice to an Attorney, but had a taſte for more elegant ſtudies." The letter hinted a wiſh that Mr. Walpole would aſſiſt him in emerging from ſo dull a profeſſion, by procuring ſome place, in which he might purſue the natural bias of his genius. He affirmed that great treaſures of ancient poetry had been diſcovered at Briſtol, and were in the hands of a perſon who had lent him the ſpecimen already tranſmitted, as well as a paſtoral (Elinoure and Juga) which accompanied this ſecond letter. Mr. Walpole wrote to a friend, a noble Lady at Bath, to enquire after the author of theſe letters, who found his account of himſelf verified in every particular. In the mean time the ſpecimens were communicated to Mr. Gray and Mr. Maſon, and theſe Gentlemen, at firſt ſight, pronounced them forgeries. Mr. Walpole, though convinced of the author's intention to impoſe upon him, could not, as he himſelf confeſſes, help admiring the ſpirit of poetry which animated theſe compoſitions. The teſtimonies of his approbation, however, were too cold to produce in Chatterton any thing but laſting diſguſt. Mr. Walpole's reply was indeed (according to his own account) rather too much in the common-place ſtyle of Court replies; though ſome allowance is to be made for his peculiar ſituation,

(*t*) Two Letters by the Honourable Horace Walpole, p. 55.

[*K*] *Which had impreſſed his romantic imagination.*] The Dean of Exeter mentions drawings by Rowley of Briſtol Caſtle, which he ſuppoſes genuine, but which Mr. Warton reprobates as fictions of Chatterton, the repreſentations of a building which never exiſted, in a capricious, affected ſtyle of Gothic architecture, reducible to no ſyſtem. O.

[*L*] *An excellent miniature painter, ſigned Aſaphides.*] This piece, with two or three others in Chatterton's Miſcellanies, was claimed by John Lockſtone, a Linen-Draper in Briſtol, a great friend of Chatterton: by his confeſſion, however, it was corrected by the latter.

and

and for his juſt apprehenſion of a new impoſition to be practiſed on him. He complained in general terms of his want of power to be a patron, and adviſed the young man to apply himſelf to the duties of his profeſſion, as more certain means of attaining the independence and leiſure of which he was deſirous. This frigid reception extracted immediately from Chatterton, "a peeviſh letter," deſiring the manuſcripts back, as they were the property of another; and Mr. Walpole, either offended at the warm and independent ſpirit which was manifeſted by the boy, or pleaſed to be diſengaged from the buſineſs in ſo eaſy a manner, proceeded on a journey to Paris, without taking any farther notice of him. On his return, which was not for ſome time, he found another epiſtle from Chatterton, in a ſtyle (as he terms it) "ſingularly impertinent;" expreſſive of much reſentment on account of the detention of his poems, roughly demanding them back, and adding, "that Mr. Walpole would not have *dared* to uſe him ſo ill, had he not been acquainted with the narrowneſs of his circumſtances." The conſequence was, therefore, ſuch as might be expected. Mr. Walpole returned his poems and his letters in a blank cover, and never afterwards heard from him or of him during his life (*u*). The affront was never forgiven by the diſappointed Poet, though it is perhaps more than repaid by the ridiculous portrait which he has exhibited of Mr. W———, in the Memoirs of a Sad Dog, under the character of "the redoubted Baron Otranto (*w*), who has ſpent his whole life in conjectures."

(*u*) *Ib. paſſim.*

(*w*) Chatterton's Miſcel. p. 184.

On the ſcore of theſe tranſactions, Mr. Walpole has incurred more cenſure than he really deſerved. In an age when literature is ſo little patronized by thoſe who wield all the powers of the ſtate, and have in truſt for the public the diſtribution of its emoluments; when men of the firſt abilities, actually engaged in the learned profeſſions, are permitted to languiſh in obſcurity and poverty, without any of thoſe rewards, which are *appropriated* to the profeſſions they exerciſe, and are compelled to depend for a precarious ſubſiſtence on the ſcanty pittance, which they derive from diurnal drudgery in the ſervice of Bookſellers, it can ſcarcely be deemed an inſtance of extraordinary illiberality that a private man, though a man of fortune, ſhould be inattentive to the petition of a perfect ſtranger, a young man, whoſe birth or education entitled him to no high pretenſions, and who had only conceived an unreaſonable diſlike to a profeſſion both lucrative and reſpectable. If Chatterton had actually avowed the poems, perhaps a very generous and feeling heart, ſuch as rarely exiſts at preſent, and leaſt of all in the higher circles of life, might have been more ſtrongly affected with their beauties, and might probably have extended ſome ſmall degree of encouragement. But conſidering things as they are, and not as they ought to be, it was a degree of unuſual condeſcenſion to take any notice whatever of the application; and when Chatterton felt ſo poignantly his diſappointment, he only demonſtrated his ignorance of the ſtate of patronage in this country, and acted like a young and ingenuous perſon, who judged of the feelings of the courtiers by the generous emotions of his own breaſt, or the practice of times, which exiſt now only in the records of romance. Mr. Walpole afterwards regretted, and I believe ſincerely, that he had not ſeen this extraordinary youth, and that he did not pay a more favourable attention to his correſpondence: but, to be neglected in life, and regretted and admired when theſe paſſions can be no longer of ſervice, has been the uſual fate of learning and genius. Mr. Walpole was certainly under no obligation of patronizing Chatterton. To have encouraged and befriended him, would have been an exertion of liberality and munificence uncommon in the preſent day: but to aſcribe to Mr. Walpole's neglect (if it can even merit ſo harſh an appellation) the dreadful cataſtrophe, which happened at the diſtance of nearly two years after, would be the higheſt degree of injuſtice and abſurdity [*M*].

The

[*M*] *Would be the higheſt degree of injuſtice and abſurdity.*] A learned and reſpectable friend, on reading theſe memoirs in manuſcript, favoured me with the following able vindication of Mr. W. which, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who wiſh for the fulleſt information on the ſubject, I inſert intire.

It has already been ſtated, that, in March 1769, Chatterton, not long after his acquaintance with Mr. Barrett and Mr. Catcott, to whom he had communicated ſome originals and ſome tranſcripts of Rowley's Poems, wrote a letter to Mr. H. Walpole, incloſing alſo a ſpecimen of the Poems, and ſoliciting his patronage. Let the reader take the account in Mr. Walpole's own words, from an extract of a letter to Mr. W. B. added to another letter to the Editor of Chatterton's Miſcellanies, and printed at Strawberry-hill, 1779.

"I am far from determined to publiſh any thing "about Chatterton. It would almoſt look like "making myſelf a party. I do not love controverſy: "if I print, my chief reaſon would be, that both "in the account of the Poems, and in Mr. Warton's "laſt volume, my name has been brought in with "ſo little circumſpection and accuracy, that it looks "as if my rejection of Chatterton had driven him "to deſpair; whereas I was the firſt perſon on whom "he eſſayed his art and ambition, inſtead of being "the laſt. I never ſaw him; there was an interval "of near two years between his application to me "and his diſmal end; nor had he quitted his maſter, "nor was neceſſitous, nor otherwiſe poor than Attornies clerks uſually are; nor had he come to "London, nor launched into diſſipation, when his "correſpondence with me ſtopped. As faithfully as "I can recollect the circumſtances, without dates, "and without ſearching for what few memorandums "I preſerved relative to him, I will recapitulate his "hiſtory with me. Bathurſt, my Bookſeller, brought "me a pacquet left with him: it contained an ode, "or little poem, of two or three ſtanzas in alternate "rhyme, on the death of Richard the Firſt, and I "was told, in very few lines, that it had been found "at Briſtol, with many other old poems, and that "the poſſeſſor could furniſh me with accounts of a "ſeries

The reader has hitherto contemplated Chatterton in the pleaſing light of an ingenious and virtuous youth. I reluctantly proceed to develope the only circumſtance which has involved

" ſeries of great painters, who had flouriſhed at " Briſtol.

" Here I muſt pauſe, to mention my own re- " flections. At firſt I concluded that ſomebody " having met with my Anecdotes of Painting, had " a mind to laugh at me; I thought not very in- " genuouſly, as I was not likely to ſwallow a ſucceſ- " ſion of great Painters at Briſtol. The ode, or " ſonnet (5), as I think it was called, was too pretty " to be part of the plan; and, as is eaſy with all " the other ſuppoſed poems of Rowley, it was not " difficult to make it modern by changing the old " words for new, though yet more difficult than " with moſt of them. You ſee I tell you fairly the " caſe.

" I wrote, according to the incloſed direction, for " farther particulars. Chatterton, in anſwer, in- " formed me that he was the ſon of a poor widow, " who ſupported him with great difficulty; that he " was clerk or apprentice to an Attorney, but had " a taſte and turn for more elegant ſtudies; and " hinted a wiſh that I would aſſiſt him with my in- " tereſt in emerging out of ſo dull a profeſſion, by " procuring him ſome place, in which he could " purſue his natural bent. He affirmed that great " treaſures of ancient poetry had been diſcovered in " his native city, and were in the hands of a *perſon*, " who had lent him thoſe he had tranſmitted to me; " for he now ſent me others, amongſt which was an " abſolute modern paſtoral in dialogue, thinly " ſprinkled with old words (6). Pray obſerve, Sir, " that he affirmed having received the poems from " another perſon; whereas it is aſcertained that the " Gentleman at Briſtol, who poſſeſſes the fund of " Rowley's poems, received them from Chatterton.

" I wrote to a relation of mine at Bath, to en- " quire into the ſituation and character of Chatter- " ton, according to his own account of himſelf: " nothing was returned about his character, but his " ſtory was verified.

" In the mean time I communicated the poems to " Mr. Gray and Mr. Maſon, who at once pro- " nounced them forgeries, and declared there was " no ſymptom in them of their being the productions " of near ſo diſtant an age; the language and metres " being totally unlike any thing ancient.

" Well, Sir, being ſatisfied with my intelligence " about Chatterton, I wrote him a letter with as " much kindneſs and tenderneſs as if I had been his " guardian; for though I had no doubt of his im- " poſitions, ſuch a ſpirit of poetry breathed in his " coinage, as intereſted me for him; nor was it a " grave crime in a young bard to have forged falſe " notes of hand, that were to paſs current only in " the pariſh of Parnaſſus. I undeceived him about " my being a perſon of any intereſt, and urged, " that in duty and gratitude to his mother, who had " ſtraitened herſelf to breed him up to a profeſſion, " he ought to labour in it, that in her old age he " might abſolve his filial debt; and I told him, that " when he ſhould have made a fortune, he might " unbend himſelf with the ſtudies conſonant to his " inclinations. I told him alſo, that I had com- " municated his tranſcripts to better judges, and " that they were by no means ſatisfied with the " authenticity of his ſuppoſed MSS. He wrote me " rather a peeviſh anſwer, ſaid he could not conteſt " with a perſon of my learning, (a compliment by " no means due to me, and which I certainly had " not aſſumed, having mentioned my having con- " ſulted abler judges,) maintained the genuineneſs " of the poems, and demanded to have them re- " turned, *as they were the property of another Gentle- " man*. Remember this.

" When I received this letter, I was going to " Paris in a day or two, and either forgot his re- " queſt of the poems, or perhaps not having time to " have them copied, deferred complying till my re- " turn, which was to be in ſix weeks. I proteſt I " do not remember which was the caſe; and yet, " though in a cauſe of ſo little importance, I will " not utter a ſyllable of which I am not poſitively " certain, nor will charge my memory with a tittle " beyond what it retains. Soon after my return " from France, I received another letter from Chat- " terton, the ſtyle of which was ſingularly impertı- " nent. He demanded his poems roughly; and " added, that I ſhould not have dared to uſe him ſo " ill, if he had not acquainted me with the narrow- " neſs of his circumſtances. My heart did not ac- " cuſe me of inſolence to him. I wrote an anſwer " to him, expoſtulating with him on his injuſtice, " and renewing good advice; but upon ſecond " thoughts, reflecting that ſo wrong-headed a young " man, of whom I knew nothing, and whom I had " never ſeen, might be abſurd enough to print my " letter, I flung it into the fire; and wrapping up " both his poems and letters, without taking a copy " of either, for which I am now ſorry, I returned " all to him, and thought no more about him or " them, till about a year and a half after, when " dining at the Royal Academy, Dr. Goldſmith " drew the attention of the company with an account " of a marvellous treaſure of ancient poems lately " diſcovered at Briſtol, and expreſſed enthuſiaſtic " belief in them, for which he was laughed at by " Dr. Johnſon, who was preſent. I ſoon found this " was the trouvaille of my friend Chatterton; and " I told Dr. Goldſmith that this novelty was none to " me, who might, if I had pleaſed, have had the " honour of uſhering the great diſcovery to the " learned world. You may imagine, Sir, we did " not at all agree in the meaſure of our faith: but " though his credulity diverted me, my mirth was " ſoon daſhed; for on aſking about Chatterton, he " told me he had been in London, and had deſtroyed " himſelf. I heartily wiſhed then that I had been " the dupe of all the poor young man had written to " me; for who would not have his underſtanding " impoſed upon to ſave a fellow being from the ut- " moſt wretchedneſs; deſpair and ſuicide! and a " poor young man, not eighteen, and of ſuch mira- " culous talents; for, dear Sir, if I wanted credu- " lity on one hand, it is ample on the other. Yet " heap all the improbabilities you pleaſe on the head " of Chatterton, the impoſſibility on Rowley's ſide " will remain. An amazing genius for poetry, " which one of them poſſeſſed, might flaſh out in " the darkeſt age; but could Rowley anticipate the " phraſeology of the eighteenth century? His poetic " fire might burſt through the obſtacles of the times; " like Homer, or other original bards, he might " have formed a poetical ſtyle; but would it have " been preciſely that of an age ſubſequent to him by " ſome hundred years? Nobody can admire the " poetry of the poems in queſtion more than I do; " but except being better than moſt modern verſes, " in what do they differ in the conſtruction? The " words are old, the conſtruction evidently of yeſter- " day; and, by ſubſtituting modern words, aye, " ſingle words, to the old, or to thoſe invented by " Chatterton, in what do they differ? Try that " method with any compoſition, even in proſe, of " the reign of Henry VI. and ſee if the conſequence " will be the ſame. But I am getting into the con- " troverſy, inſtead of concluding my narrative, " which indeed is ended."

Whatever imputation might have lain on Mr. Walpole with regard to the treatment of Chatterton, before theſe particulars were known, and this narrative appeared, ſurely there can be no impartial reader of it who will not acquit him of any ill treatment of a perſon who appeared to him in ſo queſtionable a ſhape; and allow that in Mr. Walpole's ſituation, he could ſcarcely have acted otherwiſe than he did. For what was the caſe? A youth of ſixteen years of age, clerk to an Attorney at Briſtol, totally unknown to Mr. Walpole, ſends him a letter, acquainting him that the writer, though bred to the law, had a taſte for politer ſtudies, particularly poetry, and wiſhed to be drawn out of his preſent ſituation, and placed in one more at his eaſe, where he might purſue the ſtudies

(5) "Richard of Lyon's Heart to fight is gone."

(6) Elinoure and Juga.

(7) See terton's lanies, p.

involved his name and character in diſgrace, and which certainly deprived the world prematurely of his excellent abilities. When or how he was unfortunate enough to receive a tincture of infidelity, we are not informed. Early in the year 1769, it appears from a poem on Happineſs, addreſſed to Mr. Catcott, that he had drank deeply of the poiſoned ſpring: And in the concluſion of a letter to the ſame Gentleman, after he left Briſtol, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "Heaven ſend you the comforts of Chriſtianity; I requeſt them not, for I am no Chriſtian." Infidelity, or ſcepticiſm at leaſt, may be termed the diſeaſe of young, lively, and half-informed minds. There is ſomething like diſcovery in the rejection of truths to which they have been from infancy in trammels. A little learning, too, miſleads the underſtanding, in an opinion of its own powers. When we have acquired the outlines of ſcience, we are apt to ſuppoſe that every thing is within our comprehenſion. Much ſtudy and much information are required to diſcover the difficulties in which the ſyſtems of infidels are involved. There are profound, as well as popular arguments, in favour of revealed religion: but when the flippancy of Voltaire or Hume has taught young perſons to ſuppoſe that they have defeated the former, their underſtandings ſeldom recover ſufficient vigour to purſue the latter with the ability and perſeverance of a Newton or a Bryant.

The evil effect of theſe principles upon the morals of youth, is often found to ſurvive the ſpeculative impreſſions which they have made on the intellect. Wretched is that perſon, who, in the ardour and impetuoſity of youth, finds himſelf releaſed from all the ſalutary reſtraints of duty and religion: wretched is he, who, deprived of all the comforting hopes of another ſtate, is reduced to ſeek for happineſs in the vicious gratifications of

ſtudies more congenial to his taſte and genius; but of this taſte and genius he produces no other proof than tranſcripts of ſome old poems, ſaid to have been found at Briſtol, and to be *the property of another perſon*. Theſe poems being exhibited by Mr. Walpole to Mr. Gray and Mr. Maſon, theſe excellent and impartial judges agreed in opinion that they muſt be modern productions, diſguiſed in antiquated phraſes; and, with regard to a long liſt of Briſtol artiſts, Carvers and Painters, announced alſo as part of this treaſure, Mr. Walpole was as confident that none ſuch ever had any exiſtence, and therefore he could not help concluding that the whole was a fiction, contrived by ſome one or more literary wags, who wiſhed to impoſe on his credulity, and to laugh at him if they ſucceeded; and that Chatterton was only the inſtrument employed to introduce and recommend theſe old writings. His youth and ſituation could not lead Mr. Walpole to ſuppoſe he was himſelf the author and contriver, more eſpecially as he aſſerted them to be the property of a perſon at Briſtol then alive. He had indeed repreſented himſelf as a lover of the muſes, but had given no ſpecimens of his *own* compoſitions. The kindeſt thing therefore Mr. Walpole could do for a young man in this ſituation, was, after a gentle hint of his ſuſpicions of the authenticity of the poems, to recommend to his correſpondent to purſue the line of buſineſs in which he was placed, as moſt likely to ſecure a decent maintenance for himſelf, and enable him to aſſiſt his mother. However diſappointed Chatterton might have been at the time, and angry with Mr. Walpole for this rebuff, it ſhould ſeem as if he had not harboured any long or ſtrong reſentment againſt that Gentleman; for in a copy of verſes addreſſed to Miſs M. R. and ſent by him to the Town and Country Magazine, and printed in the Number for January 1770, is the following ſtanza:

" Yet when that bloom and dancing fire,
" In ſilver'd reverence ſhall expire,
" Aged, wrinkled, and defac'd,
" To keep one lover's flame alive
" Requires the genius of a *Clive*,
" With WALPOLE's mental taſte (7)."

(7) See Chatterton's Miſcellanies, p. 88.

It ſhould ſeem alſo, that Chatterton had in part adopted Mr. Walpole's advice, by continuing with his maſter a full twelvemonth after his application to that Gentleman. Then he got diſmiſſed from his maſter and went to London, in full confidence that his literary talents would find ample employment and encouragement from the London Bookſellers; but being diſappointed in his expectation, the fatal concluſion which has juſt been mentioned took place. Had this been the caſe immediately on his receipt of Mr. Walpole's laſt letter, ſome ſhadow of foundation might have appeared for the harſh cenſures paſſed on Mr. Walpole's treatment of this ill-fated youth; though even then, no real one, all circumſtances conſidered.

From the ſpirited reply of Mr. Walpole to one of theſe cenſurers, (the Editor of Chatterton's Miſcellanies,) and printed in the ſame pamphlet as the letter to W. B. the following extract is given, as equally applicable to all objectors.

" Was it the part of a juſt man to couple Chatter-
" ton's firſt unſucceſsful application with his fatal
" exit, and load me with both? Does your enthu-
" ſiaſtic admiration of his abilities, or your regrets
" for the honour of England's poetry, warrant ſuch
" a concatenation of ideas? Was poor Chatterton
" ſo modeſt, or ſo deſponding, as to abandon his
" enterprizes on their being damped by me? Did he
" not continue to purſue them? Is this country ſo
" deſtitute of patrons of genius, or do I move in ſo
" eminent and diſtinguiſhed a ſphere, that a repulſe
" from me is a dagger to talents? Did not Chatter-
" ton come to London after that miſcarriage? Did
" he relinquiſh his counterfeiting propenſity on its
" being loſt on me? Was he an inoffenſive ingenu-
" ous youth, ſmit with the love of the muſes, and
" ſoaring above a ſordid and ſervile profeſſion, whoſe
" early bloſſoms being blighted by my inſolence,
" withered in mortified obſcurity, and on ſeeing his
" hopes of fame blaſted, ſunk beneath the frowns of
" ignorant and inſolent wealth? or did he, after
" launching into all the exceſſes you deſcribe, and
" vainly hoping to gratify his ambition by adulation
" to, or ſatires on all ranks and parties of men, fall
" a victim to his own ungovernable ſpirit, and to
" the deplorable ſtraits to which he had reduced
" himſelf? The interval was ſhort, I own; but as
" every moment of ſo extraordinary a life was
" crouded with efforts of his enterpriſing genius,
" allow me to ſay with truth, that there was a large
" chaſm between his application to me and his
" miſerable concluſion. You know there was; and
" though my falling into his ſnare might have varied
" the æra of his exploits, it is more likely that that
" ſucceſs would rather have encouraged than checked
" his enterpriſes. When he purſued his turn for
" fabricating ancient writings, in ſpite of the mor-
" tification he received from me, it is not probable
" that he would have been corrected by ſucceſs:
" ſuch is not the nature of ſucceſs, when it is the
" reward of artifice. I ſhould be more juſtly re-
" proachable for having contributed to cheriſh an
" impoſtor, than I am for having accelerated his
" fate. I cannot repeat the words without emotions
" of indignation on my own account, and of com-
" paſſion on his." O.

this

this life; who, under ſuch deluſions, acquires habits of profligacy or diſcontent! The progreſs, however, from ſpeculative to practical irreligion, is not ſo rapid as is commonly ſuppoſed. The greateſt advantage of a ſtrict and orderly education is the reſiſtance which virtuous habits, early acquired, oppoſe to the allurements of vice. Thoſe who have ſullied the youth of Chatterton with the imputation of extraordinary vices or irregularities, and have aſſerted, that "his profligacy was, at leaſt, as conſpicuous as his abilities (*a*)," have, I conceive, rather grounded theſe aſſertions on the apparently profane and immoral tendency of ſome of his productions, than on perſonal knowledge or a correct review of his conduct. During his reſidence at Briſtol, we have the moſt reſpectable evidence in favour of the regularity of his conduct, namely, that of his maſter, Mr. Lambert. Of few young men in his ſituation it can be ſaid, that during a courſe of nearly three years, he ſeldom encroached upon the ſtrict limits which were aſſigned him, with reſpect to his hours of liberty; that his maſter could never accuſe him of improper behaviour; and that he had the utmoſt reaſon to be ſatisfied he never ſpent his hours of leiſure in any but reſpectable company.

(*a*) Preface to Chat. Miſcel. p. 18.

Mrs. Newton, with that unaffected ſimplicity which ſo eminently characteriſes her letter, moſt powerfully controverts the obloquy which had been thrown upon her brother's memory. She ſays, that while he was at Mr. Lambert's, he viſited his mother regularly moſt evenings before nine o'clock, and they were ſeldom two evenings together without ſeeing him. He was for a conſiderable time remarkably indifferent to females. He declared to his ſiſter, that he had always ſeen the whole ſex with perfect indifference, except thoſe whom nature had rendered dear. He remarked, at the ſame time, the tendency of ſevere ſtudy to ſour the temper, and indicated his inclination to form an acquaintance with a young female in the neighbourhood, apprehending that it might ſoften that auſterity of temper which had reſulted from ſolitary ſtudy. The juvenile Petrarch wanted a Laura, to poliſh his manners and exerciſe his fancy. He addreſſed a poem to Miſs Rumſey; and they commenced, Mrs. Newton adds, a correſponding acquaintance. "He would alſo frequently," ſhe ſays, "walk the College Green with the young girls that ſtatedly paraded there to ſhew their finery [*N*];" but ſhe is perſuaded that the reports which charge him with libertiniſm are ill founded [*O*]. She could not perhaps have added a better proof of it, than his inclination to aſſociate with modeſt women. The teſtimony of Mr. Thiſtlethwaite is not leſs explicit or leſs honourable to Chatterton. "The opportunities," ſays he, "which a long acquaintance with him afforded me, juſtify me in ſaying, that whilſt he lived at Briſtol, he was not the debauched character he has been repreſented. Temperate in his living, moderate in his pleaſures, and regular in his exerciſes, he was undeſerving of the aſperſion. I admit that amongſt his papers may be found many paſſages, not only immoral, but bordering upon a libertiniſm groſs and unpardonable. It is not my intention to attempt a vindication of thoſe paſſages, which, for the regard I bear his memory, I wiſh he had never written, but which I nevertheleſs believe to have originated rather from a warmth of imagination, aided by a vain affectation of ſingularity, than from any natural depravity, or from a heart vitiated by evil example [*P*]."

But though it may not always be the effect of infidel principles, to plunge the perſon who becomes unfortunately infected with them into an immediate courſe of flagrant and ſhameleſs depravity, they ſeldom fail to unhinge the mind, and render it the ſport of ſome paſſion, unfriendly to our happineſs and proſperity. One of their firſt effects in Chatterton was to render the idea of ſuicide familiar, and to diſpoſe him to think lightly of the moſt

[*N*] *To ſhew their finery.*] In a letter from London to his ſiſter, he particularizes ten Briſtol females of his acquaintance, and adds, "I promiſed to write "to ſome hundreds, I believe: but what with writ-"ing for publications, and going to places of public "diverſion, which is as abſolutely neceſſary to me "as my food, I find but little time to write to "you." O.

[*O*] *Which charge him with libertiniſm are ill-founded.*] I cannot help remarking a pleaſant miſtake of the Dean of Exeter. The orthography of Mrs. N. in the letter printed in Love and Madneſs, is not the moſt correct. Her words are, "I really believe he was no debauchee (though ſome have reported it); the dear unhappy boy had faults enough, I ſaw with concern; he was proud and exceedingly imperious, but that of *venality* he could not be juſtly accuſed with." It is eaſy to ſee that Mrs. N. by *venality* means libertiniſm; but the Dean taking the word in the uſual ſenſe, makes uſe of it to diſprove, what is ſeldom ſuſpected of a Poet, and leaſt of all of Chatterton, that he was avaricious (8).

(8) Mrs. Newton's letter.

[*P*] *Or from a heart vitiated by evil example.*] Whether the following paſſage from Chatterton's Kew Gardens (a poem not publiſhed in any of the collections of his works) be received as a confirmation of his friend's teſtimony in his favour, or the contrary, it is, however, worth preſerving. An officious friend is introduced accoſting him in the following lines:

"Is there a ſtreet within this ſpacious place,
"That boaſts the happineſs of one fair face,
"Whoſe converſation does not turn on you?
"Blaming your wild amours, and morals too.
"Oaths, ſacred and tremendous oaths you ſwear,
"Oaths which might ſhock a L——'s ſoul to hear;
"Whilſt the too tender and believing maid,
"Remember pretty——is betray'd.
"Then your religion!—oh, beware! beware!
"Although a Deiſt is no monſter here,
"Think not the merit of a jingling ſong
"Can countenance the author's acting wrong.
"Reform your manners, and with ſolemn air,
"Hear Catcott bray, and Robins ſqueak in prayer.
"Damn'd narrow notions, notions which diſgrace
"The boaſted freedom of the human race;
"Briſtol may keep her prudent maxims ſtill,
"I ſcorn her prudence, and I ever will.
"Since all my vices magnified are here,
"She cannot paint me worſe than I appear.
"When raving in the lunacy of ink,
"I catch the pen, and publiſh what I think (9)." O.

(9) Miller's Rowley, p. 461.

ſacred

ſacred depoſit with which man is entruſted by his Creator. It has been ſuppoſed that his violent death in London, was the ſudden or almoſt inſtant effect of extreme poverty and diſappointment. It appears, however, that long before he left Briſtol, he had repeatedly intimated to the ſervants of Mr. Lambert, his intention of putting an end to his exiſtence. Mr. Lambert's mother was particularly terrified; but ſhe was unable to perſuade her ſon of the reality of his threats, till he found by accident upon his deſk a paper, entitled, the "Laſt Will and Teſtament of Thomas Chatterton (*b*)," in which he ſeriouſly indicated his deſign of committing ſuicide on the following day, namely, Eaſter Sunday, April 15th, 1770. The paper was probably rather the reſult of temporary uneaſineſs [Q], than of that fixed averſion to his ſituation which he conſtantly manifeſted. But with principles and paſſions ſuch as Chatterton diſplayed, Mr. Lambert conſidered it as no longer prudent, after ſo deciſive a proof, to continue him in the houſe: he accordingly diſmiſſed him immediately from his ſervice, in which he had continued two years, nine months, and thirteen days.

(*b*) See the Will in the Appendix to Chatterton's Miſc.

If there was any ſincerity in the intentions of committing ſuicide, which he expreſſed in the paper above alluded to, he was diverted from it for the preſent by the golden proſpects with which he flattered himſelf from a new plan of life, on which he entered with his uſual enthuſiaſm. A few months before he left Briſtol, he had written letters to ſeveral Bookſellers in London (*c*), "who," Mr. Thiſtlethwaite ſays, "finding him of advantage to them in their publications, were by no means ſparing of their praiſes and compliments; adding the moſt liberal promiſes of aſſiſtance and employment, ſhould he chooſe to make London the place of his reſidence (*d*)." To the interrogatories of this Gentleman concerning the plan of life which he intended to purſue on his arrival at London, his anſwer was remarkable, and correſponds with what has been juſt related. "My firſt attempt," ſaid he, "ſhall be in the literary way: The promiſes I have received are ſufficient to diſpel doubt; but ſhould I, contrary to my expectation, find myſelf deceived, I will in that caſe turn Methodiſt preacher. Credulity is as potent a deity as ever, and a new ſect may eaſily be deviſed. But if that too ſhould fail me, my laſt and final reſource is a piſtol."

(*c*) Mrs. Newton's Letter.

(*d*) Milles's Rowley, p. 460.

Before he quitted Briſtol, he had entered deeply into politics, and had embraced what was termed the patriotic party. In March 1770, he wrote a ſatirical poem, called "Kew Gardens," conſiſting of above thirteen hundred lines. This he tranſmitted, in different packets, to Mr. George William Edmunds, No. 73, Shoe-lane, Printer of a patriotic newſpaper. At the bottom of the firſt packet, which contained about three hundred lines, written in Chatterton's own hand, is this poſtſcript. "Mr. Edmunds will ſend the author, Thomas Chatterton, twenty of the Journals, in which the above poem (which I ſhall continue) ſhall appear, by the machine, if he thinks proper to put it in: the money ſhall be paid to his orders." The poem is a ſatire on the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, Lord Bute, and their Friends in London and Briſtol; but particularly on thoſe in Briſtol, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in favour of the Miniſtry. His ſignature on this occaſion was DECIMUS; but whether the poem was ever printed or not, I have not been able to aſcertain. I have been alſo informed of another political ſatire of near ſix hundred lines, the manuſcript of which, in Chatterton's hand writing, is in the poſſeſſion of a friend of Mr. Catcott. It is called "The Whore of Babylon." The ſatire of this poem is alſo directed againſt the Miniſtry; and, like the former, it includes ſeveral of the Briſtol people, not excepting Mr. George Catcott, and his brother the Clergyman. But his party efforts were not confined altogether to poetry: he wrote an invective in proſe againſt Biſhop Newton, alſo ſigned Decimus, which, I believe, appeared in ſome of the periodical publications of the times. The manuſcript of this letter is in Mr. Catcott's poſſeſſion; but the ſtyle appears much inferior to that of his proſe publications poſterior to his arrival in London. To write well in proſe is perhaps more the effect of art, of ſtudy, and of habit, than of natural genius. The rules of metrical compoſition are fewer, more ſimple, and require a leſs conſtant exerciſe of the judgment. In the infancy of ſocieties, as well as of individuals, therefore, the art of poetry is antecedent to thoſe of rhetoric and criticiſm, and arrives at perfection long before the language of proſe attains that degree of ſtrength, conciſeneſs, and harmony, which is requiſite to ſatisfy a delicate ear. Chatterton wrote alſo an indecent ſatirical poem, called "The Exhibition," occaſioned by the improper behaviour of a perſon in Briſtol. The ſatire of this poem is chiefly local, and the characters of moſt of the Surgeons in Briſtol are delineated in it. Some deſcriptive paſſages in this poem have great merit. Thus, ſpeaking of a favourite organiſt, probably Mr. Allen, he ſays:

"He keeps the paſſions with the ſound in play,
"And the ſoul trembles with the trembling key (*e*)."

(*e*) Love and Madneſs, p. 167.

There are a number of other unpubliſhed works of his diſperſed in the hands of different perſons. The activity of his mind is indeed almoſt unparalleled. But our ſurpriſe

[Q] *The paper was probably rather the reſult of temporary uneaſineſs.*] I have been informed from good authority, that it was occaſioned by the refuſal of a Gentleman, whom he had occaſionally complimented in his poems, to accommodate him with a ſupply of money.

must decreaſe, when we conſider that he ſlept but little; and that his whole attention was directed to literary purſuits; for he declares himſelf ſo ignorant of his profeſſion, that he was unable to draw out a clearance from his apprenticeſhip, which Mr. Lambert demanded (*f*). He was alſo unfettered by the ſtudy of the dead languages, which uſually abſorb much of the time and attention of young perſons; and though they may be uſeful to the attainment of correctneſs, perhaps they do not much contribute to fluency in writing. Mr. Catcott declared, that when he firſt knew Chatterton, he was ignorant even of Grammar (*g*).

(*f*) See the third letter of Chatterton, publiſhed in Love and Madneſs, p. 198.

(*g*) From the information of Mr. Seward.

There are three great æras in the life of Chatterton; his admiſſion into Colſton's School, his being put apprentice to Mr. Lambert, and his expedition to London. In the latter end of April, 1770, he bade his native city (from which he had never previouſly been abſent farther than he could walk in half a Sunday) *a final adieu* (*h*). In a letter to his mother, dated April 26th, he deſcribes in a lively ſtyle the little adventures of his journey, and his reception from his patrons, the bookſellers and printers with whom he had correſponded. Theſe were Mr. Edmunds, whom I lately had occaſion to mention as a noted patriotic printer at that period; Mr. Fell, publiſher of the Freeholder's Magazine; Mr. Hamilton, proprietor of the Town and Country; and Mr. Dodſley, of Pall-Mall. From all of them he profeſſes to have received great encouragement, adding, that all approved of his deſign, and that he ſhould probably be ſoon ſettled. In the ſame letter, he deſires his mother to call upon Mr. Lambert. "Shew him this," ſays he, with uncommon dignity and ſpirit, "or tell him, if I deſerve a recommendation, he would oblige me to give me one—if I do not, it would be beneath him to take notice of me (*i*)."

(*h*) Love and Madneſs, p. 191.

(*i*) Love and Madneſs, p. 192.

His firſt habitation after his arrival in London was at Mr. Walmſley's, a plaiſterer in Shoreditch, to whom he was introduced by a relation of his, a Mrs. Ballance, who reſided in the ſame houſe. Of his firſt eſtabliſhment his report is favourable. "I am ſettled," ſays he, in a letter to his mother, dated May 6th, "and in ſuch a ſettlement as I could deſire. I get four guineas a month by one magazine; ſhall engage to write a hiſtory of England, and other pieces, which will more than double that ſum. Occaſional eſſays for the daily papers would more than ſupport me. What a glorious proſpect (*k*)!" In conſequence of his engagements with the different magazines, we find him, about the ſame time, ſoliciting communications from his poetical and literary friends at Briſtol, and deſiring them to read the Freeholder's Magazine. In a letter dated the 14th of the ſame month, he writes in the ſame high flow of ſpirits. He ſpeaks of the great encouragement which genius meets with in London; adding, with exultation, "If Rowley had been a "Londoner inſtead of a Briſtowyan, I might have lived by copying his works (*l*)." He exhorts his ſiſter to "improve in copying muſic, drawing, and every thing which requires genius;" obſerving, that although, "in Briſtol's mercantile ſtyle, thoſe things may be uſeleſs, if not a detriment to her; *here* they are profitable (*m*)." His engagements at that period indeed appear to have been numerous; for beſides his employment in the magazines, he ſpeaks of a connection which he had formed with a Doctor in Muſic, to write ſongs for Ranelagh, Vauxhall, &c. and in a letter of the 30th to his ſiſter, he mentions another with a Scottiſh Bookſeller, to compile a voluminous Hiſtory of London, to appear in numbers, for which he was to have his board at the Bookſeller's houſe, and a handſome premium [*R*].

(*k*) *Ibid.* 197.

(*l*) Yet it does not appear that any of Rowley's pieces were exhibited after C. left Briſtol. O.

(*m*) Love and Madneſs, p. 201.

Party writing, however, ſeems to have been one of his favourite employments. It was agreeable to the ſatirical turn of his diſpoſition, and it gratified his vanity, by the proſpect of elevating him into immediate notice. When his relation, Mrs. Ballance, recommended it to him to endeavour to get into ſome office, he ſtormed like a madman, and alarmed the good old Lady in no inconſiderable degree, by telling her, "he hoped, with the bleſſing of God, very ſoon to be ſent priſoner to the Tower, which would make his fortune." In his ſecond letter to his mother from London, he ſays, "Mr. Wilkes knew me by my writings, ſince I firſt correſponded with the Bookſellers here. I ſhall viſit him next week, and by his intereſt will inſure Mrs. Ballance the Trinity Houſe. He affirmed that what Mr. Fell had of mine could not be the writings of a youth, and expreſſed a deſire to know the author. By means of another Bookſeller, I ſhall be introduced to Townſhend and Sawbridge. I am quite familiar at the Chapter Coffee-houſe, and know all the geniuſſes there. A character is now unneceſſary; an author carries his character in his pen (*n*)." He informs his ſiſter that, if money flowed as faſt upon him as honours, he would give her a portion of five thouſand pounds. This extraordinary elevation of ſpirits aroſe from an introduction to the celebrated patriotic Lord Mayor, W. Beckford. Chatterton had, it ſeems, addreſſed an eſſay to him, which was ſo well received, that it encouraged him to wait upon his Lordſhip, in order to obtain his approbation to addreſs a ſecond letter to him, on the ſubject of the city remonſtrance, and its reception. "His Lordſhip (adds he)

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 194.

[*R*] *And a handſome premium.*] The Editor of Chatterton's Miſcellanies confounds this with Northook's Hiſtory of London: but that Gentleman, in a letter printed in the St. James's Chronicle, denies having ever had the leaſt knowledge of C. Indeed the ſcheme above alluded to appears not to have been proceeded in (10).

(10) Love and Madneſs, p. 202.

received me as politely as a citizen could, and warmly invited me to call on him again. The reſt is a ſecret." His inclination doubtleſs led him to eſpouſe the party of oppoſition; but he complains, that "no money is to be got on that ſide the queſtion; intereſt is on the other ſide. But he is a poor author who cannot write on both ſides. I believe I may be introduced (and if I am not, I'll introduce myſelf) to a ruling power in the Court party (*o*)." When Beckford died, he is ſaid to have been almoſt frantic (*p*), and to have exclaimed, that he was ruined. The elegy, however, in which he has celebrated him (*q*), contains more of frigid praiſe, than of ardent feeling; nor is there in it a ſingle line which appears to flow from the heart. Indeed, that he was ſerious in his intention of writing on both ſides, is evident from a liſt of pieces written by Chatterton, but never publiſhed, which Mr. Walpole has preſerved. No. V. of theſe pieces is a letter to Lord North, dated May 26th, 1770, ſigned *Moderator*, and beginning, "My Lord, It gives me a painful pleaſure, &c." It contains, as Mr. Walpole informs us, an encomium on Adminiſtration for rejecting the City Remonſtrance. On the other hand, No. VI. is a letter to the Lord Mayor, Beckford, (probably that which he deſired his permiſſion to addreſs to him). It is alſo dated May 26, ſigned *Probus*, and contains a virulent invective againſt Government for rejecting the Remonſtrance, beginning, "When the endeavours of a ſpirited people to free themſelves from inſupportable ſlavery, &c." On the back of this eſſay, which is directed to Mr. Cary, a particular friend of Chatterton in Briſtol, is this indorſement: "Accepted by Bingley—ſet for, and thrown out of the North Briton, 21ſt June, on account of the Lord Mayor's death.

(*o*) Love and Madneſs, p. 203.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 214.

(*q*) Chat. Miſcels p. 76.

Loſt by his death on this Eſſay,	-		£. 1 11 6
Gained in Elegies,	-	£. 2 2 0	
——— in Eſſays,	-	3 3 0	
			5 5 0
Am glad he is dead by	- -	-	£. 3 13 6 (*r*)"

(*r*) Two letters printed at Strawberry-hill.

"Eſſays," again ſays he to his ſiſter, "on the patriotic ſide, fetch no more than what the copy is ſold for. As the patriots themſelves are ſearching for a place, they have no gratuities to ſpare. On the other hand, unpopular eſſays will not even be accepted, and you muſt pay to have them printed; but then you ſeldom loſe by it. Courtiers are ſo ſenſible of their deficiency in merit, that they generally reward all who know how to daub them with an appearance of it (*s*)." Either Chatterton, on this occaſion, ſpoke from hear-ſay, or there is reaſon to believe that the miniſterial arrangements are greatly altered in this reſpect, and that moſt of the late adminiſtrations have found a more effectual, if a more expenſive ſupport, from a venal majority in the Houſe, than from a venal phalanx of mendicant authors in the daily papers.

(*s*) Love and Madneſs, p. 204.

On this ſandy foundation of party writing Chatterton erected a viſionary fabric of future greatneſs; and, in the waking dreams of a poetical imagination, he was already a man of conſiderable public importance. It was a common aſſertion with him, "that he would ſettle the nation before he had done (*t*)." In a letter to his ſiſter of the 20th July, he tells her, "My company is courted every where; and, could I humble myſelf to go into a compter, could have had twenty places before now; but I muſt be among the great; ſtate matters ſuit me better than commercial (*u*)." In a former letter he intimates, that he "might have had a recommendation to Sir George Colebrooke, an Eaſt-India Director, as qualified for an office no ways deſpicable, but," he adds, "I ſhall not take a ſtep to the ſea, whilſt I can continue on land (*w*)." His taſte for diſſipation ſeems to have kept pace with the increaſe of his vanity (*x*). To frequent places of public amuſement, he accounts as neceſſary to him as food. "I employ my money," ſays he, "now in fitting myſelf faſhionably, and getting into good company: this laſt article always brings me in intereſt (*y*)."

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 214.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 210.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 203.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 200.

(*y*) Love and Madneſs, p. 202.

While engaged in the examination of theſe curious letters, it is impoſſible not to be attracted by a remarkable paſſage. Chatterton informs his mother in the letter of May 14th, A Gentleman, who knows me at the Chapter, as an author, would have introduced me as a companion to the young Duke of Northumberland, in his intended general tour; but, alas! I ſpeak no tongue but my own (*z*)." It is not very credible, that any of the conſtant frequenters of the Chapter Coffee-houſe ſhould be poſſeſſed of influence ſufficient to recommend a perſon to the Duke of Northumberland, to ſo important an office as that of the care of his ſon; much leſs credible is it, that ſuch a perſon would recommend a young literary adventurer, whoſe character was only known by an accidental meeting at a coffee-houſe; and leaſt credible of all is it, that ſuch a perſon was likely to be accepted on ſo ſlender a ground of recommendation. It is no unfrequent ſport with little minds to play with the ſanguine tempers and expectations of young and unexperienced minds. Poor Chatterton had tolerable experience of theſe prodigal promiſers, from the patriotic Beckford to his pretended patron at the Chapter Coffee-houſe.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 198.

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The ſplendid viſions of promotion and conſequence however ſoon vaniſhed, and our adventurer found no patrons but the bookſellers; and even here he ſeems not to have eſcaped the poignant ſting of diſappointment. Soon after his arrival in London, he writes to his mother, "The poverty of authors is a common obſervation, but not always a true one. No author can be poor who underſtands the arts of bookſellers: without this neceſſary knowledge the greateſt genius may ſtarve, and with it the greateſt dunce may live in ſplendour. This knowledge I have pretty well dipped into (*a*)." This knowledge, however, inſtead of conducting to opulence and independence, proved a deluſive guide; and though he boaſts of having pieces in the month of June 1770 in the Goſpel Magazine, the Town and Country, the Court and City, the London, the Political Regiſter, &c. and that almoſt the whole Town and Country for the following month was his (*b*), yet it appears, ſo ſcanty is the remuneration for thoſe periodical labours, that even theſe uncommon exertions of induſtry and genius were inſufficient to ward off the approach of poverty; and he ſeems to have ſunk almoſt at once from the higheſt elevation of hope and illuſion, to the depths of deſpair. Early in July he removed his lodgings from Shoreditch to Mrs. Angel's, a Sack-maker, in Brook-ſtreet, Holborn. Mr. Walmſley's family affirmed that he aſſigned no reaſon for quitting their houſe. The author of Love and Madneſs attributes the change to the neceſſity he was under, from the nature of his employments, of frequenting public places (*c*). Is it not probable that he might remove, leſt his friends in Shoreditch, who had heard his frequent boaſts, and obſerved his dream of greatneſs, ſhould be the ſpectators of his approaching indigence? Pride was the ruling paſſion of Chatterton, and a too acute ſenſe of ſhame is ever found to accompany literary pride. But however he might be deſirous of preſerving appearances to the world, he was ſufficiently lowered in his own expectations; and great indeed muſt have been his humiliation, when we find his towering ambition reduced to the miſerable hope of ſecuring the very ineligible appointment of a ſurgeon's mate to Africa. To his friend Mr. Barrett he applied, in his diſtreſs, for a recommendation to this unpromiſing ſtation. Even in this dreary proſpect he was not, however, without the conſolations of his muſe. His fancy delighted itſelf with the expectation of contemplating the wonders of a country, where "Nature flouriſhes in her moſt perfect vigour; where the *purple* aloe, and the ſcarlet jeſſamine, diffuſe their rich perfumes; where the reeking tygers baſk in the ſedges, or wanton with their ſhadows in the ſtream (*d*)."

(*a*) Love and Madneſs, p. 195.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 210.

(*c*) Love and Madneſs, p. 189.

His reſolution was announced in a poem to Miſs Buſh (*e*), in the ſtyle of Cowley, that is, with too much affectation of wit for real feeling. Probably, indeed, when he compoſed the African Eclogues, which was juſt before, he might not be without a diſtant contemplation of a ſimilar deſign; and perhaps we are to attribute a part of the exulting expreſſions, which occur in the letters to his mother and ſiſter, to the kind and laudable intention of making them happy with reſpect to his proſpects in life; ſince we find him, almoſt at the very criſis of his diſtreſs, ſending a number of little unneceſſary preſents to them and his grandmother [*S*], while perhaps he was himſelf almoſt in want of the neceſſaries of life.

(*d*) See the African Eclogues, Chat. Miſ. p. 56—61.

(*e*) Chat. Miſc. p. 85.

On the ſcore of incapacity probably, Mr. Barrett refuſed him the neceſſary recommendation, and his laſt hope was blaſted [*T*]. Of Mrs. Angel, with whom he laſt reſided, no enquiries have afforded any ſatisfactory intelligence; but there can be little doubt that his death was preceded by extreme indigence. Mr. Croſs, an Apothecary in Brook-ſtreet, informed Mr. Warton, that while Chatterton lived in the neighbourhood, he frequently called at the ſhop, and was repeatedly preſſed by Mr. Croſs to dine or ſup with him in vain. One evening, however, human frailty ſo far prevailed over his dignity, as to tempt him to partake of the regale of a barrel of oyſters, when he was obſerved to eat moſt voraciouſly (*f*). Mrs. Wolfe, a Barber's wife, within a few doors of the houſe where Mrs. Angel lived, has alſo afforded ample teſtimony, both to his poverty and his pride. She ſays, "that Mrs. Angel told her, after his death, that on the 24th of Auguſt, as ſhe knew he had not eaten any thing for two or three days, ſhe begged he would take ſome dinner with her; but he was offended at her expreſſions, which ſeemed to hint he was in want, and aſſured her he was not hungry (*g*)." In theſe deſperate circumſtances, his mind reverted to what (we learn from Mr. Thiſtlethwaite, and other quarters) he had accuſtomed himſelf to regard as a laſt reſource.—"Over his death, for the ſake of the

(*f*) Warton's Inquiry, p. 107.

(*g*) Love and Madneſs, p. 219.

[*S*] *Sending a number of little unneceſſary preſents to them and his grandmother.*] They ſeem to have been trifling preſents, and thoſe not ſent when he was in want (11). As ſoon as he felt himſelf in that ſtate he preſently diſpatched himſelf; that is, ſix weeks after he had ſent theſe preſents.

(11) His proſpects were then of the moſt flattering kind. See his laſt letter to his ſiſter.

There has been too much flouriſhing about theſe preſents and *affection to his relations.* When a man ſuffers from pain of body or mind, and is tempted in conſequence thereof to commit ſuicide, the ſtrongeſt motives to reſtrain him are the proſpect and fear of puniſhment in the next world, and a love of, and regard to, his family, relations, and friends in this. The former C. ſeems to have entirely diſcarded. O.

[*T*] *And his laſt hope was blaſted.*] This circumſtance reflects no diſgrace, but rather honour upon Mr. B. as he could not poſſibly foreſee the melancholy conſequence, and he could not in conſcience be the inſtrument of committing the lives of a conſiderable number of perſons to one totally inadequate to the charge.

world,"

world," says the author of Love and Madness, "I would willingly draw a veil. But this must not be. They who are in a condition to patronise merit, and they who feel a consciousness of merit which is not patronised, may form their own resolutions from the catastrophe of his tale;—those, to lose no opportunity of befriending genius; these, to seize every opportunity of befriending themselves, and, upon no account, to harbour the most distant idea of quitting the world, however it may be unworthy of them, lest despondency should at last deceive them into so unpardonable a step. Chatterton, as appears by the Coroner's Inquest, swallowed arsenick in water, on the 24th of August, 1770, and died in consequence thereof the next day. He was buried in a shell, in the burying ground of Shoe-lane work-house (*b*)." Whatever unfinished pieces he might have, he cautiously destroyed them before his death; and his room, when broken open, was found covered with little scraps of paper (*i*). What must increase our regret for this hasty and unhappy step, is the information that the late Dr. Fry, Head of St. John's College in Oxford, went to Bristol in the latter end of August 1770, in order to search into the history of Rowley and Chatterton, and to patronise the latter, if he appeared to deserve assistance—when, alas! all the intelligence he could procure was, that Chatterton had, within a few days, destroyed himself (*k*).

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 221.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 222.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 226.

I have been induced, from the circumstances of the narrative, repeatedly to consider the character of Chatterton in the different stages of life in which I had occasion to contemplate him. Indeed, the character of any man is better understood from a fair and accurate statement of his life and conduct, than from the comments of any critic or biographer whatever. A few general observations, which could not with so much propriety be introduced into the body of the narrative, I shall, however, venture to subjoin; though I flatter myself the reader is not at this time unacquainted with the outline of his moral portrait.

The person of Chatterton, like his genius, was premature. He had a manliness and dignity beyond his years, and there was a something about him uncommonly prepossessing. His most remarkable feature was his eyes, which, though gray, were uncommonly piercing: when he was warmed in argument, or otherwise, they sparked with fire, and one eye, it is said, was still more remarkable than the other (*l*). His genius will be most completely estimated from his writings. He had an uncommon ardour in the pursuit of knowledge, and uncommon facility in the attainment of it. It was a favourite maxim with him, that "man is equal to any thing, and that every thing might be atchieved by diligence and abstinence [*T*]." His imagination, like Dryden's, was more fertile than correct; and he seems to have erred rather through haste and negligence, than through any deficiency of taste. He was above that puerile affectation which pretends to borrow nothing. He knew that original genius consists in forming new and happy combinations, rather than in searching after thoughts and ideas which never had occurred before; and that the man who never imitated, has seldom acquired a habit of good writing. If those poems, which pass under the name of Rowley, be really the productions of Chatterton, he possessed the strongest marks of a vigorous imagination and a sound judgment, in forming great, consistent, and ingenious plots, and making choice of the most interesting subjects. If Rowley and Chatterton be the same, it will be difficult to say whether he excelled most in the sublime or the satirical; and as an universal genius, he must rank above Dryden, and perhaps only stand second to Shakespeare. If, on the other hand, we are to judge altogether from those pieces which are confessedly his own, we must undoubtedly assign the preference to those of the satirical class. In most of his serious writings, there is little that indicates their being composed with a full relish: when he is satirical, his soul glows in his composition.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 271.

Mr. Catcott affirms that Chatterton understood no language but his mother tongue. The same fact seems to be implied in his own confession, "that he spoke no tongue but his own (*m*); and it receives decisive confirmation from the testimony of Mr. Smith, in his conversation with Dr. Glynn: yet we find him, even so early as the year 1768, annexing a Latin signature to the "Accounte of the Fryers passing the old Bridge;" and there are some attempts at inscriptions in old French, in the design which he planned for his own tomb-stone (*n*). He, probably, might have acquired some little knowledge of both these languages; but even if this were the case, there can be no doubt that it was very superficial. When we consider the variety of his engagements while at Bristol, his extensive reading, and the great knowledge he had acquired of the ancient language of his native country, we cannot wonder that he had not time to occupy himself in the study of other languages; and after his arrival in London, he had a new and necessary science to learn, the world: and that he made the most advantageous use of his time is evident from the extensive knowledge of mankind displayed in the different essays, which he produced

(*m*) Love and Madness, p. 198.

(*n*) Chatterton's Will, in App. to Misc.

[*T*] *And that every thing might be atchieved by diligence and abstinence.*] If any uncommon character was mentioned in his hearing, "All boy as he was, he would only observe, that the person in question merited praise; but that God had sent his creatures into the world with arms long enough to reach any thing, if they would be at the trouble of extending them (11)."

(11) Love and Madness, p. 183.

occaſionally for periodical publications. The lively and vigorous imagination of Chatterton contributed, doubtleſs, to animate him with that ſpirit of enterpriſe, which led him to form ſo many impracticable and viſionary ſchemes, for the acquiſition of fame and fortune. His ambition was evident from his earlieſt youth; and perhaps the inequality of his ſpirits might, in a great meaſure, depend upon the fairneſs of his views, or the diſſipation of his projects. His melancholy was extreme on ſome occaſions; and, at thoſe times, he conſtantly argued in favour of ſuicide. Mr. Catcott left him one evening totally depreſſed; but he returned the next morning with unuſual ſpirits. He ſaid, "he had ſprung a mine," and produced a parchment, containing the *Sprytes*, a poem, now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Barrett (*o*).

(*o*) From the information of Mr. Seward.

His natural melancholy was not corrected by the irreligious principles which he had ſo unfortunately imbibed. To theſe we are certainly to attribute his premature death; and, if he can be proved guilty of the licentiouſneſs which is by ſome laid to his charge, it is reaſonable to believe that a ſyſtem, which exonerates the mind from the apprehenſion of future puniſhment, would not contribute much to reſtrain the criminal exceſſes of the paſſions. Had Chatterton lived, and been fortunate enough to fall into ſettled and ſober habits of life, his excellent underſtanding would, in all probability, have led him to ſee the fallacy of thoſe principles, which he had haſtily embraced: as it was, the only preſervatives of which he was poſſeſſed againſt the contagion of vice, were the enthuſiaſm of literature, and that delicacy of ſentiment which taſte and reading inſpire. But though theſe auxiliaries are not wholly to be deſpiſed, we have too many inſtances of their inefficacy in ſupporting the cauſe of virtue, to place any confident reliance on them.

Under ſuch circumſtances there is little cauſe for ſurprize, if the paſſions of Chatterton ſhould frequently have treſpaſſed the boundaries of reaſon and moral duty. That he had ſtrong reſentments is evident from his great diſpoſition to ſatire, and particularly from the letter which has been mentioned as written by him to his ſchool-maſter, ſoon after the commencement of his apprenticeſhip. That he was "proud and imperious," is allowed by his ſiſter, and the generality of his acquaintance. He ſtands charged with a profligate attachment to women: the accuſation, however, is ſtated in a vague and deſultory manner, as if from common report, without any direct or decided evidence in ſupport of the opinion. To the regularity of his conduct during his reſidence in Briſtol, ſome reſpectable teſtimonies have been already exhibited. It is, indeed, by no means improbable, that a young man of ſtrong paſſions, and unprotected by religious principles, might frequently be unprepared to reſiſt the temptations of a licentious metropolis: yet, even after his arrival in London, there are ſome proofs in his favour, which ought not to be diſregarded. During a reſidence of nine weeks at Mr. Walmſley's, he never ſtaid out beyond the family hours, except one night, when Mrs. Ballance knew that he lodged at the houſe of a relation (*p*).

(*p*) Love and Madneſs, p. 261.

Whatever may be the truth of theſe reports, the liſt of his virtues ſtill appears to exceed the catalogue of his faults. His temperance was in ſome reſpects exemplary. He ſeldom eat animal food, and never taſted any ſtrong or ſpirituous liquors: he lived chiefly on a morſel of bread or a tart, with a draught of water. His ſiſter affirms, that he was a lover of truth from the earlieſt dawn of reaſon; and that his ſchool-maſter depended on his veracity on all occaſions (*q*): the pride of genius will ſeldom deſcend to the moſt contemptible of vices, falſehood. His high ſenſe of dignity has been already noticed in two moſt ſtriking inſtances; but the moſt amiable feature in his character, was his generoſity and attachment to his mother and relations. Every favourite project for his advancement in life was accompanied with promiſes and encouragement to them. While in London, he continued to ſend them preſents, at a time when he was known himſelf to be in want: and indeed, the unremitting attention, kindneſs and reſpect, which appear in the whole of his conduct towards them, are deſerving the imitation of thoſe in more fortunate circumſtances, and under the influence of better principles of faith than Chatterton poſſeſſed [*U*].

(*q*) Mrs. N.'s letter, *ibid.*

He had a number of friends, and notwithſtanding his diſpoſition to ſatire, he is ſcarcely known to have had any enemies. By the accounts of all who were acquainted with him, there was ſomething uncommonly inſinuating in his manner and converſation. Mr. Croſs informed Mr. Warton, that in Chatterton's frequent viſits while he reſided at Brook-ſtreet, he found his converſation, a little infidelity excepted, moſt captivating (*r*). His extenſive, though in many inſtances, ſuperficial knowledge, united with his genius, wit and fluency, muſt have admirably accompliſhed him for the pleaſures of ſociety. His pride, which perhaps ſhould rather be termed the ſtrong conſciouſneſs of intellectual excellence, did not deſtroy his affability. He was always acceſſible, and rather forward to make acquaintance, than apt to decline the advances of others [*X*]. There is reaſon however to believe,

(*r*) Warton's Inquiry, p. 107.

[*U*] *Of better principles of faith than Chatterton poſſeſſed.*] It can never be ſufficiently lamented, that this amiable propenſity was not more uniform in Chatterton. A real love for his relations ought to have arreſted the hand of ſuicide; but when religion is loſt, all uniformity of principle is loſt. O.

[*X*] *Than apt to decline the advances of others.*] "Laſt week being in the pit of Drury-Lane Theatre, "I contracted an immediate acquaintance (which "you know is no hard taſk to me) with a young "Gentleman, &c. (12)."

(12) Letter to his mother, Love and Madneſs, p. 197.

that

that the inequality of his ſpirits, affected greatly his behaviour in company. His fits of abſence were frequent and long. "He would often look ſtedfaſtly in a perſon's face without ſpeaking, or ſeeming to ſee the perſon, for a quarter of an hour or more (*s*)."

(*s*) Love and Madneſs, p.214.

Chatterton had one ruling paſſion which governed his whole conduct, and that was the deſire of literary fame. This paſſion intruded itſelf on every occaſion, and abſorbed his whole attention. Whether he would have continued to improve, or the contrary, muſt have depended in ſome meaſure on the circumſtances of his future life. Had he fallen into profligate habits and connections, he would probably have loſt a great part of his ardour for the cultivation of his mind; and his maturer age would only have diminiſhed the admiration which the efforts of his childhood have ſo juſtly excited.

At the ſhrine of Chatterton, ſome grateful incenſe has been offered. Mr. Warton ſpeaks of him as "a prodigy of genius," as "a ſingular inſtance of a prematurity of abilities." He adds, that "he poſſeſſed a comprehenſion of mind, and an activity of underſtanding, which predominated over his ſituation in life, and his opportunities of inſtruction (*t*)." And Mr. Malone "believes him to have been the greateſt genius that England has produced ſince the days of Shakeſpeare (*u*)." Mr. Croft (*w*), the ingenious author of Love and Madneſs, to whom in the courſe of this work I have had many obligations, is ſtill more unqualified in his praiſes. He aſſerts, that "no ſuch human being, at any period of life, has ever been known, or poſſibly ever will be known." He adds, in another place, "an army of Macedonian and Swediſh mad butchers, indeed, fly before him; nor does my memory ſupply me with any human being, who, at ſuch an age, with ſuch diſadvantages, has produced ſuch compoſitions [*Y*]. Under the Heathen mythology, ſuperſtition and admiration would have explained all by bringing Apollo upon earth: nor would the god ever have deſcended with more credit to himſelf."

(*t*) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry.

(*u*) Curſory Obſervations on the Poems attributed to Rowley, p.41.

(*w*) Editor of an intended new Engliſh Dict.

The following parallel alſo by the ſame ingenious critic, does equal credit to the ingenuity of its author, and the reputation of Chatterton.

"Milton enjoyed every advantage not only of private, but of public, not only of domeſtic, but of foreign education.

"Milton in his youth received ſuch inſtructions from Teachers and Schoolmaſters, that, in his age, he was able to become a Schoolmaſter, and a Teacher to others.

"Milton's juvenile writings would not have juſtified a prophecy of Paradiſe Loſt: but the author of them flatters himſelf, by dating his life fifteen till he had turned ſixteen.

"Milton did not produce *Comus* much earlier than in his 26th year; ſince it was firſt preſented at Ludlow in 1634, and he was born in 1608. In 1645, when he was thirty-ſeven, Allegro and Penſeroſo, firſt appeared. In 1655, when he was forty-ſeven, after *long chooſing, and beginning late,* he ſet himſelf to turn a ſtrange thing, called a Myſtery, into an epic poem; which was not completed in leſs than Chatterton's whole active exiſtence, ſince the copy was not ſold till April, 1667, and then conſiſted only of ten books. With all its glorious perfections, Paradiſe Loſt contains puerilities, to which Chatterton was a ſtranger. In three years more, when he was ſixty-two, appeared Milton's Hiſtory of England. Paradiſe Regained, and Sampſon, were publiſhed in

"Chatterton wanted every advantage of every poſſible education.

"Chatterton became his own Teacher and his own Schoolmaſter before other children are ſubjects for inſtruction; and never knew any other.

"Few, if any, of Milton's juvenile writings would have been owned by Chatterton, at leaſt by Rowley, could he have paſt for the author of them.

"Chatterton, not ſuffered to be *long chooſing*, or to *begin late*, in ſeventeen years and nine months, reckoning from his cradle to his grave, produced the volume of Rowley's poems, his volume of Miſcellanies, and many things which are not printed, beſide what his indignation tore in pieces the day he ſpurned at the world, and threw himſelf on the anger of his Creator.

[*Y*] *Has produced ſuch compoſitions.*] "*Mohammed*, it is true, ſays Mr. Croft, with hardly the uſual education of his illiterate tribe, unable (as was imagined, and he pretended) even to read or write, *forged* the KORAN; which is to this day the moſt elegant compoſition in the Arabic language, and its ſtandard of excellence. Upon the argument of improbability, that a man ſo illiterate ſhould compoſe a book ſo admired, *Mohammed* artfully reſted the principal evidence of his *Koran*'s divinity (13). He, who, merely from improbability, denies Chatterton to be the author of Rowley's Poems, muſt go near to admit God to be the author of the *Koran*. But, before we compare together Chatterton and Mohammed, it ſhould be remembered that Mohammed was *forty* when he commenced prophet. Perhaps the moſt extraordinary circumſtance about Mohammed is, that even familiarity could not ſink him into contempt; that he contrived to be a hero and a prophet, even to his wives and his *valets de chambre*. Even his fits of the epilepſy he converted into proofs of his divine miſſion. It is probable, that, if *Mohammed* had been leſs ſalacious, and not ſubject to the falling ſickneſs, out of thirty equal diviſions of the known world, whereof Chriſtianity claims five, and Paganiſm nineteen, the inhabitants of ſix would not now believe in the *Koran*."

(13) Sale's Koran, P. Diſcourſe, P. 42, 60.

What

the ſame year. Lycidas I had forgotten. It was written in his 29th year. That propriety of character and ſituation, which Chatterton can ſeldom have violated, or he would not to this moment deceive ſuch and ſo many men, Milton ſeldom preſerves in Lycidas. If, in the courſe of an exiſtence almoſt four times longer than Chatterton's, this man (*fallen on evil days and evil tongues*, with leſs truth than Chatterton), who bore no fruit worth gathering till after the age at which Chatterton was withered by the hand of Death—if, I ſay, this great man produced other writings, he will not quarrel that poſterity has forgotten them: if he ſhould, poſterity will ſtill perhaps forget them.

" Milton's manuſcripts, preſerved at Cambridge, bear teſtimony to his frequent and commendable correction.

" What time could Chatterton have found for alteration or correction, when I maintain that any boy who ſhould only have fairly *tranſcribed*, before his eighteenth year, all that Chatterton, before his eighteenth year, invented and compoſed, would be thought to deſerve the reputation of diligence, and the praiſe of application?

" Milton, as Ellwood relates, could never bear to hear Paradiſe Loſt preferred before Paradiſe Regained. He is known to have pronounced Dryden to be no Poet.

" If Chatterton, much earlier in life than Milton was calculated either to be an author or a critick, had not poſſeſſed a chaſter judgment, he would not ſtill impoſe on ſo many criticks and authors.

" Milton, more from inclination than want of bread, it ſeems, entered into party diſputes, whether a king might be lawfully beheaded, &c. with a ſervility and a virulence, and let out his praiſe to hire, perhaps, with a meanneſs, at all periods of his life, which the worſt enemies of Chatterton cannot prove him to have equalled.

" Chatterton, in order to procure bread for himſelf, a grandmother, mother and ſiſter, was ready to prove the patriotiſm of Bute, or of Beckford, in writings, which older men need not bluſh to own, and in an age when older men did not bluſh at ſuch a *profeſſion*.

" Milton, in affluence (if compared with others beſide Chatterton) felt on his brows thoſe laurels which others could not ſee; and was perſuaded that, " by labour and intenſe " ſtudy, his portion in this life, he might " leave ſomething ſo written to after-times, " as they ſhould not willingly let it die."

" Chatterton, ſteeped to the lips in poverty, entertained, long before he had lived eighteen years, ideas, hopes, perſuaſions, (*by labour and intenſe ſtudy*, more truly *his portion in this life* than Milton's) of living to all eternity in the memory of Fame.

" Paradiſe Loſt produced the author and the widow only twenty-eight pounds. The meaner, more ſervile, and more verſatile abilities of the author produced him indeed enough to be deprived of four thouſand pounds by ill-fortune, and to leave fifteen hundred pounds to his family.

" Mr. Catcott and Mr. Barrett muſt inform the world whether Rowley's poems and his own together produced Chatterton twenty-eight ſhillings.

" Phillips relates of Milton, from his own mouth, that " his vein never happily flowed " but from the autumnal equinox to the " vernal." Richardſon writes, that " his " poetical faculty would on a ſudden ruſh " upon him with an impetus or æſtrum."

" What is ſaid of Chatterton, and of the moon's effect upon him, you have read.

" Milton, when a man, ſeldom drank any thing ſtrong: he ate with delicacy and temperance.

" Chatterton, when a boy, hardly ever touched meat, and drank only water: when a child, he would often refuſe to take any thing but bread and water, even if it did happen that his mother had a hot meal, " becauſe he had a work in hand, and he " muſt not make himſelf more ſtupid than " God had made him."

" Milton's hiſtorians and grand-daughter admit his moroſeneſs to his children, and that he would not let them learn to write."

" Chatterton's mother, his ſiſter and his letters, can ſpeak beſt of his heart, and of his wiſhes that his ſiſter might learn every thing."

To theſe I ſhall add the teſtimony of Mr. Knox:

" Unfortunate boy! ſhort and evil were thy days, but thy fame ſhall be immortal. Hadſt thou been known to the munificent patrons of genius—

" Unfortunate boy! poorly waſt thou accommodated during thy ſhort ſojourning among us;—rudely waſt thou treated,—ſorely did thy feeling ſoul ſuffer from the ſcorn of the unworthy; and there are, at laſt, thoſe who wiſh to rob thee of thy only meed, thy poſthumous glory. Severe too are the cenſurers of thy morals. In the gloomy moments of deſpondency, I fear thou haſt uttered impious and blaſphemous thoughts, which none can defend, and which neither thy youth, nor thy fiery ſpirit, nor thy ſituation, can excuſe. But let thy more rigid cenſors reflect, that thou waſt literally and ſtrictly but a boy. Let many of thy bittereſt enemies reflect what were their own religious principles, and whether they had any, at the age of fourteen, fifteen, and ſixteen. Surely it is a ſevere and an unjuſt ſurmiſe, that thou wouldeſt probably have ended thy life as a victim of the laws, if thou hadſt not finiſhed it as thou didſt; ſince the very act by which thou durſt put an end to thy painful exiſtence, proves that thou thoughteſt it better to die, than to ſupport life by theft or violence.

" The ſpeculative errors of a boy who wrote from the ſudden ſuggeſtions of paſſion or deſpondency, who is not convicted of any immoral or diſhoneſt act in conſequence of his ſpeculations, ought to be conſigned to oblivion. But there ſeems to be a general and inveterate diſlike to the boy, excluſively of the poet; a diſlike which many will be ready to impute, and, indeed, not without the appearance of reaſon, to that inſolence and envy of the little great, which cannot bear to acknowledge ſo tranſcendent and commanding a ſuperiority in the humble child of want and obſcurity.

" Malice, if there was any, may ſurely now be at reſt; for " Cold he lies in the grave below." But where were ye, O ye friends to genius, when, ſtung with diſappointment, diſtreſſed for food and raiment, with every frightful form of human miſery painted on his fine imagination, poor Chatterton ſunk in deſpair? Alas! ye knew him not then, and now it is too late,—

For now he is dead;
Gone to his death bed,
All under the willow tree.

So ſang the ſweet youth, in as tender an elegy as ever flowed from a feeling heart.

" In return for the pleaſure I have received from thy poems, I pay thee, poor boy, the trifling tribute of my praiſe. Thyſelf thou haſt emblazoned; thine own monument thou haſt erected: But they whom thou haſt delighted, feel a pleaſure in vindicating thine honours from the rude attacks of detraction (*x*)."

(*x*) Knox's Eſſays, No. 114.

The poetic eulogiums have, however, exceeded, both in number and excellence, the compliments of critical writers. A few remarkably intereſting and beautiful, I ſhall ſelect, with the double view of adorning the work, and gratifying the reader.

A poet, whoſe ſuperior elegance and claſſical taſte do not appear to have met with all the applauſe they have deſerved, thus ſpeaks of Chatterton:

" Yet as with ſtreaming eye the ſorrowing muſe,
" Pale CHATTERTON's untimely urn bedews;
" Her accents ſhall arraign the partial care,
" That ſhielded not her ſon from cold deſpair (*y*)."

(*y*) Pye's Progreſs of Refinement, Part 2.

There is a beautiful monody written by Mrs. Cowley, inſerted in the laſt edition of Love and Madneſs.—It is as follows:

O CHATTERTON! for thee the penſive ſong I raiſe,
Thou object of my wonder, pity, envy, praiſe!
Bright Star of Genius!—torn from life and fame,
My tears, my verſe, ſhall conſecrate thy name!
Ye Muſes! who around his natal bed
Triumphant ſung, and all your influence ſhed;
APOLLO! thou who rapt his infant breaſt,
And in his dædal numbers ſhone confeſt,
Ah! why, in vain, ſuch mighty gifts beſtow?
—Why give freſh tortures to the Child of Woe?
Why thus, with barb'rous care, illume his mind,
Adding new ſenſe to all the ills behind?

Thou haggard Poverty! whoſe cheerleſs eye
Transforms young Rapture to the pond'rous ſigh,
In whoſe drear cave no Muſe e'er ſtruck the lyre,
Nor Bard e'er madden'd with poetic fire;

Why all thy ſpells for CHATTERTON combine!
His thought creative, why muſt thou confine?
Subdu'd by thee, his pen no more obeys,
No longer gives the ſong of ancient days;
Nor paints in glowing tints from diſtant ſkies,
Nor bids wild ſcen'ry ruſh upon our eyes——
Check'd in her flight, his rapid Genius cowers,
Drops her ſad plumes, and yields to thee her powers.

Behold him, Muſes! ſee your fav'rite ſon
The prey of want, ere manhood is begun!
The boſom ye have fill'd, with anguiſh torn——
The mind you cherish'd, drooping and forlorn!

And now Deſpair her ſable form extends,
Creeps to his couch, and o'er his pillow bends.
Ah, ſee! a deadly bowl the fiend conceal'd,
Which to his eye with caution is reveal'd——
Seize it, Apollo!—ſeize the liquid ſnare!
Daſh it to earth, or diſſipate in air!
Stay, helpleſs Youth! refrain—abhor the draught,
With pangs, with racks, with deep repentance fraught!
Oh, hold! the cup with woe ETERNAL flows,
More—more than Death the pois'nous juſtice beſtows!
In vain!—he drinks—and now the ſearching fires
Ruſh through his veins, and writhing he expires!
No ſorrowing friend, no ſiſter, parent, nigh,
To ſooth his pangs, or catch his parting ſigh;
Alone, unknown, the Muſe's darling dies,
And with the vulgar dead unnoted lies!
Bright Star of Genius!—torn from life and fame,
My tears, my verſe, ſhall conſecrate thy name!

Nor has the Muſe of Amwell been backward in commendation.

And BRISTOL! why thy ſcenes explore,
And why thoſe ſcenes ſo ſoon reſign,
And fail to ſeek the ſpot that bore
That wonderous tuneful Youth of thine,
The Bard, whoſe boaſted ancient ſtore
Roſe recent from his own exhauſtleſs mine [Z]!

Though Fortune all her gifts denied,
Though Learning made him not her choice,
The Muſe ſtill placed him at her ſide,
And bade him in her ſmile rejoice—
Deſcription ſtill his pen ſupplied,
Pathos his thought, and Melody his voice!

Conſcious and proud of merit high,
Fame's wreath he boldly claim'd to wear;
But Fame, regardleſs, paſs'd him by,
Unknown, or deem'd unworth her care:
The Sun of Hope forſook his ſky;
And all his land look'd dreary, bleak, and bare!

Then Poverty, grim ſpectre, roſe,
And horror o'er the proſpect threw—
His deep diſtreſs too nice to expoſe;
Too nice for common aid to ſue,
A dire alternative he choſe,
And raſhly from the painful ſcene withdrew.

[Z] *Roſe recent from his own exhauſtleſs mine!*]
This is at leaſt the Author's opinion, notwithſtanding all that has hitherto appeared on the other ſide of the queſtion. The laſt line alludes to one of the ingenious Mr. Maſon in his Elegy to a young Nobleman:

" See from the depths of his exhauſtleſs mine
" His glittering ſtores the tuneful ſpendthrift
" throws."

Ah!

Ah! why for Genius' headſtrong rage
Did Virtue's hand no curb prepare?
What boots, poor youth! that now thy page
Can boaſt the public praiſe to ſhare,
The learn'd in deep reſearch engage,
And lightly entertain the gentle fair?

Ye, who ſuperfluous wealth command,
O why your kind relief delay'd?
O why not ſnatch'd his deſperate hand?
His foot on Fate's dread brink not ſtay'd?
What thanks had you your native land
For a new SHAKESPEARE or new MILTON paid!

For me—Imagination's power
Leads oft inſenſibly my way,
To where, at midnight's ſilent hour,
The creſcent moon's ſlow-weſtering ray
Pours full on REDCLIFF's lofty tower,
And gilds with yellow light its walls of grey.

'Midſt Toil and Commerce ſlumbering round,
Lull'd by the riſing tide's hoarſe roar,
There Frome and Avon willow-crown'd,
I view ſad-wandering by the ſhore,
With ſtreaming tears, and notes of mournful ſound,
Too late their hapleſs Bard, untimely loſt, deplore.

The following lines are uncommonly animated and poetical:

If changing times ſuggeſt the pleaſing hope,
That Bards no more with adverſe fortune cope;
That in this alter'd clime, where Arts increaſe,
And make our poliſh'd Iſle a ſecond Greece;
That now, if Poeſy proclaims her Son,
And challenges the wreath by Fancy won;
Both Fame and Wealth adopt him as their heir,
And liberal Grandeur makes his life her care;
From ſuch vain thoughts thy erring mind defend,
And look on CHATTERTON's diſaſtrous end.
Oh, ill-ſtarr'd Youth, whom Nature form'd in vain,
With powers on Pindus' ſplendid height to reign!
O dread example of what pangs await
Young Genius ſtruggling with malignant fate!
What could the Muſe, who fir'd thy infant frame
With the rich promiſe of Poetic fame;
Who taught thy hand its magic art to hide,
And mock the inſolence of Critic pride;
What cou'd her unavailing cares oppoſe,
To ſave her darling from his deſperate foes;
From preſſing Want's calamitous controul,
And Pride, the fever of the ardent ſoul?
Ah, ſee, too conſcious of her failing power,
She quits her Nurſling in his deathful hour!
In a chill room, within whoſe wretched wall
No cheering voice replies to Miſery's call;
Near a vile bed, too crazy to ſuſtain
Misfortune's waſted limbs, convuls'd with pain,
On the bare floor, with heaven-directed eyes,
The hapleſs Youth in ſpeechleſs horror lies!
The pois'nous phial, by diſtraction drain'd,
Rolls from his hand, in wild contortion ſtrain'd:
Pale with life-waſting pangs, it's dire effect,
And ſtung to madneſs by the world's neglect,
He, in abhorrence of the dangerous Art,
Once the dear idol of his glowing heart,
Tears from his Harp the vain deteſted wires,
And in the frenzy of Deſpair expires (z)!

(z) Hayley's Eſſay on Epic Poetry, Ep. iv. l. 211 to 248.

Again,

Again, with all the honeſt reſentment of indignant Genius,

Search the dark ſcenes were drooping Genius lies,
And keep from ſorrieſt ſights a nation's eyes,
That, from expiring Want's reproaches free,
Our generous country ne'er may weep to ſee
A future CHATTERTON by poiſon dead,
An OTWAY fainting for a little bread (*a*).

(*a*) *Ibid.* 336 to 342.

To theſe elegant offerings to the genius of Chatterton, it is with peculiar pleaſure I add a ſonnet to Expreſſion, from the poliſhed and pathetic pen of Miſs Helen Maria Williams.

Expreſſion, child of ſoul! I fondly trace
Thy ſtrong enchantments, when the poet's lyre,
The painter's pencil catch thy ſacred fire,
And beauty wakes for thee her touching grace—
But from this frighted glance thy form avert
When horrors check thy tear, thy ſtruggling ſigh,
When frenzy rolls in thy impaſſion'd eye,
Or guilt ſits heavy on thy lab'ring heart—
Nor ever let my ſhudd'ring fancy bear
The waſting groan, or view the pallid look
Of him (*b*) the Muſes lov'd—when hope forſook
His ſpirit, vainly to the Muſes dear!
For charm'd with heav'nly ſong, this bleeding breaſt,
Mourns the bleſt power of verſe could give deſpair no reſt.—

(*b*) Chatterton.

Independently of the poems attributed to Rowley, Chatterton has left behind him a variety of pieces, publiſhed and unpubliſhed. The moſt conſiderable of the former are to be found in a volume of miſcellanies, publiſhed in 1778, to which is prefixed a ſketch for the late Alderman Beckford's ſtatue, a ſpecimen of Chatterton's abilities in the arts of drawing and deſign; and this publication was followed in 1786, by "a ſupplement to the miſcellanies of Thomas Chatterton." The compoſitions contained in both theſe volumes are ſcarcely to be inſpected with all the ſeverity of criticiſm. Conſiderable allowances ought to be made for the exerciſes of his infantine years, for the incorrect effuſions of momentary reſentment, for a few lines thrown together in a playful mood to pleaſe an illiterate female, or to amuſe a ſchool-fellow, and perhaps not leſs for the haſty and involuntary productions of indigence and neceſſity, conſtructed for a magazine, and calculated for the ſole purpoſe of procuring a ſubſiſtence. Of the poetical part of theſe miſcellanies, I have already intimated, that the ſerious are inferior to the ſatirical.

In the elegy to the memory of Mr. Thomas Phillips, of Fairford, we, however, meet with ſome deſcriptive ſtanzas, perhaps not unworthy the author of Rowley's poems:

"Pale rugged Winter bending o'er his head,
"His grizzled hair bedropt with icy dew;
"His eyes, a duſky light, congealed and dead;
"His robe, a tinge of bright ethereal blue.
"His train a motley'd, ſanguine ſable cloud,
"He limps along the ruſſet dreary moor;
"Whilſt riſing whirlwinds, blaſting, keen and loud,
"Roll the white ſurges to the ſounding ſhore."

"Fancy, whoſe various, figure-tinctured veſt
"Was ever changing to a different hue;
"Her head, with varied bays and flow'rets dreſt,
"Her eyes two ſpangles of the morning dew."

"Now as the mantle of the evening ſwells,
"Upon my mind I feel a thick'ning gloom!
"Ah! could I charm, by friendſhip's potent ſpells,
"The ſoul of Philip's from the deathy tomb!
"Then would we wander thro' the dark'ned vale,
"In converſe ſuch as heavenly ſpirits uſe,
"And borne upon the plumage of the gale,
"Hymn the creator and exhort the Muſe (*c*)."

(*c*) Chatterton's Miſcellanies.

In

In a letter to his friend Cary, dated London, July 1, 1770, Chatterton tells him, "in the laſt London Magazine, and in that which comes out to day, are the only two pieces of mine I have the vanity to call poetry." Theſe were the two African Eclogues, publiſhed in his Miſcellanies. I am ſorry I cannot unite with the author in the commendation of theſe pieces; but Chatterton, as well as Milton, ſeems to have been incapable of eſtimating rightly the reſpective merits of his own productions (*d*). They are unconnected and unequal, though it muſt be confeſſed, that they contain ſome excellent lines: the following occur almoſt at the beginning of the firſt eclogue, and are animated, expreſſive and harmonious:

(*d*) I know ſome reſpectable friends who eſteem this inſtance of bad taſte, as a ſtrong preſumptive argument againſt Chatterton being the author of Rowley's poems.

"High from the ground the youthful warriors ſprung;
"Loud on the concave ſhell the lances rung:
"In all the myſtic mazes of the dance,
"The youths of Banny's burning ſands advance;
"Whilſt the ſoft virgin, panting, looks behind,
"And rides upon the pinions of the wind (*e*)."

(*e*) Chatterton's Miſcellanies, p. 56.

Of the correctneſs of the following ſimile in the ſecond eclogue, I ſhall not determine; but the livelineſs of the deſcription evinces a moſt vigorous imagination.

"On Tiber's banks, cloſe rank'd, a warring train,
"Stretch'd to the diſtant edge of Galca's plain:
"So when arrived at Gaigra's higheſt ſteep,
"We view the wide expanſion of the deep;
"See in the gilding of her wat'ry robe,
"The quick declenſion of the circling globe;
"From the blue ſea a chain of mountains riſe,
"Blended at once with water and with ſkies:
"Beyond our ſight in vaſt extenſion curl'd,
"The check of waves, the guardian of the world (*f*)."

(*f*) *Ibid.*

The ſatire of Chatterton has more of the luxuriance, fluency, and negligence of Dryden, than of the terſeneſs and refinement of Pope. The following lines are in the ſtyle of the former:

"Search nature o'er, procure me, if you can,
"The fancied character, an honeſt man.
"A man of ſenſe not honeſt by conſtraint,
"(For fools are canvaſs, living but in paint)
"To Mammon, or to ſuperſtition ſlaves,
"All orders of mankind are fools or knaves:
"In the firſt attribute by none ſurpaſs'd,
"**** endeavours to obtain the laſt (*g*)."

(*g*) Epiſtle to the Rev. Mr. Catcott, Append. to Chat. Miſ. p. 23.

The following is an evident imitation of Mr. Pope, even to the cadence of the verſe, but it is not equally ſucceſsful with the laſt ſpecimen:

"But why muſt Chatterton ſelected ſit,
"The butt of every Critic's little wit?
"Am I alone for ever in a crime,
"*Nonſenſe in proſe*, or *blaſphemy in rhyme?*
"All monoſyllables a line appears!—
"Is it not very often ſo in Shears?
"See gen'rous Eccas, length'ning out my praiſe,
"Inraptured with the muſic of my lays;
"In all the arts of panegyric grac'd,
"The cream of modern literary taſte (*h*)."

(*h*) The Defence, *ibid.* p. 37.

In a poem on Happineſs, inſerted in Love and Madneſs, are ſome ſtrokes of ſatire in a ſuperior ſtyle:

"Come to my pen, companion of the lay,
"And ſpeak of worth, where merit——
"Let lazy B——— undiſtinguiſh'd ſnore,
"Nor laſh his generoſity to ———,
"Praiſe him for ſermons of his curate bought,
"His eaſy flow of words, his depth of thought;

" His active ſpirit ever in diſplay,
" His great devotion when he drawls to pray,
" His ſainted ſoul diſtinguiſhably ſeen,
" With all the virtues of a modern Dean (*i*)."

(*i*) Love and Madneſs, p. 155.

" Pulvis, whoſe knowledge centres in degrees,
" Is never happy but when taking fees:
" Bleſt with a buſhy wig and ſolemn pace,
" Catcott admires him for a *foſſile* face."
—" Mould'ring in duſt the fair Lavinia lies,
" Death and our Doctor clos'd her ſparkling eyes.
" O all ye pow'rs, the guardians of the world!
" Where is the uſeleſs bolt of vengeance hurl'd?
" Say, ſhall this leaden ſword of plague prevail,
" And kill the mighty where the mighty fail?
" Let the red bolus tremble o'er his head,
" And with his guardian julep ſtrike him dead (*k*)!"

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 156.

In the volume of his miſcellanies are two political pieces, the Conſuliad, written at Briſtol, and in the higheſt ſtrain of party ſcurrility [*AA*]; and the Prophecy, written apparently a ſhort time after, which is in the beſt ſtyle of Swift's minor pieces, and appears to be the genuine effuſion of that enthuſiaſtic love of liberty, which in tumultuous times generally takes poſſeſſion of young and ſanguine diſpoſitions [*BB*].

Of

[*AA*] *In the higheſt ſtrain of party ſcurrility.*] The introduction to this poem is not deſtitute of merit.

Of warring ſenators, and battles dire,
Of quails uneaten; Muſe, awake the lyre.
Where C—pb—ll's chimneys overlook the ſquare,
And N—t—n's future proſpects hang in air;
Where counſellors diſpute, and cockers match,
And Caledonian earls in concert ſcratch;
A group of heroes, occupied the round,
Long in the rolls of infamy renown'd.
Circling the table all in ſilence ſat,
Now tearing bloody lean, now champing fat;
Now picking ortolans, and chicken ſlain,
To form the whimſies of an *à-la-reine:*
Now ſtorming caſtles of the neweſt taſte,
And granting articles to forts of paſte:
Now ſwallowing bitter draughts of Pruſſian beer;
Now ſucking tallow of ſalubrious deer.

[*BB*] *Takes poſſeſſion of young and ſanguine diſpoſitions.*]

THE PROPHECY.

THIS truth of old was ſorrow's friend,
" Times at the worſt will ſurely mend."
The difficulty's then to know,
How long oppreſſion's clock can go;
When Britain's ſons may ceaſe to ſigh,
And hope that their redemption's nigh.

When Vice exalted takes the lead,
And Vengeance hangs but by a thread;
Gay peereſſes turn'd out o'doors;
Whoremaſters, peers, and ſons of whores;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When vile Corruption's brazen face,
At council-board ſhall take her place;
And lord's-commiſſioners reſort,
To welcome her at Britain's court;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

See Penſion's harbour large and clear,
Defended by St. Stephen's pier!
The entrance ſafe, by Current led,
Tiding round G—'s jetty head;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When Civil-Power ſhall ſnore at eaſe,
While ſoldiers fire—to keep the peace;
When murders ſanctuary find,
And petticoats can Juſtice blind;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

Commerce o'er Bondage will prevail,
Free as the wind, that fills her ſail.
When ſhe complains of vile reſtraint,
And Power is deaf to her complaint;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When raw projectors ſhall begin
Oppreſſion's hedge, to keep her in;
She in diſdain will take her flight,
And bid the Gotham fools good night;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When tax is laid, to ſave debate,
By prudent miniſters of ſtate;
And, what the people did not give,
Is levied by prerogative;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When Popiſh biſhops dare to claim
Authority, in George's name;
By Treaſon's hand ſet up, in ſpite
Of George's title, William's right;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When Popiſh prieſt a penſion draws
From ſtarv'd exchequer, for the cauſe
Commiſſion'd, proſelytes to make
In Britiſh realms, for Britain's ſake:
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When ſnug in power, ſly recuſants
Make laws for Britiſh Proteſtants;
And d——g William's Revolution,
As Juſtices claim execution;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When ſoldiers, paid for our defence,
In wanton pride ſlay innocence;
Blood from the ground for vengeance reeks,
Till Heaven the inquiſition makes;

Look

Of the proſe compoſitions of Chatterton, his imitations of Oſſian are certainly the worſt: he has not indeed improved upon an indifferent model. They are full of wild imagery and inconſiſtent metaphor, with little either of plot or of character to recommend them.

His lighter Eſſays, ſuch as the adventures of a ſtar, the memoirs of a ſad dog, the hunter of oddities, &c. diſplay conſiderable knowledge of what is called the town, and demonſtrate the keenneſs of his obſervation, and his quickneſs in acquiring any branch of knowledge, or in adapting himſelf to any ſituation. We are to remember, however, that he had been long converſant in this ſpecies of compoſition, and that a conſiderable fund of reading in Magazines, Reviews, &c. which Mr. Warton obſerves "form the *ſchool of the people*," had prepared him well to exerciſe the profeſſion of a periodical writer. Antiquities, however, conſtituted his favorite ſtudy, and in them his genius always appears to the greateſt advantage. Even the moſt humorous of his pieces (Tony Selwood's letter (*l*) derives its principal excellence from his knowledge of ancient cuſtoms.

(*l*) Chat. Miſc. p. 209.

In the volume of Miſcellanies attributed to him, there are ſome pieces to which his title is not well aſcertained. Some with the ſignature of Aſaphides, are claimed by one Lock-ſtone, a Linen-Draper, and a particular acquaintance of Chatterton; and the ſtory of Maria Friendleſs, which Chatterton himſelf ſent to the Town and Country Magazine, probably for the ſake of obtaining an immediate and neceſſary ſupply of money, is almoſt a literal tranſcript of the letter of Miſella in the Rambler.

If the reputation of Chatterton, however, reſted ſolely on thoſe works, which he acknowledged as his own, it would neither be ſo extenſive as it is, nor probably ſo permanent as it is likely to continue. Rowley's poems have deſervedly immortalized the name of Chatterton, and the controverſy which their publication excited, is the moſt curious and extraordinary controverſy, which, ſince the days of Bentley, has divided the literary world.

I have already noticed the manner in which theſe poems are ſaid to have been diſcovered. The account which Chatterton himſelf gave of the ſuppoſed author is nearly as follows:

THOMAS ROWLEY was born at Norton Mal-ſeward in Somerſetſhire, and educated at the convent of St. Kenna, at Keyneſham (*m*). He was of the clerical profeſſion, was confeſſor to the two Canynge's, Robert and William, about the latter end of the reign of Henry the VIth, or about the beginning of that of Edward IV.; and was at leaſt connected with our Lady's church in Briſtol (*n*); though he is elſewhere ſtyled the "pariſh prieſt of St. John's, in the city of Briſtol (*o*)." After the death of Mr. Robert Canynge, (who at his brother's deſire, bequeathed Rowley 100 marks) he was employed by that brother, Mr. William, to travel through a conſiderable part of England to collect drawings. Mr. Canynge was ſo well ſatisfied with his ſucceſs, that he rewarded him with a purſe of two hundred pounds, and promiſed him that he ſhould never be in want. He continued afterwards the confidential friend of Canynge. He wrote a variety of poems, many of them addreſſed to that extraordinary character. He firſt lived in a houſe on the hill, and afterwards in one by the Tower (*p*): he ſurvived his patron, and died at Weſtbury, in Glouceſterſhire (*q*). Such is Chatterton's account: but it is only fair to mention, that the exiſtence of any ſuch perſon as Rowley, is totally denied by the diſputants on one ſide of the controverſy.

(*m*) Note prefixed to "Ballade of Charitie." Rowley's poems, p. 203.

(*n*) Mem. of Sir W. Canynge, Chat. Miſc. p. 122.

(*o*) Introd. to the Battle of Haſtings, Rowley's poem, p. 21.

(*p*) Chat. Miſc. p. 127 & 128.

(*q*) Rowley's Poems, p. 203.

There can, however, be no doubt concerning the exiſtence of W. Canynge, the patron of Rowley, ſince it is atteſted by ſuch a number of contemporary hiſtorians, and his remains lie interred in the church of which he was the founder. He is called by Chatterton, Sir William Canynge. He was the younger ſon of a citizen of Briſtol, and in his youth afforded early prognoſtics of wiſdom and ability. He was of a handſome perſon, and

Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When at Bute's feet poor Freedom lies,
Mark'd by the prieſt for ſacrifice,
And doom'd a victim, for the ſins
Of half the *outs*, and all the *ins*;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When Stewards paſs a *boot* account,
And credit for the groſs amount;
Then to replace exhauſted ſtore,
Mortgage the land to borrow more;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When ſcrutineers, for private ends,
Againſt the vote declare their friends;
Or judge, as you ſtand there alive,
That five is more than forty-five;
Look up, ye Britons! ceaſe to ſigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When George ſhall condeſcend to hear
The modeſt ſuit, the humble prayer;
A prince, to purpled pride unknown!
No favourites diſgrace the throne!
Look up, ye Britons! ſigh no more,
For your redemption's at the door.

When time ſhall bring your wiſh about,
Or, ſeven-years leaſe, *you ſold*, is out;
No future contract to fulfil;
Your tenants holding at your will;
Raiſe up your heads! your right demand!
For your redemption's in your hand.

Then is your time to ſtrike the blow,
And let the *ſlaves* of Mammon know,
Britain's true ſons A BRIBE can ſcorn,
And die as *free* as they were born.
VIRTUE again ſhall take her ſeat,
And your redemption ſtand compleat.

married

married for love, without a fortune. Soon after his marriage, his father and his eldeſt brother (who both loved money as much as he deſpiſed it) died, and left him large eſtates in land and money, and his brother John dependent upon him, whom he placed in ſuch an advantageous line of buſineſs, that he afterwards became Lord-Mayor of London.

This dawn of proſperity was, however, ſoon clouded by the death of his wife; to whoſe memory he afforded the moſt affectionate teſtimony, in rejecting the moſt ſplendid propoſals for a ſecond marriage. Of his native city he was Mayor five times; and in the year 1461, when Sir Baldwin Fulford was executed for treaſon, Canynge being then Mayor, pleaded for the criminal in vain. When he was knighted does not appear; but in the year 1467, a ſecond marriage being propoſed by the King, between him and one of the Widdeville, (the Queen's) family, Sir William went into holy orders purpoſely to avoid it; and was ordained Acolythe by his friend Carpenter, Biſhop of Worceſter, the 19th of September. He was afterwards Dean of the Collegiate church of Weſtbury in Wilts. With his uſual munificence he rebuilt that college, and died in the year 1474, with the univerſal character of learning and virtue. Among the proofs of his munificence there ſtill exiſt an alms-houſe or hoſpital, with a chapel, and the beautiful church of St. Mary Redcliffe, in Briſtol (*r*). At a great expenſe he had collected a cabinet of curioſities (*s*). His collection of manuſcripts, among which were copies of his own and Rowley's poems, were depoſited in a room in Redcliffe church: of the actual or pretended diſcovery of which I have already treated. Such is Chatterton's hiſtory of Canynge, in which, though there are ſome facts, which are amply confirmed, there are alſo ſeveral which are diſputed by thoſe who deny the authenticity of Rowley's poems.

(*r*) Story of W. Canynge, Rowley's poems, Chat. Miſcel. p. 112 to 122.
(*s*) *Ibid.*

Theſe poems, we have already ſeen, were produced by Chatterton at different times, who aſſerted that he had copied them from the fragments of thoſe ancient parchments, which his father had procured from the Redcliffe cheſt. He could never be prevailed upon to produce any originals, except a few fragments, the largeſt not more than eight inches long, and four and a half wide. The writing on theſe fragments was at leaſt a tolerable imitation of ancient manuſcript, and the parchment or vellum had every mark of age. The only poetical originals which he produced were, the challenge to Lydgate, the ſong to Ella, and Lydgate's anſwer, all contained in one parchment; the account of W. Canynge's feaſt; the epitaph on Robert Canynge, and part of the ſtory of W. Canynge. Beſides theſe there are ſome proſe compoſitions, and a few drawings, ſtill in the hands of Mr. Barrett [*CC*].

The poems attributed to Rowley were firſt collected in an octavo volume, and publiſhed by Mr. Tyrwhitt, the learned editor of Chaucer. A very ſplendid edition was afterwards publiſhed in quarto, by the late Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries, with a preliminary diſſertation, and notes tending to prove that they were really written by Rowley and others in the 15th century.

The poetical merit of theſe pieces is conſiderable. The ſubjects are intereſting, and infinite imagination is diſplayed in the conſtruction of the plots or fables, in the arrangement of the incidents, and the delineation of the characters. The beauties of poetry are ſcattered through them with no ſparing hand. The Lyric productions in particular, ſuch as the choruſſes in the Tragedies, abound with luxuriant deſcription, moſt vivid imagery, and ſtriking metaphors. Through the veil of ancient language a happy adaptation of

[*CC*] *Still in the hands of Mr. Barrett.*] A complete liſt of the original parchments, which were given to Mr. Barrett by Chatterton, and which he has now in his hands, was communicated by that Gentleman to Dr. Milles, and is as follows:

The Song to Ella, with the challenge to Lydgate and the Anſwer. This poem was ſent by Mr. Barrett to a friend, and is unfortunately loſt.

Canynge's Feaſt, a Poem.

The firſt thirty-ſix lines of the Storie of William Canyne.

The following are Hiſtorical Proſe Compoſitions.

1. The Yellow Roll, containing an account of the origin of coinage in England, and of the curioſities in Canynge's cabinet. This alſo was lent with the ſong to Ella, by Mr. Barrett to a friend, and is loſt.
2. The purple Roll, thirteen inches by ten, containing an account of particular Coins, and the ſecond and third Sections of Turgotus's Hiſtory of Briſtol. N. B. The firſt Section above quoted is alſo extant in Chatterton's own hand, but the original does not appear.
3. Vita Burtoni, a parchment roll, about eight inches long, and four broad, very cloſely written; containing an account of Sir Simon de Burton, and his rebuilding Redcliff church.
4. Knights Templars Church; a Hiſtory of its foundation, &c.
5. St. Mary's Church of the Port; a Hiſtory of it from its foundation, ending with the verſes on Robert Canynge.
6. Roll of Bartholomew's Priory, with a Liſt of the Priors.
7. An account of the Chapel and Houſe of Calendaries; a drawing of the chapel, and underneath an explanation of it.
8. Ella's Chappel. No drawing, except to the Kiſt of Ella, but there is an account of its foundation.
9. St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel. A drawing only.
10. Grey Friars Church. A drawing only.
11. Drawing of three monumental Inſcriptions.
12. Ancient Monument and Rudhall: mere delineations.
13. Leſſer and Greater St. John's: only a rude delineation.
14. Several Drawings of the Caſtle of Briſtol.
15. Strong Hold of the Caſtle: a drawing and account of its foundation, by Robert Earl of Glouceſter, and Site thereof.
16. Old Wall of Briſtol; mere drawings.
17. Carne of Robert Curthoſes Mynde in Caſtle ſteed: a drawing or figure, with the words *Carne*, &c. underneath (14).

(14) Milles's Rowley, p. 438.

words

words is ſtill apparent, and a ſtyle both energetic and expreſſive. Contrary to almoſt all the poetical productions of the times, when they are ſuppoſed to have been compoſed, they are in general conſpicuous for the harmony and elegance of the verſe. Indeed, ſome paſſages are inferior in none of the eſſentials of poetry, to the moſt finiſhed productions of modern times.

On the other hand, it muſt not be diſſembled that ſome (and many will think no inconſiderable) part of the charm of theſe poems may probably reſult from the Gothic ſublimity of the ſtyle. Whatever is vulgar in language is loſt by time, and a ſmall degree of obſcurity in an ancient author gives a latitude to the fancy of the reader, who generally imagines the ſtyle to be more forcible and expreſſive than perhaps it intrinſically is. We gaze with wonder on an antique fabrick; and when novelty of thought is not to be obtained, the novelty of language to which we are unaccuſtomed, is frequently accepted as a ſubſtitute. Moſt poets therefore, at leaſt ſuch as have aſpired to the ſublime, have thrown their dialect at leaſt a century behind the common proſe, and colloquial phraſeology of their time: nor can we entertain a doubt, but that even Shakeſpeare and Milton have derived advantages from the antique ſtructure of ſome of their moſt admired paſſages. The facility of compoſition is alſo greatly increaſed where full latitude is permitted in the uſe of an obſolete dialect; ſince an author is indulged in the occaſional uſe of both the old and the modern phraſeology; and if the one does not ſupply him with the word for which he has immediate occaſion, the other in all probability will not diſappoint him.

That the ſubjects of Rowley's poems are in general intereſting and well choſen, cannot, I think, be doubted by the judicious reader; but ſtill it muſt be confeſſed, that the detail is occaſionally heavy, flat, and inſipid. The imagery and metaphors are frequently very common-place, and it is poſſible to labour through ſeveral ſtanzas without finding any ſtriking beauty, when the attention of the reader is kept alive by the ſubject alone. Many defects of ſtyle, and many paſſages of rant and bombaſt are concealed or excuſed by the appearance of antiquity; and where the harmony of the verſe (which indeed is not often the caſe) is, perhaps, radically deficient, we are inclined to attribute it to a different mode of accenting, or to our ignorance of the ancient pronunciation.

The piece of moſt conſpicuous merit in the collection, is Ella, a Tragical Interlude, which is a complete and well-written tragedy. The plot is both intereſting and full of variety, though the dialogue is in ſome places tedious. The character of Celmonde reminds us of Glenalvon in Douglas, but it is better drawn: His ſoliloquy is beautiful and characteriſtic [*DD*]. The firſt chorus, or "Mynſtrelles Songe" in this piece, is a perfect paſtoral. It abounds in natural and tender ſentiments, and appoſite imagery, and the fertility of the author's genius is diſplayed in this little ballad; ſince ſhort as it is, it contains a complete plot or fable [*EE*].

There

[*DD*] *His ſoliloquy is beautiful and characteriſtic.*]

CELMONDE.

Hope, hallie ſuſter, ſweepeynge thro' the ſkie,
In crowne of goulde, and robe of lillie whyte,
Whyche farre abrode ynne gentle ayre doe flie,
Meetynge from diſtaunce the enjoyous ſyghte,
Albeytte efte thou takeſt thie hie flyghte
Hecket [1] ynne a myſte, and wyth thyne eyne yblente,
Nowe comeſt thou to mee wythe ſtarrie lyghte;
Ontoe thie veſte the rodde ſonne ys adente [2];
The Sommer tyde, the month of Maie appere,
Depycte wythe ſkylledd honde upponn thie wyde aumere.

I from a nete of hopelen am adawed,
Awhaped [3] atte the fetyveneſs of daie;
Ælla, bie nete moe than hys myndbruche awed,
Is gone, and I moſte followe, toe the fraie.
Celmonde canne ne'er from anie byker ſtaie.
Dothe warre begynne? there's Clemonde yn the place.
Botte whanne the warre ys donne, I'll haſte awaie.
The reſte from nethe tymes maſque muſt ſhew yttes face.
I ſee onnombered joies arounde mee ryſe;
Blake [4] ſtondethe future doome, and joie dothe mee alyſe.

O honnoure, honnoure, whatt ys bie thee hanne?
Hailie the robber and the bordelyer,
Who kens ne thee, or ys to thee beſtanne,
And nothynge does thie myckle gaſtneſs fere.
Faynge woulde I from mie boſomme all thee tare.
Thou there dyſperpelleſt [5] thie levynne-bronde;
Whyleſt mie ſoulgh's forwyned, thou art the gare;
Sleene ys mie comforte bie thie ferie honde;
As ſomme talle hylle, whann wynds doe ſhake the ground,
Itte kerveth all abroade, bie braſteynge hyltren wounde.

Honnoure, whatt bee ytte? tys a ſhadowes ſhade,
A thynge of wychencref, an idle dreme;
On of the fonnis whych the clerche have made
Menne wydhoute ſprytes, and wommen for to fleme;
Knyghtes, who efte kenne the loude dynne of the beme,
Schulde be forgarde to ſyke enfeeblynge waies,
Make everych acte, alyche theyr ſoules, be breme,
And for theyre chyvalrie alleyne have prayſe.
O thou, whatteer thie name,
Or Zabalus or Queed,
Comme, ſteel mie ſable ſpryte,
For fremde [6] and dolefulle dede.

[*EE*] *It contains a complete plot or fable.*]

MANNE.

Tourne thee to thie Shepſterr [1] ſwayne;
Bryghte ſonne has ne droncke the dewe
From the floures of yellowe hue;
Tourne thee, Alyce, backe agayne.

WOMANNE.

No, beſtoikerre [2], I wylle go,
Softlie tryppynge o'ere the mees [3],
Lyche the ſylver-footed doe,
Seekynge ſhelterr yn grene trees.

[1] Wrapped cloſely, covered.
[2] Faſtened.
[3] Aſtoniſh'd.
[4] Naked.
[5] Scattereſt.
[6] Strange.
[1] Shepherd
[2] Deceiver
[3] Meadows.

There are extant two parts, or rather two different copies of the Battle of Haſtings. Theſe appear to have been higher in the eſtimation of Chatterton, as well as of Dr. Milles, than moſt of the other productions of Rowley. When Chatterton brought the firſt part to Mr. Barrett, being greatly preſſed to produce the poem in the original hand-writing, he at laſt ſaid, that he had written this poem himſelf for a friend; but that he had another, the copy of an original by Rowley: and being then deſired to produce that poem, he brought, after ſome time, to Mr. Barrett, the poem which is marked in Mr. Tyrwhit's and Dr. Milles's editions, as No. 2 *.

(*) Introd. Account prefixed to Rowley's poems, p. 21.

The firſt of theſe poems I cannot help claſſing among the moſt inferior of Rowley's. The mere detail of violence and carnage, with nothing to intereſt curioſity, or engage the more tender paſſions, can be pleaſing to few readers. There is not a ſingle epiſode to enliven the tedious narrative, and but few of the beauties of poetry to relieve the mind from the diſguſting ſubject.

The ſecond part is far ſuperior. There is more of poetical deſcription in it, more of nature, more of character. The imagery is more animated, the incidents more varied. The character of Tancarville is well drawn, and the ſpirit of candour and humanity which pervades it, is perhaps unparalleled in any writer before the age of Shakeſpeare. The whole epiſode of Gyrtha is well conducted, and the altercation between him and his brother Harold, is intereſting. But the deſcription of morning [*FF*], and that of Saliſbury plain [*GG*], would be alone ſufficient to reſcue the whole poem from oblivion, and

MANNE.

See the moſs-growne daiſey'd banke,
Pereynge ynne the ſtreme belowe:
Here we'lie ſytte, yn dewie danke;
Tourne thee, Alyce, do notte goe.

WOMANNE.

I've hearde erſte mie grandame ſaie,
Yonge damoyſelles ſchulde ne bee,
Inne the ſwotie moonthe of Maie,
Wythe yonge menne bie the grene wode tree.

MANNE.

Sytte thee, Alyse, ſytte and harke,
Howe the ouzle [4] chauntes hys noate,
The chelandree [5], greie morn larke,
Chauntynge from theyre lyttel throate;

4 The blackbird.
5 Goldfinch.

WOMANNE.

I heare them from eche grene wode tree,
Chauntynge owte ſo blatauntlie [6],
Tellynge lecturnyes [7] to mee,
Myſcheeſe ys whanne you are nygh.

6 Loudly.
7 Lectures.

MANNE.

See alonge the mees ſo grene
Pied daiſies, kynge-coppes ſwote;
Alle wee ſee, bie non bee ſcene,
Nete botte ſhepe ſettes here a fote.

WOMANNE.

Shepſter ſwayne, you tare mie gratche [8].
Oute uponne ye! lette me goe.
Leave mee ſwythe, or I'lle alatche.
Robynne, thys youre dame ſhall knowe.

8 Apparel.

MANNE.

See! the crokynge brionie
Round the popler twyſte hys ſpraie;
Round the oake the greene ivie
Florryſchethe and lyveth aie.

Lette us ſeate us bie thys tree,
Laughe, and ſynge to lovynge ayres;
Comme, and doe notte coyen bee;
Nature made all thynges bie payres.

Drooried cattes wylle after kynde;
Gentle doves wylle kyſs and coe:

WOMANNE.

Botte manne, hee moſte bee ywrynde,
Tylle ſyr preeſte make on of two.
Tempe mee ne to the foule thynge;
I wylle no mannes lemanne be;
Tyll ſyr preeſte hys ſonge doethe ſynge,
Thou ſhalt neere fynde aught of mee.

MANNE.

Bie oure ladie her yborne,
To-morrowe, ſoone as ytte ys daie,
I'lle make thee wyfe, ne bee forſworne,
So tyde me lyfe or dethe for aie.

WOMANNE.

Whatt dothe lette, botte thatte nowe
Wee attenes [9], thos honde yn honde,
Unto diviniſtre [10] goe,
And bee lyncked yn wedlocke bonde?

9 At once.
10 A divine.

MANNE.

I agree, and thus I plyghte
Honde, and harte, and all that's mync;
Good ſyr Rogerr, do us ryghte,
Make us one, at Cothbertes ſhryne.

BOTHE.

We wylle ynn a bordelle [11] lyve,
Hailie, thoughe of no eſtate;
Everyche clocke moe love ſhall gyve;
Wee ynn godeneſſe wylle bee greate.

11 A cottage.

[*FF*] *The deſcription of morning.*]

And now the greie-eyd morne with vi'lets dreſt,
Shakyng the dewdrops on the flourie meedes,
Fled with her roſie radiance to the Weſt:
Forth from the Eaſterne gatte the fyerie ſteedes
Of the bright ſunne awaytynge ſpirits leedes:
The ſunne, in fierie pompe enthrond on hie,
Swyfter than thoughte alonge hys jernie gledes,
And ſcatters nyghtes remaynes from oute the ſkie:
He ſawe the armies make for bloudie fraie,
And ſtopt his driving ſteeds, and hid his lyghtſome raye.

[*GG*] *And that of Saliſbury Plain.*]

Where fruytleſs heathes and meadows cladde in greie,
Save where derne hawthornes reare theyr humble heade,
The hungrie traveller upon his waie
Sees a huge deſarte all arounde hym ſpredde,
The diſtaunte citie ſcantlie to be ſpedde,
The curlynge force of ſmoke he ſees in vayne,
'Tis too far diſtaunte, and hys onlie bedde
Iwimpled in hys cloke ys on the playne,
Whylſte rattlynge thonder forrey oer his hedde,
And raines come down to wette hys harde uncouthlie bedde.

A wondrous pyle of rugged mountaynes ſtandes,
Placd on eche other in a dreare arraie,
It ne could be the worke of human handes,
It ne was reared up bie menne of claie.
Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To the falſe god whom they did Tauran name,
Dightynge hys altarre with greete fyres in Maie,
Roaſtynge their vyctualle round aboute the flame,
'Twas here that Hengyſt did the Brytons ſlee,
As they were mette in council for to bee.

to

to entitle it to a place upon a claſſic ſhelf. The utmoſt efforts of the author, however, cannot always impart intereſt or variety to the dull catalogue of names, which have ceaſed to be remembered, and the unvaried recital of wounds and deaths. But Homer himſelf nods when engaged upon a topic ſo unfavourable to genius.

The Briſtowe Tragedy, or the Deathe of Syr Charles Bawdin, has little but its pathetic ſimplicity to recommend it. There is nothing ingenious in the plot, or ſtriking in the execution; and it only ranks upon a par with a number of tragic ballads, both ancient and modern, in the ſame ſtyle.

The eclogues are to be accounted ſome of the moſt perfect ſpecimens among the poems of Rowley. Indeed, I am not acquainted with any paſtorals ſuperior to them, either ancient or modern. The firſt of them bears a remote reſemblance to the firſt eclogue of Virgil; and contains a beautiful and pathetic picture of the ſtate of England, during the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. The thoughts and images are all truly paſtoral; and it is impoſſible to read it, without experiencing thoſe lively, yet melancholy feelings, which a true delineation of nature alone can inſpire. I cannot help feeling an irreſiſtable inclination to preſent the reader with two ſtanzas, which have ever appeared to me particularly beautiful.

R A U F E.

Saie to mee nete; I kenne thie woe in myne;
O! I've a tale that Sabalus [1] mote [2] telle.
Swote [3] flouretts, mantled meedows, foreſtes dygne [4];
Gravots [5] far-kend [6] arounde the Errmiets 7 cell;
The ſwote ribible [8] dynning [9] yn the dell;
The joyous daunceynge ynn the hoaſtrie [10] courte;
Eke [11] the highe ſonge and everych joie farewell,
Farewell the verie ſhade of fayre dyſporte [12]:
Impeſtering [13] trobble onn mie heade doe comme,
Ne on kynde Seyncte to warde [14] the aye [15] encreaſynge dome.

1 The Devil.
2 Might.
3 Sweet.
4 Good, neat, genteel.
5 Groves, ſometimes uſed for a coppice.
6 Far-ſeen.
7 Hermit.
8 Violin.
9 Sounding.
10 Inn, or public houſe.
11 Alſo.
12 Pleaſure.
13 Annoying.
14 To keep off.
15 Ever, always.

R O B E R T E.

Oh! I coulde waile mie kynge-coppe-decked mees [16],
Mie ſpreedynge flockes of ſhepe of lillie white,
Mie tendre applynges [17], and embodyde [18] trees,
Mie Parker's Grange [19], far ſpreedynge to the ſyghte,
Mie cuyen [20] kyne [21], mie bullockes ſtringe [22] yn fyghte.
Mie gorne [23] emblaunched [24] with the comfreie [25] plante,
Mie floure [26] Seyncte Marie ſhotteyng wyth the lyghte,
Mie ſtore of all the bleſſynges Heaven can grant.
I amm dureſſed [27] unto ſorrowes blowe,
Ihanten'd [28] to the peyne, will lette ne ſalte teare flowe.

16 Meadows.
17 Grafted trees.
18 Thick, ſtout.
19 Liberty of paſture given to the Parker.
20 Tender.
21 Cows.
22 Strong.
23 Garden.
24 Whitened.
25 Cumfrey, a favourite diſh at that time.
26 Marygold.
27 Hardened.
28 Accuſtomed.

The ſecond eclogue is an eulogium on the actions of Richard I. in the Holy-land, which will be read with additional pleaſure by thoſe who have ſeen the ſhort but ſpirited ſketch of theſe wars in Mr. Gibbon's laſt volumes. The poem is ſuppoſed to be ſung by a young ſhepherd, whoſe father is abſent on the Holy war: and the Epode, or burthen, is happily imagined:

"Sprytes of the bleſt, and every ſeyncte ydedde,
"Pour out your pleaſaunce on my fadre's hedde."

Before he has concluded his ſong, he is cheered by the ſight of the veſſel in which his father returns victorious.

The third paſtoral is chiefly to be admired for its excellent morality. It is, however, enlivened by a variety of appropriate imagery, and many of the ornaments of true poetry.

The laſt of theſe paſtorals, called Elinoure and Juga, is one of the fineſt pathetic tales I have ever read. The complaint of two young females lamenting their lovers ſlain in the wars of York and Lancaſter, was one of the happieſt ſubjects that could be choſen for a tragic paſtoral. Two ſtanzas of this poem, will, I flatter myſelf, amply juſtify this opinion. Part of the former has been ſuppoſed, by the Anti-Rowleians, to be an imitation of a ſtanza in Mr. Gray's elegy,

"The breezy call of incenſe breathing morn, &c."

E L I N O U R E.

No moe the miſkynette [1] ſhall wake the morne,
The minſtrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No moe the amblynge palfrie and the horne
Shall from the leſſel [2] rouze the foxe awaie;
I'll ſeke the foreſte alle the lyve-longe daie;
Alle nete amenge the gravde chyrche [3] glebe will goe,
And to the paſſante Spryghtes lecture [4] mie tale of woe.

1 A ſmall bagpipe.
2 In a confined ſenſe, a buſh or hedge, though ſometimes uſed as a foreſt.
3 Church-yard.
4 Relate.

JUGA.

JUGA.

Whan mokie [5] cloudis do hange upon the leme
Of leden [6] Moon, ynn fylver mantels dyghte;
The tryppeynge Faeries weve the golden dreme
Of Selyneſs [7], whyche flyethe wythe the nyghte;
Thenne (botte the Seynctes forbydde!) gif to a ſpryte
Syrr Rychardes forme ys lyped, I'll holde dyſtraughte
Hys bledeynge claie-colde corſe, and die eche daie ynn thoughte.

5 Black.
6 Decreaſing.
7 Happineſs.

The ballad of Charity is an imitation of the moſt beautiful and affecting of our Saviour's parables, the good Samaritan.—The poetical deſcriptions are truly pictureſque. We feel the horror of the dark, cold night; we ſee "the big drops fall," and the "full flocks driving o'er the plain." "The welkin opens, and the yellow light'ning flies." "The thunder's rattling ſound moves ſlowly on, and ſwelling, burſts into a violent craſh; ſhakes the high ſpire," &c. If Chatterton were really the author of this poem, he probably alluded to his own deſerted ſituation, ſince, it is ſaid, he gave it to the publiſher of the Town and Country Magazine, only a month before his death:

"Haſte to thie church-glebe houſe [1] aſhrewed [2] manne!
"Haſte to thie kiſte [3], thie only dortouſe [4] bedde.
"Cale as the claie, whiche will gre on thie hedde,
"Is charitie and love aminge [5] highe elves;
"Knights and barons live for pleaſure and themſelves."

1 The *grave*.
2 *Unfortunate*.
3 *Coffin*.
4 *A ſleeping room*.
5 *Among*.

The leſſer pieces in this collection are not without merit. There is much elegant ſatire in the two epiſtles to Canynge prefixed to Ella [*HH*]; and ſome ſtrokes of pleaſantry in the "Storie of Canynge."

As a complete ſpecimen of this author's abilities in Lyric compoſition, it is only neceſſary to cite the incomparable Ode or Chorus in Goddwyn, a tragedy, which he has left imperfect.

CHORUS, &c.

When Freedome, dreſte yn blodde-ſteyned veſte,
To everie knyghte her warre-ſonge ſunge,
Uponne her hedde wylde wedes were ſpredde;
A gorie anlace bye her honge.
She daunced onne the heathe;
She hearde the voice of deathe;

[*HH*] *In the two Epiſtles to Canynge prefixed to Ella.*]

I have ſelected the firſt of theſe epiſtles as a ſpecimen of the ſatiric powers of Rowley.

'Tys ſonge bie mynſtrelles, thatte yn auntyent tym,
Whan Reaſonn hylt [1] herſelfe in cloudes of nyghte,
The preeſte delyvered alle the lege [2] yn rhym;
Lyche peynćted [3] tyltynge ſpeares to pleaſe the ſyghte,
The whyche yn yttes felle uſe doe make moke [4] dere [5],
Syke dyd theire auncyante lee deftlie [6] delyghte the eare.

Perchaunce yn Vyrtues gare [7] rhym mote bee thenne,
Butte efte [8] nowe flyeth to the odher ſyde;
In hallie [9] preeſte apperes the ribaudes [10] penne,
Inne lithe [11] moncke apperes the barronnes pryde:
But rhym wythe ſomme, as nedere [12] widhout teethe,
Make pleaſaunce to the ſenſe, botte maie do lyttel ſcathe [13].

Syr Johne, a knyghte, who hath a barne of lore [14],
Kenns [15] Latyn att fyrſt ſyghte from Frenche or Greke.
Pyghethe [16] hys knowlachynge [17] ten yeres or more,
To rynge upon the Latynne worde to ſpeke.
Whoever ſpekethe Englyſch ys deſpyſed,
The Englyſch hym to pleaſe moſte fyrſte be latynized.

Vevyan, a moncke, good a requiem [18] ſynges;
Can preache ſo wele, eche hynde [19] hys meneynge knowes;
Albeytte theſe gode guyfts awaie he flynges,
Beeynge as badde yn vearſe as goode yn proſe.
Hee ſynges of ſeynctes who dyed for yer Godde,
Everych wynter nyghte afreſche he ſheddes theyr blodde.

1 Hid, concealed.
2 Law.
3 Painted.
4 Much.
5 Hurt, damage.
6 Sweetly.
7 Cauſe.
8 Oft.
9 Holy.
10 Rake, lewd perſon.
11 Humble.
12 Adder.
13 Hurt, damage.
14 Learning.
15 Knows.
16 Plucks or tortures.
17 Knowledge.
18 A ſervice uſed over the dead.
19 Peaſant.

To maydens, huſwyfes, and unlored [20] dames,
Hee redes hys tales of merryment & woe.
Loughe [21] loudie dynneth [22] from the dolte [23] adrames [24];
He ſwelles on laudes of fooles, tho' kennes [25] hem foe.
Sommetyme at tragedie theie laughe and ſynge,
At merrie yaped [26] fage [27] ſomme hard-drayned water brynge.

Yette Vevyan ys ne foole, beyinde [28] hys lynes.
Geofroie makes vearſe, as handycrafts theyr ware;
Wordes wythoute ſenſe fulle groffyngelye [29] he twynes,
Cotteynge hys ſtorie off as wythe a ſheere;
Waytes monthes on nothynge, & hys ſtorie donne,
Ne moe you from ytte kenn, than gyf [30] you neere begonne.

Enowe of odhers; of mieſelfe to write,
Requyrynge whatt I doe notte nowe poſſeſs,
To you I leave the taſke; I kenne your myghte
Wyll make mie faultes, mie meynte [31] of faultes, be leſs.
Ælla wythe thys I ſende, and hope that you
Wylle from ytte caſte awaie, whatte lynes maie be untrue.

Playes made from hallie [32] tales I holde unmeete;
Lætte ſomme greate ſtorie of a manne be ſonge;
Whanne, as a manne, we Godde and Jeſus treate,
In mie pore mynde, we doe the Godhedde wronge.
Botte lette ne wordes, whyche [33] droorie mote ne heare,
Bee placed yn the ſame. Adieu untyll anere [34].

20 Unlearned.
21 Laugh.
22 Sounds.
23 Fooliſh.
24 Churls.
25 Knows.
26 Laughable.
27 Tale, jeſt.
28 Beyond.
29 Fooliſhly.
30 If.
31 Many.
32 Holy.
33 Strange perverſion of words. *Droeris* in its ancient ſignification ſtood for *modeſty*.
34 Another.

THOMAS ROWLEIE.

Pale-eyned affryghte, hys harte of ſylver hue,
In vayne aſſayled [1] her boſomme to acale [2];
She hearde onflemed [3] the ſhriekinge voice of woe,
And ſadneſſe ynne the owlette ſhake the dale.
She ſhooke the burled [4] ſpeere,
On hie ſhe jeſte [5] her ſheelde,
Her foemen [6] all appere,
And flizze [7] alonge the-feelde.
Power, wythe his heafod [8] ſtraught [9] ynto the ſkyes,
Hys ſpeere a ſonne-beame, and his ſheelde a ſtarre,
Alyche [10] twaie [11] brendeynge [12] gronfyres [13] rolls hys eyes,
Chaftes [14] with hys yronne-feete and ſoundes to war.
She ſyttes upon a rocke,
She bendes before hys ſpeere,
She ryſes from the ſhocke,
Wielding her owne in ayre.
Harde as the thonder dothe ſhe drive ytt on,
Wytte ſcilly [15] wympled [16] gies [17] ytte to his crowne,
Hys longe ſharpe ſpere, his ſpreddynge ſheelde is gon,
He falles, and fallynge rolleth thouſandes down.
War, gore-faced war, bie envie burld [18], ariſt [19],
Hys feerie heaulme [20] noddynge to the ayre,
Tenne bloddie arrowes ynne hys ſtreynynge fyſte—
* * * * * * * *

1 Endeavoured.
2 Freeze.
3 Undiſmayed.
4 Armed, pointed.
5 Hoiſted on high, raiſed.
6 Foes, enemies.
7 Fly.
8 Head.
9 Stretched.
10 Like.
11 Two.
12 Flaming.
13 Meteors?
14 Beats, ſtamps.
15 Cloſely.
16 Mantled, covered.
17 Guides.
18 Armed.
19 Aroſe.
20 Helmet.

The poems of Rowley had not been long made public before their authenticity underwent a ſevere ſcrutiny; and a number of Gentlemen, converſant in antiquities, declared, that they could not be the productions of the fifteenth century, and openly pronounced them the forgeries of Chatterton. Their authenticity was defended by other perſons of no inconſiderable note in the literary world. The controverſy ſoon became voluminous; and the reader will not be inclined to conſider it as unimportant, when on one ſide the names of Walpole, Tyrwhitt, Warton [*II*], Croft, and Malone, are mentioned; and on the other, thoſe of Milles and Bryant; and I think I may venture to add, that of Mr. Matthias, though his candour and modeſty almoſt exempt him from being conſidered as a partiſan.

I ſhall endeavour to exhibit a ſhort ſketch of the arguments on both ſides of the queſtion, and ſhall leave my readers to form their own concluſions.

The evidence on this ſubject naturally divides itſelf into two branches, external and internal. Of the former, there is little ſatisfactory to be obtained; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the bulk of the external evidence is rather againſt that party which denies the authenticity of the poems. There are, however, a few facts on that ſide of the queſtion which are of too much conſequence to be diſregarded.

Arguments against the Authenticity of Rowley's Poems.

External Evidence.

I. The firſt ſerious objection which occurs againſt the authenticity of the poems, is, that Chatterton never could be prevailed upon to produce more than four of the originals, and theſe extremely ſhort, the whole not containing more than one hundred and twenty four verſes (*t*). Had ſuch a treaſure of ancient poetry fallen into the hands of a young and ingenuous perſon, would he, it is ſaid, have cautiouſly produced them to the world one by one? Would he not rather have been proud of his good fortune? Would not the communicativeneſs of youth have induced him to blaze the diſcovery abroad, and to call every lover of poetry and antiquity, to a participation of the pleaſure? Would not the hope and offers of reward at leaſt have prevented his deſtroying what, if preſerved, would certainly be productive of profit, but the deſtruction of which could anſwer no purpoſe whatever (*u*)?

(*t*) Tyrwhitt's Vindication, p. 133.

(*u*) An examination, &c. p. 9. Tyrwhitt's Vindication, p. 155. See alſo ſome excellent remarks to the ſame purpoſe, by the late Mr. Badcock, Monthly Review for May, 1782.

II. The deficiency of proof in favour of Rowley, is ſtrongly aided by the very probable proofs in favour of Chatterton. His abilities were in every reſpect calculated for ſuch a deception. He had been in the habit of writing verſes from his earlieſt youth, and produced ſome excellent poetry. He was known to have been converſant with our old Engliſh Poets and Hiſtorians, particularly Chaucer. His fondneſs for heraldry, intro-

[*II*] *The names of —— Tyrwhitt, Warton.*] I have been well informed that both Mr. Warton and Tyrwhitt were formerly of ſentiments directly oppoſite to thoſe which they profeſs in their publications: if the poems therefore be forgeries of Chatterton, theſe Gentlemen were at leaſt among the firſt on whom he impoſed.

duced many books of antiquities to his notice; and even his profeſſion diſpoſed him to theſe ſtudies, and enabled him with facility to imitate ancient writings. In *the Chriſtmas games*, which are acknowledged to be his own, there is much of that peculiar learning in Britiſh antiquities, which was neceſſary to lay the foundation of Rowley's poems; and in his Eſſay on Sculpture, there is much of the ſame general information with which thoſe compoſitions abound [*KK*]. The tranſport and delight, which Chatterton always diſcovered on reading the poems to Mr. Smith, his ſiſter, and his different friends, could not, it is ſaid, have reſulted from the mere pleaſure of a diſcovery. It was the ſecret, but ardent feeling of his own abilities, and the conſciouſneſs that the praiſes which were beſtowed upon them were all his own, which filled him with exultation, and produced thoſe ſtrong emotions which even his habitual reſerve on this ſubject was unable to conceal (*w*).

(*w*) Monthly Review for March 1782.

III. The declaration of Chatterton to Mr. Barrett, concerning the firſt part of the Battle of Haſtings, which he confeſſed *he had written himſelf*, is a preſumption againſt the reſt. He was then taken by ſurprize, but at other times preſerved a degree of conſiſtency in his falſehood.

IV. Mr. Ruddall, an intimate acquaintance of Chatterton, declared to Mr. Croft, that he ſaw him (Chatterton) diſguiſe ſeveral pieces of parchment with the appearances of age, and that Chatterton told him, that the parchment which Mr. Ruddall had aſſiſted him in blacking and diſguiſing, was the very parchment he had ſent to the printer's containing "the account of the Fryers paſſing the old bridge [*LL*].

V. The

[*KK*] *The ſame general information with which thoſe compoſitions abound.*] In the ſupplement to the works of Chatterton, (printed for Becket, 1784,) there is inſerted a piece which has been already referred to, called Chatterton's will. This appears to have been written a few days before he left Briſtol to go to London; when in conſequence, as it ſhould ſeem, of his being refuſed a ſmall ſum of money by a Gentleman, whom he had occaſionally complimented in his poems, he had taken a reſolution of deſtroying himſelf the next day. What prevented him from carrying this deſign at that time into execution does not appear; but the whole writing on this occaſion is worth attention, as it throws much light on his real character, his acquaintance with old Engliſh writers, and his capability of underſtanding and imitating old French and Latin inſcriptions, not indeed gramatically, but ſufficiently to anſwer the purpoſes to which he often applied this knowledge. From this writing it alſo appears that he would not allow King David to have been a holy man, from the ſtrains of piety and devotion in his pſalms, becauſe a *great genius can effect any thing*; that is, *aſſume* any *character* and *mode* of *writing* he pleaſes. This is an anſwer from Chatterton himſelf, to one argument, and a very powerful one, in ſupport of the authenticity of Rowley's poems. In that part of the will addreſſed to Mr. George Catcott, Chatterton mentions Rowley's poems, but in ſo guarded a manner, that it is not eaſy to draw any certain information for or againſt their authenticity; though the parties on both ſides have attempted it. The addreſs to Mr. Barrett does no leſs credit to his own feelings, than to that Gentleman's treatment of him; and the apology that follows to the two Mr. Catcotts, for ſome effuſions of his ſatire upon them, is the beſt recompence he then had in his power to make to thoſe Gentlemen, from whom he had experienced much civility and kindneſs. O.

[*LL*] *The very parchment he had ſent to the Printer's, containing "the account of the Fryers paſſing the old bridge."*

"To George Steevens, Eſq; Hampſtead Heath.

"Dear Sir,

"It gives me pleaſure that Love and Madness, which I put together in a few idle hours, as much for the ſake of doing juſtice to poor Chatterton as of blunting the edge of Hackman's ſhocking example, has ſo well anſwered the former purpoſe,

"——— Where'er (his bones at reſte)
"His ſpryte to haunte delyghteth beſte,"

Chatterton muſt be now not a little gratified when he looks down upon the ſquabbles he has raiſed on earth. Every ſyllable which I have made Hackman relate of him in Love and Madness is, I firmly believe, religiouſly true. Walmſly was my tenant for the houſe in Shoreditch, where Chatterton lodged with him, at the time he gave me the information contained in my book. Chatterton's letters which I printed, and which are hardly leſs ſingular perhaps than Rowley's poems, are confeſſedly original.

"As I cannot ſpare time from my profeſſion to enter any farther into this diſpute, and as you inform me that Mr. Warton is going to publiſh ſomething, I write this letter, according to your deſire, in anſwer to your's of yeſterday, reſpecting what long ſince I ſaid to you of Mr. Ruddall; and it is perfectly at Mr. Warton's ſervice. But I muſt deſire he will print it exactly as I ſend it you. When I have ſpoken for myſelf, he may draw his own arguments from my communication.

"The left hand column is an extract from Dean Milles's quarto edition of Rowley's, i. e. of Chatterton's poems, p. 436, 7. The right hand column is my account of the ſame buſineſs. In ſome material circumſtances he certainly errs. It were eaſy to ſhew, the Dean has condemned Chatterton, and robbed him of Rowley's poems upon ſlighter evidence of leſs material miſtakes.

"That the Dean ſhould have received *all* his information of this buſineſs from Mr. Ruddall, is certainly impoſſible, becauſe ſome part of his account of it is certainly untrue. The paſſages in the Dean's account, on which I comment, are marked, that they may be printed in Italics.

"A *ſingular* circumſtance relating to the hiſtory of this ceremony ("of paſſing the old bridge") *has been communicated to the Publick within theſe two laſt years*; and candour requires that it ſhould not paſs unnoticed here, eſpecially as the character of the relator leaves no room for ſuſpicion. The objectors to the authenticity of theſe poems may poſſibly triumph in the diſcovery of a fact, which contains, in their opinion,

The circumſtance is ſingular, and I have always thought ſo; but it has never yet, I believe, been *communicated to the Publick*; though I certainly meant it ſhould ſome time or other.

It

V. The Rev. Mr. Catcott, brother to the Mr. Catcott before mentioned, affirmed, that having had a converſation one evening with Chatterton, he traced the very ſubſtance of this

opinion, a deciſive proof that Chatterton was the author of this paper, and (as they would infer) of all the poetry which he produced under Rowley's name; but, *when the circumſtances are attentively examined*, the reader will probably find, that even this fact tends rather to eſtabliſh, than to invalidate, the authenticity of the poems.

Mr. John Ruddall, a native and inhabitant of Briſtol, and formerly apprentice to Mr. Francis Greſley, an Apothecary in that city, was well acquainted with Chatterton, whilſt he was apprentice to Mr. Lambert. During that time, Chatterton frequently called upon him at his maſter's houſe, and, *ſoon after he had printed this acconnt of the Bridge* in the Briſtol paper, *told Mr. Ruddall, that he was the author of it; but, it occurring to him afterwards, that he might be called upon to produce the original, he brought to him one day a piece of Parchment, about the ſize of a half Sheet of Fool's Cap paper. Mr. Ruddall does not think that any thing was written on it when produced by Chatterton, but he ſaw him write ſeveral Words, if not lines, in a Character which Mr. Ruddall did not underſtand, which he ſays was totally unlike Engliſh, and, as he apprehended, was meant by Chatterton, to imitate or repreſent the original from which this Account was printed.* He cannot determine preciſely how much Chatterton wrote in this manner, but ſays, that the time he ſpent in that Viſit did not exceed three quarters of an hour. The Size of the Parchment, however, (even ſuppoſing it to have been filled with writing) will in ſome meaſure aſcertain the quantity which it contained.

He ſays alſo, that *when Chatterton had written on the Parchment, he held it over the Candle, to give it the appearance of antiquity, which changed the Colour of the Ink, and made the Parchment appear black and a little contracted: he never ſaw him make any ſimilar attempt, nor was the Parchment produced afterwards by Chatterton to him, or (as far as he knows) to any other perſon. From a perfect knowledge of Chatterton's abilities, he thinks him to have been incapable of writing the Battle of Haſtings, or any of thoſe Poems produced by him under the name of Rowley,* nor does he remember that Chatterton ever mentioned Rowley's Poems to him, either as original or the contrary; but ſometimes (though very rarely) intimated that he was poſſeſſed of ſome valuable literary productions. *Mr. Ruddall had promiſed Chatterton not to reveal this Secret, and he ſcrupulouſly kept his word till the year* 1779; *but,* ON THE PROSPECT OF PROCURING A GRATUITY OF TEN POUNDS, FOR CHATTERTON'S MOTHER, FROM A GENTLEMAN WHO CAME TO BRISTOL IN ORDER TO COLLECT INFORMATION CONCERNING HER SON'S HISTORY, he thought ſo material a benefit to the Family would fully juſtify him for divulging a ſecret by which no perſon now living could be a ſufferer."

It is not clear to me, that the advocates for Chatterton have occaſion to be apprehenſive, *if the circumſtances ſhould be attentively examined* even according to the Dean's own ſhewing. But mine is ſomewhat different.

My viſit to Briſtol of a few days, in order to collect information concerning Chatterton, was on the 23d of July, 1778. At that time I gave ſomething to the Mother and Siſter for their voluntary communications to me. After I publiſhed LOVE AND MADNESS, I laid a larger plan for their benefit, which I hope ſtill to ſee carried into execution; and I deſtined ſomething more to the family of him whoſe genius I ſo much reſpected, though I well knew his family deemed me their enemy for endeavouring to prove him guilty of Forgery. Prevented from going to Bath, and conſequently from giving what I had ſet apart for this purpoſe, with my own Hands, I gladly ſeized the liberty allowed me by a friend of Mr. Ruddall to beg this favour of him. On the 22d of March, 1781, I wrote to Mr. Ruddall, to whom I was then a perfect ſtranger, making uſe of his Friend's name, and encloſing a Draught to him or his order for ten pounds, requeſting he would give the Money to Chatterton's Mother and Siſter. On the 30th of the ſame Month, Mr. Ruddall called upon me in Lincoln's Inn; appeared, as I imagined, to lean to the ſide of this queſtion which I have ever thought to be the right; and told me, of his own accord, what certainly agrees no more with the Dean's account, than what I have already related agrees with the Dean's ſaying that Mr. Ruddall told this, *in* 1779, *on the proſpect of procuring a gratuity of ten Pounds for Chatterton's Mother, from a Gentleman who came to Briſtol in order to collect information concerning her Son's Hiſtory.*

If my Memory not only fails me now, but failed me the ſame day, and has failed me ever ſince, Mr. Ruddall will correct me. To him I appeal, and by him I muſt ſubmit to be corrected. But, on the 30th of March, 1781, he told me, AS I THINK, that *he aſſiſted Chatterton in diſguiſing* SEVERAL *pieces of Parchment with the appearances of Age, juſt before "the Account of paſſing the Bridge" appeared in Farley's Journal; that, after they had made ſeveral experiments, Chatterton ſaid, "this will do, now I will "black* THE *Parchment;" that, whether he told him at the time what* THE *Parchment was, he could not remember; that he believed he did not ſee Chatterton black* THE *Parchment, but that Chatterton told him, after "the Account of paſſing the Bridge" had appeared in the News-paper, that* THE *Parchment which he had blacked and diſguiſed, after their experiments, was what he had ſent to the Printer containing the* ACCOUNT."

"As this appeared to me the moſt deciſive evidence, I aſked Mr. Ruddall's leave to make uſe of his name about it, which he granted me; and I made a Memorandum of it, the ſame day, at the diſtance of a few hours. But it is ſtill poſſible my Memory might deceive me. In matters more ſerious than the authenticity of Poems, which are certainly exquiſite, whoever wrote them, it is not my way, I hope, to be more poſitive than I ought.

"Mr. Ruddall will excuſe me if I ſay, that I cannot poſſibly allow him, or any one, to determine the authenticity of the Poems, by telling the Dean, or the world, that, "*from a perfect knowledge of Chatterton's*

this converſation, in a piece which that indefatigable genius produced ſometime after as Rowley's.

VI. Chatterton at firſt exhibited the Songe to Elle in his own hand-writing; and afterwards in the parchment, which he gave to Mr. Barrett as the original, there were found ſeveral variations, which it is ſuppoſed he had admitted through forgetfulneſs, or perhaps, as actual corrections, conſidering that the parchment was the copy which probably would be reſorted to as a ſtandard (*x*).

(*x*) Curſory Obſervations on Rowley's Poems, p. 44.

VII. The hand-writing of the fragment containing the ſtorie of W. Canynge, is quite different from the handwriting of that which contains "the accounte of W. Canynge's feaſt;" and neither of them is written in the uſual record hand of the age to which they are attributed. Indeed, in the "accounte of W. Canynge's Feaſte," the Arabian numerals, (63) are ſaid to be perfectly modern, totally different from the figures uſed in the fifteenth century, and exactly ſuch as Chatterton himſelf was accuſtomed to make (*y*).

(*y*) See Milles's Rowley, p. 429, Tyrwhitt's Vindication, p. 135, Monthly Review, by Badcock, for March 1782.

VIII. The very exiſtence of any ſuch perſon as ROWLEY is queſtioned, and upon apparently good ground. He is not ſo much as noticed by William of Worceſtre, who lived nearly about the ſuppoſed time of Rowley, was himſelf of Briſtol, and makes frequent mention of Canynge. "Bale, who lived two hundred years nearer to Rowley than we, and who, by unwearied induſtry, dug a thouſand bad authors out of obſcurity," has never taken the leaſt notice of ſuch a perſon (*z*); nor yet Leland, Pitts, or Tanner, nor indeed any other literary biographer. That no copies of any of his works ſhould exiſt, but thoſe depoſited in Redcliffe church, is alſo an unaccountable circumſtance not eaſy to be ſurmounted (*a*).

(*z*) Walpole's two letters, p. 31.

(*a*) Tyrwhitt's Vindication, p. 119. 121.

IX. Objections are even made to the manner in which the poems are ſaid to have been preſerved. That title deeds relating to the church or even hiſtorical records might be lodged in the muniment room of Redcliffe church, is allowed to be ſufficiently probable; but that *poems* ſhould have been conſigned to a cheſt with ſix keys, kept in a private room in a church with title deeds and conveyances, and that theſe keys ſhould be intruſted, not to the Heads of a College, or any Literary Society, but to Aldermen and Churchwardens, is a ſuppoſition replete with abſurdity; and the improbability is increaſed, when we conſider that theſe very papers paſſed through the hands of perſons of ſome literature, of Chatterton's father in particular, who had a taſte for poetry, and yet without the leaſt diſcovery of their intrinſic value (*b*).

(*b*) See Monthly Review for March 1782.

Internal Evidence.

I. In point of STYLE, COMPOSITION, and SENTIMENT, it is urged by Mr. Warton, and thoſe who adopt the ſame ſide of the controverſy, that the poems of Rowley are infinitely ſuperior to every other production of the century which is ſaid to have produced them. Our ancient poets are minute and particular, they do not deal in abſtraction and general exhibition, but dwell on realities; but the writer of theſe poems adopts ideal terms and artificial modes of explaining a fact, and employs too frequently the aid of metaphor and perſonification (*c*). Our ancient bards abound in unnatural conceptions, ſtrange imaginations, and even the moſt ridiculous inconſiſtencies; but Rowley's Poems preſent us with no incongruous combinations, no mixture of manners, inſtitutions, uſages and characters: they contain no violent or groſs improprieties (*d*). One of the ſtriking characteriſtics of old Engliſh poetry, is a continued tenor of diſparity. In Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, elegant deſcriptions, ornamental images, &c. bear no proportion to pages of languor, mediocrity, proſaic and unintereſting details; but the poems in queſtion are uniformly ſupported, and are throughout poetical and animated (*e*). Poetry, like other ſciences (ſay theſe critics) has its gradual acceſſions and advancements; and the poems in queſtion poſſeſs all that elegance, firmneſs of contexture, ſtrength and brilliancy, which did not appear in our poetry before the middle of the preſent century.

(*c*) Matthias's Eſſay on Evid, p. 64.

(*d*) Warton's Inquiry, p. 21.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 20; Monthly Review, May 1782.

II. There appears in theſe poems none of that LEARNING, which peculiarly marks all the compoſitions of the fifteenth century. Our old poets are perpetually confounding Gothic and claſſical alluſions: Ovid and St. Auſtin are ſometimes cited in the ſame line. A ſtudious eccleſiaſtic of that period would give us a variety of uſeleſs authorities from Ariſtotle, from Boethius, and from the Fathers: and the whole would be interſperſed with alluſions to another kind of reading, viz. the old romances. The round table, with Sir

"*ton's abilities*, HE thinks him to have been incapable of writing the Battle of Haſtings, or any of thoſe "Poems produced by him under the name of Rowley."

"It appears to me that I cannot poſſibly, all this time, have been noticing what does not relate to me, becauſe Chatterton's Siſter, when ſhe thanks me in a Letter dated April the 20th, 1781, for what I ſent her and her Mother, through Mr. Ruddall, ſays, that "the only benefits they have reaped from *the labours* "*of her dear Brother*," are what they have received from me.

"Convey this to Mr. Warton, if you chooſe it, with many thanks for the pleaſure I have received from his Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry; and believe me to be,

"Dear Sir,

"Your obliged friend,

"HERBERT CROFT, jun."

Lincoln's-Inn,
Feb. 5, 1782.

Launcelott, and Sir Triſtram, and Charlemagne, would have been conſtantly cited (*f*). Poems from ſuch an author, would alſo have occaſionally exhibited prolix devotional epiſodes, mingled with texts of Scripture, and addreſſes to the Saints and bleſſed Virgin; inſtead of apoſtrophes to ſuch allegorical divinities as Truth and Content, and others of Pagan original (*g*).

(*f*) Warton's Inquiry, 21. 97. 99.

(*g*) *Ibid.* 93.

As to the hiſtorical alluſions which are really found in theſe poems, it is aſſerted, that they are only ſuch as might be ſupplied by books which are eaſily obtained, ſuch as Hollingſhead and Fox, Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Geofry of Monmouth, and others of a ſimilar nature (*h*); and that general reading has been miſtaken for profound erudition (*i*).

(*h*) Matthias's Eſſay, p. 69. An Examination of Rowley's Poems, p. 24.

(*i*) Warton's Inquiry.

III. Some ANACHRONISMS have alſo been pointed out in the manuſcripts of Rowley. Thus the art of *knitting ſtockings* is alluded to in the Tragedy of Ella [*MM*]; whereas it is a well eſtabliſhed fact, that the art was utterly unknown in the reign of Edward IV. Briſtol is called a city, though it was not ſuch till long after the death of that monarch. Canynge is ſaid to have poſſeſſed a *cabinet* of coins, *drawings*, &c. though theſe words were not then in uſe; and *manuſcripts* are ſpoken of as rarities, at a time when there were ſcarcely any other books: when, in truth, a printed book muſt have been a much greater curioſity (*k*).

(*k*) Curſory Obſervations on Rowley's Poems, p. 22—25.

IV. The METRE of the old Engliſh poetry is ſaid to be totally different from that of Rowley. The ſtanza in which the majority of theſe poems are written, conſiſts of ten lines, the two firſt quatrains of which rhyme alternately, and it cloſes with an alexandrine; no example of which occurs in Chaucer, Lydgate or Gower. Spencer extended the old octavo ſtanza to nine lines, cloſing with an alexandrine, to which Prior added a tenth (*l*). Above all, the extraordinary inſtance of an Engliſh Pindaric in the fifteenth century, is ridiculed by Mr. Warton, which novelty (he ſays) "was reſerved for the capricious ambition of Cowley's muſe." That Rowley ſhould ever have ſeen the original model of this irregular ſtyle of compoſition, is utterly improbable, ſince Pindar was one of the laſt claſſics that emerged at the reſtoration of literature (*m*).

(*l*) Matthias's Eſſay, p. 66.

(*m*) Warton's Inquiry, p. 33, 39.

To this head may be referred the extraordinary *ſmoothneſs of the verſe*, which is utterly unparalleled in any Poet for more than a century after the ſuppoſed age of Rowley (*n*); the accent or cadence, which is always modern; and the perfection and harmony of the rhyme (*o*).

(*n*) Curſory Obſervations, p. 5.

(*o*) Matthias's Eſſay, p. 67.

V. While the compoſition, metre, &c. are wholly modern, the LANGUAGE is aſſerted to be too ancient for the date of the poems. It is not the language of any particular period, but of two entire centuries (*p*). The diction and verſification are at perpetual variance (*q*). The author appears to have borrowed all his ancient language, not from the uſage of common life, but from Speght, Skinner, and other lexicographers, and to have copied their miſtakes (*r*). He has even introduced words which never made a part of the Engliſh language, and which are evidently the comage of fancy, analogy, or miſtake (*s*).

(*p*) Curſory Obſervations, p. 32.

(*q*) Warton's Inquiry, p. 42.

(*r*) Matthias's Eſſay, p. 68. Tyrwhitt's Appendix to Rowley's Poems, and Vindication paſſim.

(*s*) *Ibid.*

VI. Notwithſtanding this affectation of ancient language, it is added, that the tinſel of MODERN PHRASEOLOGY may in too many inſtances be detected. Thus ſuch phraſes as "*Puerilitie*; *before* his *optics*; *blameleſs* tongue; the aucthoure of the *piece*; veſſel wreckt upon the *tragic* ſand; the *proto-ſleyne* man," &c. could not be the language of the fifteenth century. We find alſo a number of modern formularies and combinations, e. g. "Syſters in ſorrow; poygnant arrowes *typp'd* with deſtinie; Oh, Goddes! Now by the Goddes; Ah, what avaulde; Awaie, awaie! (which is the cant of modern tragedy) Oh, thou, whate'er thie name;" with a number of compound epithets (*t*), and other almoſt certain marks of modern compoſition (*u*).

(*t*) Warton's Inquiry, p. 23, 24.

(*u*) Curſory Obſervations, p. 12, 13.

VIII. To theſe may be added ſome paſſages which appear to be imitations of modern poets. Many of thoſe, which have been cited to convict Chatterton of plagiariſm, are, it muſt be confeſſed, ſuch obvious thoughts, that they might be adopted by a perſon who had never ſeen the modern publications in which they appear; but ſuch coincidences as the following are palpable:

[*MM*] *Alluded to in the Tragedy of Ella.*]

As Elynour bie the green leſſelle was ſyttynge,
As from the ſones hete ſhe harried,
She ſayde, as herr whytte hondes whyte hoſen was knyttynge,
Whatte pleaſure ytt ys to be married!

Mie huſbande, Lorde Thomas, a forreſter boulde,
As ever clove pynne, or the baſkette,
Does no cheryſauncys from Elynour houlde,
I have ytte as ſoone as I aſke ytte.

Whann I lyved wyth mie fadre yn merrie Clowd-dell,
Tho' twas at my liefe to mynde ſpynnynge,
I ſtylle wanted ſomethynge, botte whatte ne coulde telle,
Mie lorde fadres harbde haulle han ne wynnynge.

Eche monynge I ryſe, doe I ſette mie maydennes,
Somme to ſpynn, ſomme to curdell, ſomme bleachynge,
Gyff any new entered doe aſke for mie aidens,
Thann ſwythynne you fynde mee a teachynge.

Lorde Walterre, mie fadre, he loved me welle,
And nothynge unto mee was nedeynge,
Botte ſchulde I agen goe to merrie Cloud-dell,
In ſothen twoulde bee wythoute redeynge.

Shee ſayde, and lorde Thomas came over the lea,
As hee the fatte derkynnes wae chacynge,
Shee putte uppe her knyttynge, and to hym wente ſhee;
So wee leave hem bothe kyndelie embracynge.

" O! for a muſe of fire!" Shakeſ. Hen. V.
" O forre a ſpryte al feere!" Ella, l. 729.

" His beard all white as ſnow.
" All flaxen was his pole." Hamlet.

" Black his cryne as the winter nyghte,
" White his rode, as the ſommer ſnowe." Ella, l. 851.

" No, no, he is dead,
" Gone to his death bed." Hamlet.

" Mie love is dedde,
" Gone to his deathe-bedde." Ella, l. 855.

" Unhouſell'd, unanointed, *unaknell'd* Hamlet in Pope's edit.
" Unburled, undelievre, uneſpryte." Goddwyn, l. 27.
" Their ſouls from corpſes *unaknell'd* depart." Bat. of Haſt. part 1, l. 288.

" The grey-gooſe wing that was thereon,
" In his hearts-blood was wet." Chevy-Chace.

" The *grey-gooſe* pynion, that *thereon* was fett,
" Eftſoons wyth ſmokyng *crimſon bloud was wett*." Bat. of Haſt. part 1. l. 200.

With ſuch a force and vehement might
He did his body gore,
The ſpear went tho' the other ſide
A large *cloth-yard* and *more*. Chevy-Chace.

With thilk a force it *did his body gore*,
That in his tender guts it entered,
In veritie, a full *cloth-yard or more*. Bat. of Haſt. (*w*)

(*w*) See Monthly Review.

" Clos'd his eyes in endleſs night." Gray's bard.
" He clos'd his eye in everlaſtynge nyghte." Bat. of Haſt. part 2. l. 278 (*x*).

(*x*) See a letter prefixed to Chatterton's Miſcel. p. 24.

The advocates of Rowley, are, however, not deſtitute of arguments in their ſupport. I ſhall therefore divide the evidence in the ſame manner as in ſtating the former, and endeavour to exhibit as fair a ſummary as poſſible.

ARGUMENTS TO PROVE THAT THE POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO ROWLEY, WERE REALLY WRITTEN BY HIM AND OTHERS IN THE 15th CENTURY.

External Evidence.

I. The firſt grand argument which the advocates on this ſide advance, is the conſtant and uniform aſſertion (except in a ſingle inſtance) of Chatterton himſelf, who is repreſented by his ſiſter, and all his intimates, as a lover of truth from the earlieſt dawn of reaſon. He was alſo moſt inſatiable of fame, and abounded in vanity. He felt himſelf neglected, and many paſſages of his writings are full of invective on this ſubject. Is it probable, that ſuch a perſon ſhould barter the fair character of truth, which he loved, for the ſake of perſiſting in falſehood, which he deteſted? Is it probable, that a perſon of his conſummate vanity, ſhould uniformly give the honour of all his more excellent compoſitions to another, and only inſcribe his name to thoſe which were evidently inferior? But even though a man might be thus careleſs of his reputation during his life time, under the conviction that he might aſſume the honour whenever he pleaſed, would this careleſſneſs continue even at the hour of death? Would he at a moment, when he actually meditated his own deſtruction; in a paper which he inſcribes—" All this wrote between eleven and two o'clock Saturday (Evening), in the utmoſt diſtreſs of mind,"—ſtill repeat with the utmoſt ſolemnity the ſame falſe aſſertion that he had affirmed during the former part of his life? There was at leaſt *no occaſion* to introduce the ſubject at that time, and he might have been ſilent, if he did not chuſe to cloſe his exiſtence with a direct falſehood (*y*). If we conſider the joy which he manifeſted on the diſcovery of the parchments, the avidity with which he read them, he muſt be the moſt complete of diſſemblers, if really they contained no ſuch treaſure as he pretended. To another very extraordinary cir-

(*y*) See Chatterton's Will, Appendix to Miſcellanies. See alſo the learned Mr. Bryant's Obſervations, p. 499. 547.

cumſtance

cumſtance Mr. Catcott has pledged himſelf, which is, that on his firſt acquaintance with Chatterton, the latter mentioned by *name* almoſt all the poems which have ſince appeared in print, and that at a time, when, if he were the author, one-tenth of them could not be written (*z*).

(*z*) *Ibid.* 548.

II. Next to the aſſeverations of Chatterton himſelf, we are bound to pay at leaſt ſome attention to thoſe of all his friends. His mother accurately remembers the whole tranſaction concerning the parchments, as I have already ſtated it. His ſiſter alſo recollects to have ſeen the original parchment of the poem on our Lady's Church, and, ſhe thinks, of the Battle of Haſtings: ſhe remembers to have heard her brother mention frequently the names of Turgot, and of John Stowe, beſides that of Rowley. (*a*) Mr. Smith, who was one of the moſt intimate friends of Chatterton, remembers to have ſeen manuſcripts upon vellum, to the number of a dozen in his poſſeſſion, many of them ornamented with the heads of kings or of popes, and ſome of them as broad as the bottom of a large ſized chair (*b*). He uſed frequently to read to Mr. Smith, ſometimes parts, and ſometimes whole treatiſes from theſe old manuſcripts; and Mr. Smith has very often been preſent while he tranſcribed them at Mr. Lambert's (*c*). Mr. Capel, a Jeweller, at Briſtol, aſſured Mr. Bryant, that he had frequently called upon Chatterton, while at Mr. Lambert's, and had at times found him tranſcribing ancient manuſcripts anſwering to the former deſcription (*d*). Mr. Thiſtlethwaite, in the curious letter already quoted, relates, that during the year 1768, "at divers viſits, he found Chatterton employed in copying Rowley from what he ſtill conſiders as undoubted originals (*e*)." Mr. Carey alſo, another intimate acquaintance, frequently heard Chatterton mention theſe manuſcripts ſoon after he left Colſton's ſchool. Every one of theſe Gentlemen, as well as Mr. Clayfield and Mr. Ruddall, declare unequivocally, from an intimate knowledge of Chatterton's learning and abilities, that they believe him incapable of producing the poems of Rowley.

(*a*) Milles's Preſim. Diſſertation, p. 8.

(*b*) Bryant's Obſervations, p. 528.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 523.

(*e*) Milles's Rowley, p. 457.

III. That a number of manuſcripts were found in Redcliffe church, cannot poſſibly be doubted after the variety of evidence which has been produced to that purpoſe. Perrot, the old Sexton, who ſucceeded Chatterton's great uncle, took Mr. Shiercliffe, a Miniature Painter, of Briſtol, as early as the year 1749, through Redcliffe church; he ſhewed him in the North porch a number of parchments, ſome looſe and ſome tied up, and intimated, "that there were things there, which would one day be better known; and that in proper hands, they might prove a treaſure (*f*)." Many of the manuſcripts in Mr. Barrett's hands bear all the marks of age, and are "ſigned by Rowley himſelf. The characters in each inſtance appear to be ſimilar; and the hand-writing the ſame in all [*NN*]."

(*f*) Bryant's Obſerv. p. 513.

IV. The ſhort time which Chatterton had to produce all theſe poems, is an extraordinary circumſtance. It has been already ſtated, that he continued at Colſton's ſchool from the age of eight till that of fourteen and ſeven months: that he continued each day in ſchool from ſeven or eight o'clock till twelve in the morning, and from one till four or five in the evening, and went to bed at eight. There is alſo reaſon to believe, that he did not diſcover or begin to copy theſe poems, or even to apply himſelf to antiquities, before the age of fifteen. In about the ſpace therefore of two years and a half, he made himſelf maſter of the ancient language of this country; he produced more than two volumes of poetry, which are publiſhed, and about as many compoſitions, in proſe and verſe, as would nearly fill two volumes more. During this time he muſt have read a conſiderable variety of books. He was ſtudying medicine, heraldry, and other ſciences; he was practicing drawing; he copied a large book of precedents; and Mr. Lambert's buſineſs, though not extenſive, muſt have occupied at leaſt ſome part of his attention. Which, therefore, is the eaſier ſuppoſition, ſay the advocates for Rowley, that this almoſt miracle of induſtry or ability was performed by a boy; or that Chatterton really copied the poems from ancient documents [*OO*]?

V. Chatterton

[*NN*] *And the hand writing the ſame in all.*] Mr. Barrett, and he only, has it in his power finally to determine the controverſy concerning Rowley's Poems. Let him produce all the manuſcripts which he obtained from Chatterton, and let them be put into the hands of ſome perſons converſant in old writings, who may poſſibly be able to decide concerning the probable date of the hand-writing. O.

(15) Bryant's Obſerv. p. 548.

[*OO*] *Or that Chatterton really copied the Poems from ancient documents.*] Of theſe old writings, which he is ſuppoſed to have tranſcribed from obſcure and almoſt illegible manuſcripts, (excluſive of his miſcellaneous and political writings,) the poetical alone fills 288 octavo pages in Mr. Tyrwhitt's edition; and perhaps there are others, with a quantity of proſe writings which might fill another ſuch volume. See Milles's edition, p. 438.

Theſe muſt have been tranſcribed by him, either in Mr. Lambert's office, or during the few hours he ſpent at home with his mother in an evening. Neither Mr. Lambert, nor his mother or ſiſter, take upon them to ſay, that they ever ſaw him this way employed. When not engaged in the immediate buſineſs of his profeſſion, he was employed by his maſter to copy forms and precedents, as well to improve him in the law as to keep him employed. Of theſe law forms and precedents, Mr. Lambert has in his poſſeſſion a folio book containing 334 pages, cloſely written by Chatterton; alſo 36 pages in another. In the noting book, 36 notarial acts; and in the letter book, 38 letters copied.

Add to all this his own acknowledged compoſitions, filling 240 pages in the printed copy, and perhaps as many more in manuſcript not yet publiſhed.

The greateſt part of theſe compoſitions, both under Rowley's name and his own, was written before he went to London, in April 1770, he being then

V. Chatterton is ſaid farther to have diſcovered great marks of ignorance on the manuſcripts coming firſt into his poſſeſſion. He read the name *Roulie* inſtead of Rowley, till he was ſet right by Mr. Barrett (*g*). In the acknowledged writings of Chatterton, there are alſo palpable miſtakes, and marks of ignorance in hiſtory, geography, &c. whereas no ſuch appear in the poems of Rowley (*h*). But what is of ſtill greater conſequence, Mr. Bryant has laboured to prove, that in almoſt innumerable inſtances, Chatterton did not underſtand the language of Rowley, but that he has actually miſinterpreted, and ſometimes miſtranſcribed him. Thus in "the Engliſh metamorphoſis," ver. 14.

(g) Remarks on Warton, p. 9.

(h) Bryant's Obſ. p. 477.

"Their myghte is *knopped* ynne the froſte of fere."

Chatterton having recourſe to Chaucer and Skinner, has interpreted to *knop*, to *tie*, or *faſten*; whereas it really means, and the context requires that it ſhould mean, to *nip*. Thus in the Second Battle of Haſtings, 548, deſcribing a ſacrifice:

"Roaſtynge their *vyctualle* round about the flame;"

which Mr. Tyrwhitt himſelf has allowed ought to be *vyctimes*, and has accordingly cancelled the other word. Thus in Ella, v. 678, we find:

"Theyre throngynge corſes ſhall *onlyghte* the ſtarres."

The word *onlyghte*, Chatterton has here ſtrangely applied as meaning to *darken* the ſtars, whereas Mr. Bryant, by recurring to the Saxon, very reaſonably ſuppoſes *onlych* to have been the proper word, and the line will then mean to *be like*, or to equal the ſtars in number. The word *cheriſaunei*, which Chatterton has inſerted in the "Introductionne to Ella," never did really exiſt, and Mr. Bryant ſhews that the original word was certainly *cheriſaunce*: and in the Second Eclogue, Chatterton has explained the word *amenuſed*, by *leſſened*, or *diminiſhed*; whereas the ſame able critic ſhews, that it never had any ſuch meaning, but that it really ſignifies *accurſed* or *abominable*. Theſe and other ſimilar miſtakes (of which Mr. Bryant ſpecifies a great number) he aſſerts, could never have happened, had Chatterton been any more than the mere tranſcriber of theſe extraordinary poems (*).

(*) See Mr. Bryant's Obſervations, paſſim.

VI. With reſpect to the objection, that Rowley is not mentioned by other writers, it is anſwered, that there exiſted ſo little communication among mankind at that time, that Leland, who is a very curious writer, never makes the ſmalleſt mention of Canynge, Lydgate, or Occleve: That William of Worceſtre, does not mention Rowley, becauſe, unleſs hiſtory demands it, writers do not commonly commemorate perſons before their death, and Rowley was apparently alive when William of Worceſtre was at Briſtol. In the regiſter of the Dioceſe of Wells, however, there are two perſons of the name of Thomas Rowley, mentioned as admitted into Holy Orders, one of whom might be the author of the poems (*i*). In anſwer to the objection, why theſe manuſcripts remained ſo long unknown to the world, Mr. Bryant ſays, "We may not be able to account any more for theſe manuſcripts being ſo long neglected, than for thoſe of Heſychius, Phædrus, and Velleius Paterculus having been in the ſame ſituation (*k*):" and with reſpect to the ſecreting of the originals by Chatterton, it is deemed a ſufficient reply, that he might conceive very highly of their value, and therefore did not wiſh to part with them, or he might be apprehenſive that they would be taken from him; and at laſt, in his indignation againſt the world, he probably deſtroyed all of them that remained at the time when he determined upon putting an end to his exiſtence.

(i) Mr. Bryant's Obſ. p. 535-543-544.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 499.

VII. The conceſſions of the adverſaries ought not to paſs unnoticed on this occaſion. Mr. Warton admits, "that ſome poems written by Rowley might have been preſerved in Canynge's cheſt; but if there were any, they were ſo enlarged and improved by Chatterton, as to become entirely new compoſitions (*l*);" and in a ſubſequent publication, he ſays, "I will not deny that Chatterton might diſcover parchments of humble proſe, containing local memoirs and authentic deeds, illuſtrating the hiſtory of Briſtol. He might have diſcovered biographical diaries, or other notices of the lives of Canynge, Iſcham, and Gorges." Theſe conceſſions at leaſt imply ſomething of a doubt on the mind of the Laureat, concerning the exiſtence of ſome important manuſcripts, and ſeem of ſome conſideration in the ſcale of controverſy.

(l) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry.

aged 17 years and five months; and of the former, Rowley's pieces, they were almoſt all exhibited a twelve month earlier, before April 1769.

Now the time taken up in preparing the parchment and imitating the old writing, muſt probably have been greater than the time ſpent in compoſing them. If he was in poſſeſſion of the originals, ſurely he would not have beſtowed all this time and pains in tranſcribing from originals, which he might have parted with to greater advantage; and if he did tranſcribe them, why deſtroy the greateſt part of them, and exhibit only ſcraps and detached lines, for ſuch only appear now to exiſt? O.

Inter-

Internal Evidence in favour of the authenticity of Rowley's Poems.

I. The internal evidence (which we may call poſitive) on this ſide of the queſtion is not very extenſive, and the bulk of it conſiſts in negative arguments, or a refutation of the adverſaries' objections. The moſt material proof is derived from the ALLUSIONS TO FACTS and CUSTOMS, of which there is not much probability, that Chatterton could have a competent knowledge. Thus, if the "Dethe of Sir Charles Bawdin" be ſuppoſed, as Mr. Tyrwhitt himſelf thinks probable, to refer to the execution of Sir Baldwin of Fulford, the fact meets confirmation in all its circumſtances, from a fragment publiſhed by Hearne, and alſo from a parliamentary roll of the eighth of Edward IV. neither of which there is the leaſt probability that Chatterton ever ſaw (*m*). Thus the names which occur in the Battle of Haſtings, may almoſt all be authenticated from the old hiſtorians; but they are ſcattered in ſuch a variety of books, that they could not be extracted without infinite labour, and ſeveral of the books were in all probability not acceſſible by Chatterton.

(*m*) Obſervations on Rowley's Poems, p. 14.

To this head we may refer many particulars concerning Canynge, &c. as related by Chatterton; ſuch as his paying 3000 marks to the king, *pro pace ſua habenda*, &c. which are confirmed in an extraordinary manner by W. of Worceſtre, whoſe book was not made public till 1778, and which it was therefore impoſſible Chatterton could ſee previouſly to the publication of his memoirs. Such is alſo the time of Canynge's entering into Holy Orders, which is confirmed by the Epiſcopal regiſter of Worceſter; and the anecdote of the ſteeple of Redcliffe church being burnt down by lightning in 1446. Of a ſimilar kind is a circumſtance in the orthography of the name *Feſcampe*, (which is the right orthography,) while Holingſhead, the only author acceſſible to Chatterton, has it *Fliſchampe*. The name of Robert Conſul alſo, whom Rowley repreſents as having repaired the caſtle of Briſtol, occurs in Leland, as the proprietor of that Caſtle (*n*).

(*n*) See Bryant's Obſerv. p. 314, 326. 343, &c.

II. With regard to the STYLE, COMPOSITION, and SENTIMENT. If the poems appear ſuperior to the efforts of the firſt ſcholars at the revival of letters; what are they, when conſidered as the productions of an uneducated charity boy, not quite ſeventeen? Thoſe alſo who think that Chatterton could not reduce his genius to the ſtandard of the age of Rowley, ſhould, perhaps, rather wonder why he could never raiſe his own avowed productions to an equal degree of excellence [*PP*]. The poems attributed to Rowley, if his, are as much the work of his infantine years, as his own miſcellaneous poems: indeed, many of the latter were compoſed ſome time after moſt of Rowley's were exhibited to the world. That they ſhould be inferior in every excellence of poetry, is therefore a myſtery not eaſy to be accounted for. Againſt the general propoſition, that poetry like other arts is progreſſive, and never arrived to perfection in an early age; it has been judiciouſly urged, that "Genius is peculiar neither to *age* nor country," but that we have an example of one man (Homer,) who in the very infancy of all arts, without guide or precurſor, "gave to the world a work, which has been the admiration and model of all ſucceeding poets (*o*)." And though it be admitted, that Rowley's poems are pervaded by an uniform ſtrain of excellence and taſte, which does not appear in the other works of his age now extant, yet when we compare any compoſition with another of the ſame or of any prior age, the difference ſubſiſting, will frequently be found not to depend upon *time*, but upon the ſituation, genius and judgment of the reſpective authors (*p*).

(*o*) Matthias's Eſſay, p. 98.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 72.

III. As to METRE, it is ſaid, that in all languages the modes and meaſures of verſe were originally invented and adopted from accidental circumſtances, and agreeably to the taſte of different authors; and that very early in the Engliſh poetry, a great variety of meaſures are known to have prevailed. Such is the octave ſtanza, which is not many removes from the uſual ſtanza of Rowley, the ſeven lined ſtanza, or Rithm Royal, and that of ten lines uſed by Chaucer in one of his ſmaller poems. The argument founded on the ſmoothneſs of the verſe, is attempted to be overturned by Mr. Bryant, who has produced extracts from poems ſtill older than the age of Rowley, which are deficient neither in harmony nor cadence (*q*).

(*q*) Obſervations, p. 425, &c. 552.

IV. The objection founded on the ancient LANGUAGE of Rowley, is anſwered by ſuppoſing that his language was probably provincial (*r*). Several of the words objected to as of Chatterton's coining, have by more profound reſearches been traced in ancient writers. Many words in Rowley's poems cannot be found in thoſe Dictionaries and Gloſſaries, to which Chatterton had acceſs (*s*); and Chatterton's miſtakes in tranſcribing and explaining the old language of Rowley, have already been inſtanced.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 1, to 25.

(*s*) Matthias's Eſſay, p. 77.

V. Many of the pretended IMITATIONS of THE MODERN poets to be found in Rowley, are objected to upon good grounds, as being ideas obvious to Rowley or any man; and as to the others, why may we not ſuppoſe them, "inſertions of Chatterton, either to pleaſe his own ear, or to reſtore ſome parts which were loſt, or in places where the

[*PP*] *To an equal degree of excellence.*] The moſt eſſential difference that ſtrikes me between the Poems of Rowley and Chatterton is, that the former are always built upon ſome conſiſtent intereſting plot, and are more *uniformly* excellent in the execution; the latter are irregular ſallies upon ill-ſelected or trifling ſubjects.

(t) *Ibid.* p. 105. words were difficult to be decyphered (*t*)?" This argument acquires great weight, when the temper and genius of Chatterton is conſidered, and when it is recollected that all parties agree in the probability of many interpolations being made by him; and if this argument be admitted, it will in a great meaſure account for the modern phraſeology which ſo frequently occurs in theſe poems.

In rejoinder to theſe arguments, a few facts have been ſtated by thoſe who ſupport the title of Chatterton. 1ſt. That no writings or cheſt depoſited in Redcliffe church are mentioned in Mr. Canynge's will, which has been carefully inſpected, nor any books except two, called "Liggers cum integra legenda," which he leaves to be uſed occaſionally in the choir by the two Chaplains eſtabliſhed by him (*u*). 2d. To account for Chatterton's extenſive acquaintance with old books out of the common line of reading, it is alledged that the old library at Briſtol was, during his life time, of univerſal acceſs, and Chatterton was actually introduced to it by the Rev. Mr. Catcott (*w*). 3d. Chatterton's account of Canynge, &c. as far as it is countenanced by William of Worceſtre, (that is, as far as reſpects his taking orders and paying a fine to the King) may be found in the epitaph on Maſter Canynge, ſtill remaining to be read by every perſon, both in Latin and Engliſh, in Redcliffe church, which indeed appears to be the authority, that William of Worceſtre himſelf has followed. Chatterton's account alſo of Redcliffe ſteeple, is to be found at the bottom of a print of that church, publiſhed in 1746, by one John Halfpenny, "in which was recounted the ruin of the ſteeple in 1446, by a tempeſt and fire (*x*)." 4th. As to the old vellum or parchment on which Chatterton tranſcribed his fragments, it is obſerved, that "at the bottom of each ſheet of old deeds, (of which there were many in the Briſtol cheſt) there is uſually a blank ſpace of about four or five inches in breadth;" and this exactly agrees with the ſhape and ſize of the largeſt fragment which he has exhibited, viz. Eight and a half inches long, and four and a-half broad (*y*).

(u) Tywrhitt's Vindication, p. 117.

(w) Warton's Inquiry, p. 111.

(x) Tywrhitt's Vindication, p. 113. 212.

(y) Curſory Obſervations, p. 29.

Thus I have exhibited, as faithfully as I was able, an abſtract of the arguments on both ſides of this curious literary queſtion. To the examination I ſat down with a ſceptical mind; nor can I recollect being influenced during the progreſs of the inquiry in a ſingle inſtance, by the authority of names, by the force of ridicule, or the partialities of friendſhip. Some remarks, I believe, I may have added, which are not to be found in other books. In this, however, I am not conſcious of having favoured one party more than the other, but eſteemed it a part of my duty to ſtate the obſervations as they roſe in my mind from a conſideration of the facts. I ſhall not intrude upon my readers any verdict of my own concerning the iſſue of the controverſy; ſince my only intention was to enable them, from a view of the arguments, to form their own concluſions; leaving them ſtill open to the impreſſion of any additional or more ſatisfactory evidence that may hereafter ariſe. I cannot, however, lay aſide my pen without one general reflection. It is impoſſible to peruſe the ſtate of this controverſy, without ſmiling at the folly and vanity of poſthumous fame. The author of theſe poems, whoever he was, certainly never flattered himſelf with the expectation that they would ever excite half the curioſity, or half the admiration which they have excited in the literary world. If they really be the productions of Rowley, one of the firſt, both in order and in merit of our Engliſh Poets, is defrauded of more than half his reputation: if they be the works of Chatterton, they neither ſerved to raiſe him in the opinion of his intimate acquaintance and friends, nor to procure for him the comforts or even the neceſſaries of life. He has deſcended to his grave with a dubious character; and the only praiſe which can be accorded him by the warmeſt of his admirers, is that of an elegant and ingenious impoſtor. For the ſatisfaction of thoſe readers, who may wiſh to review the whole controverſy at large, and for the information of poſterity, I ſubjoin the moſt accurate liſt I have been able to procure of all the publications which have appeared on both ſides [2Q].

G.

Chatterton's

[2Q] *Of the publications which have appeared on both ſides.*

A Liſt of the various Publications upon the Subject of Rowley's Poems, *for* and *againſt* their *Authenticity*.

Editions of Rowley.

Poems, ſuppoſed to have been written at Briſtol by Thomas Rowley, and others, in the Fifteenth Century; the greateſt Part now firſt publiſhed from the moſt authentic Copies, with an engraved Specimen of one of the MS. To which are added, a Preface, an Introductory Account of the ſeveral Pieces, and a Gloſſary. Ed. 8vo. 1777.

N. B. This Edition has been reprinted.

Ditto: with a Commentary, in which the Antiquity of them is conſidered and defended, by Jeremiah Milles, D. D. Dean of Exeter. Ed. 4to. 1782.

The Eighth Section of Mr. Warton's Second Volume of the Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, with the Notes to it.

Remarks on the Eighth Section of Mr. Warton's Second Volume of the Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry. *Payne, Mews-Gate.*

Two Letters by the Hon. Mr. Horace Walpole; printed at Strawberry-hill.—Reprinted, (by his permiſſion) in the Gentleman's Magazines for April, May, June, July, 1782.

Appendix, containing ſome Obſervations upon the Language of the Poems attributed to Rowley, tending to prove, that they were written not by any ancient Author, but entirely by Thomas Chatterton. *Payne, Mews-Gate.*

N. B. This Appendix is *now* generally annexed to the 8vo. Edition of Rowley's Poems.

Obſer-

Chatterton's Letters, ſo often referred to in the courſe of this article, are inſerted below [*RR*].

OBSERVATIONS on the Poems attributed to Rowley, tending to prove, that they were really written by Him and other Ancient Authors. To which are added, Remarks on the Appendix of the Editor (of the 8vo. Ed.) of Rowley's Poems.
Bathurſt, Fleet-Street.

OBSERVATIONS upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley; in which the Authenticity of thoſe Poems is aſcertained. By Jacob Bryant, Eſq.
Payne, Mews Gate, &c.

CURSORY Obſervations on the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, a Prieſt in the fifteenth Century: with ſome Remarks on the Commentaries on theſe Poems, by the Reverend Dr. Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, and Jacob Bryant, Eſq.
Nichols and Walter, Charing-Croſs.

AN ENQUIRY into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, in which the Arguments of the Dean of Exeter and Mr. Bryant are examined. By Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and F. S. A.
Dodſley, Pall-Mall.

STRICTURES upon a Pamphlet entitled, "Curſory Obſervations on the Poems attributed to Rowley, a Prieſt in the Fifteenth Century." With a Poſtſcript on Mr. Thomas Warton's Enquiry into the ſame Subject. By E. B. Greene, Eſq.
Stockdale, Piccadilly.

A VINDICATION of the APPENDIX to the Poems called Rowley's; In Reply to the Anſwers of the Dean of Exeter, Jacob Bryant, Eſq; and a third anonymous Writer; with ſome further obſervations upon thoſe Poems, and an Examination of the Evidence which has been produced in Support of their Authenticity. By Thomas Tyrwhitt.
Payne, Mews Gate.

AN ESSAY on the Evidence, External and Internal, relating to the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley and others, in the Fifteenth Century, containing a general View of the whole Controverſy. By Thomas James Mathias. *Becket, Pall-Mall.*

To which may be added various ſhorter Compoſitions on the Subject (too numerous to ſpecify) inſerted in the different monthly Magazines.

[*RR*] *Are inſerted below.*]

LETTER I.

London, April 26, 1770.

Dear Mother,

HERE I am, ſafe, and in high ſpirits—To give you a journal of my tour would not be unneceſſary. After riding in the baſket to Briſlington, I mounted the top of the coach, and rid eaſy, and agreeably entertained with the converſation of a Quaker *in dreſs*, but little ſo in perſonals and behaviour. This laughing friend, who is a Carver, lamented his having ſent his tools to Worceſter, as otherwiſe he would have accompanied me to London. I left him at Bath; when, finding it rained pretty faſt, I entered an inſide paſſenger to Speenhamland, the halfway ſtage, paying ſeven ſhillings. 'Twas lucky I did ſo, for it ſnowed all night, and on Marlborough Downs the ſnow was near a foot high.

At ſeven in the morning I breakfaſted at Speenhamland, and then mounted the coach-box for the remainder of the day, which was a remarkable fine one.—Honeſt gee-ho complimented me with aſſuring me, that I ſat bolder and tighter than any perſon who ever rid with him.—Dined at Stroud moſt luxuriantly, with a young Gentleman who had ſlept all the preceding night in the machine; and an old mercantile genius, whoſe ſchool-boy ſon had a great deal of wit, as the father thought, in remarking that Windſor was as old as *our Saviour's time*.

Got into London about five o'clock in the evening—called upon Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Fell, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Dodſley. Great encouragement from them; all approved of my deſign;—ſhall ſoon be ſettled.—Call upon Mr. Lambert; ſhew him this, or tell him, if I deſerve a recommendation, he would oblige me to give me one—if I do not, it will be beneath him to take notice of me. Seen all aunts, couſins—all well—and I am welcome. Mr. T. Wenſley is alive, and coming home.—Siſter, grandmother, &c. &c. &c. remember.—I remain,

Your dutiful ſon,

T. Chatterton.

LETTER II.

Shoreditch, London, May 6, 1770.

Dear Mother,

I am ſurpriſed that no letter has been ſent in anſwer to my laſt. I am ſettled, and in ſuch a ſettlement as I would deſire. I get four guineas a month by one Magazine: ſhall engage to write a Hiſtory of England, and other pieces, which will more than double that ſum. Occaſional eſſays for the daily papers would more than ſupport me. What a glorious proſpect! Mr. Wilkes knew me by my writings ſince I firſt correſponded with the Bookſellers here. I ſhall viſit him next week, and by his intereſt will inſure Mrs. Ballance the Trinity-Houſe. He affirmed that what Mr. Fell had of mine could not be the writings of a youth; and expreſſed a deſire to know the author. By the means of another Bookſeller I ſhall be introduced to Townſhend and Sawbridge. I am quite familiar at the Chapter Coffee-houſe, and know all the geniuſes there. A character is now unneceſſary; an author carries his character in his pen. My ſiſter will improve herſelf in drawing. My grandmother is, I hope, well. Briſtol's mercenary walls were never deſtined to hold me—there, I was out of my element; now, I am in it—London! Good God! how ſuperior is London to that deſpicable place Briſtol!—Here is none of your little meanneſſes, none of your mercenary ſecurities, which diſgrace that miſerable hamlet.—Dreſs, which is in Briſtol an eternal fund of ſcandal, is here only introduced as a ſubject of praiſe; if a man dreſſes well, he has taſte; if careleſs, he has his own reaſons for ſo doing, and is prudent. Need I remind you of the contraſt? The poverty of authors is a common obſervation, but not always a true one. No author can be poor who underſtands the arts of Bookſellers—Without this neceſſary knowledge, the greateſt genius may ſtarve; and, with it, the greateſt dunce live in ſplendor. This knowledge I have pretty well dipped into.—The Levant man of war, in which T. Wenſley went out, is at Portſmouth; but no news from him yet.—I lodge in one of Mr. Walmſley's beſt rooms. Let Mr. Cary copy the letters on the other ſide, and give them to the perſons for whom they are deſigned, if not too much labour for him.

I remain, yours, &c.

T. Chatterton.

P. S. I have ſome trifling preſents for my mother, ſiſter Thorne, &c.

Sunday morning.

For Mr. T. CARY.

I have ſent you a taſk. I hope no unpleaſing one. Tell all your acquaintance for the future to read the Freeholder's Magazine. When you have any thing for publication, ſend it to me, and it ſhall moſt certainly appear in ſome periodical compilation. Your laſt piece was, by the ignorance of a corrector, jumbled under the conſiderations in the acknowledgements. But I reſcued it, and inſiſted on its appearance.

Your friend,

T. C.

Direct for me, to be left at the Chapter Coffee-houſe, Pater-noſter-row.

Mr.

Mr. Henry Kator.

If you have not forgot Lady Betty, any Complaint, Rebus, or Enigma, on the dear charmer, directed for me, to be left at the Chapter Coffee-houſe, Pater-noſter-row—ſhall find a place in ſome Magazine, or other; as I am engaged in many.

Your friend,

T. Chatterton.

Mr. William Smith.

When you have any poetry for publication, ſend it to me, to be left at the Chapter Coffee-houſe, Pater-noſter-row, and it ſhall moſt certainly appear.

Your friend,

T. C.

Mrs. Baker.

The ſooner I ſee you the better—ſend me as ſoon as poſſible Rymſdyk's addreſs. (Mr. Cary will leave this at Mr. Flower's, Small-ſtreet.)

Mr. Mason.

Give me a ſhort proſe deſcription of the ſituation of Naſh—and the poetic addition ſhall appear in ſome Magazine. Send me alſo whatever you would have publiſhed, and direct for me, to be left at the Chapter Coffee-houſe, Pater-noſter-row.

Your friend,

T. Chatterton.

Mr. Mat. Mease.

Begging Mr. Meaſe's pardon for making public uſe of his name lately—I hope he will remember me, and tell all his acquaintance to read the Freeholder's Magazine for the future.

T. Chatterton.

Tell——

Mr. Thaire	Mr. Rudhall	Mr. Ward
Mr. Gaſter	Mr. Thomas	Mr. Kalo
Mr. A. Broughton	Mr. Carty	Mr. Smith
Mr. J. Broughton	Mr. Hanmor	&c. &c.
Mr. Williams	Mr. Vaughan	

to read the Freeholder's Magazine.

LETTER III.

King's Bench, for the preſent, May 14, 1770.

Dear Madam,

Don't be ſurprized at the name of the place. I am not here as a priſoner. Matters go on ſwimmingly: Mr. Fell having offended certain perſons, they have ſet his creditors upon him, and he is ſafe in the King's Bench. I have been bettered by this accident: His ſucceſſors in the Freeholder's Magazine, knowing nothing of the matter, will be glad to engage me, on my own terms. Mr. Edmunds has been tried before the Houſe of Lords, ſentenced to pay a fine, and thrown into Newgate. His misfortunes will be to me of no little ſervice. Laſt week, being in the pit of Drury Lane Theatre, I contracted an immediate acquaintance (which you know is no hard taſk to me) with a young Gentleman in Cheapſide; partner in a muſic-ſhop, the greateſt in the city. Hearing I could write, he deſired me to write a few ſongs for him: this I did the ſame night, and conveyed them to him the next morning. Theſe he ſhewed to a Doctor in Muſic, and I am invited to treat with this Doctor, on the footing of a compoſer, for Ranelagh and the Gardens. *Bravo, hey boys, up we go!*—Beſides the advantage of viſiting theſe expenſive and polite places gratis; my vanity will be fed with the ſight of my name in copper-plate, and my ſiſter will receive a bundle of printed ſongs, the words by her brother. Theſe are not all my acquiſitions: a Gentleman who knows me at the Chapter, as an author, would have introduced me as a companion to the young Duke of Northumberland, in his intended general tour. But, alas! I ſpeak no tongue but my own!—But to return once more to a place I am ſickened to write of, Briſtol. Though, as an apprentice, none had greater liberties, yet the thoughts of ſervitude killed me: now I have that for my labour, I always reckoned the firſt of my pleaſures, and have ſtill, my liberty. As to the clearance, I am ever ready to give it; but really I underſtand ſo little of the law, that I believe Mr. Lambert muſt draw it. Mrs. L. brought what you mention. Mrs. Hughes is as well as age will permit her to be, and my couſin does very well.

I will get ſome patterns worth your acceptance; and wiſh you and my ſiſter would improve yourſelves in drawing, as it is here a valuable and never-failing acquiſition.—My box ſhall be attended to; I hope my books are in it—if not, ſend them; and particularly Catcott's Hutchinſonian jargon on the Deluge, and the MS. Gloſſary, compoſed of one ſmall book, annexed to a larger.—My ſiſter will remember me to Miſs Sandford. I have not quite forgot her; though there are ſo many pretty milleners, &c that I have almoſt forgot myſelf.—Carty will think on me: upon inquiry, I find his trade dwindled into nothing here. A man may very nobly ſtarve by it; but he muſt have luck indeed, who can live by it.—Miſs Rumſey, if ſhe comes to London, would do well, as an old acquaintance, to ſend me her addreſs.—London is not Briſtol—We may patrole the town for a day, without raiſing one whiſper, or nod of ſcandal.—If ſhe refuſes, the curſe of all antiquated virgins light on her: may ſhe be refuſed, when ſhe ſhall requeſt! Miſs Rumſey will tell Miſs Baker, and Miſs Baker will tell Miſs Porter, that Miſs Porter's favoured humble ſervant, though but a *young* man, is a very old lover; and in the eight-and-fiftieth year of his age: but that, as Lappet ſays, is the flower of a man's days; and when a Lady can't get a young huſband, ſhe muſt put up with an old bed-fellow. I left Miſs Singer, I am ſorry to ſay it, in a very bad way; that is, in a way to be married.—But mum—Aſk Miſs Suky Webb the reſt; if ſhe knows, ſhe'll tell ye.—I beg her pardon for revealing the ſecret; but when the knot is faſtened, ſhe ſhall know how I came by it.—Miſs Thatcher may depend upon it, that, if I am not in love with her, I am in love with nobody elſe: I hope ſhe is well; and if that whining, ſighing, dying pulpit-fop, Lewis, has not finiſhed his languiſhing lectures, I hope ſhe will ſee her amoroſo next Sunday.—If Miſs Love has no objection to having a crambo ſong on her name publiſhed, it ſhall be done.—Begging pardon of Miſs Cotton for whatever has happened to offend her, I can aſſure her it has happened without my conſent. I did not give her this aſſurance when in Briſtol, leſt it ſhould ſeem like an attempt to avoid the anger of her *furious* brother. Inquire, when you can, how Miſs Broughton received her billet. Let my ſiſter ſend me a journal of all the tranſactions of the females within the circle of your acquaintance. Let Miſs Watkins know, that the letter ſhe made herſelf ridiculous by, was never intended for her; but another young Lady in the neighbourhood, of the ſame name. I promiſed, before my departure, to write to ſome hundreds, I believe; but, what with writing for publications, and going to places of public diverſion, which is as abſolutely neceſſary to me as food, I find but little time to write to you. As to Mr. Barrett, Mr. Catcott, Mr. Burgum, &c. &c. they rate literary lumber ſo low, that I believe an author, in their eſtimation, muſt be poor indeed! But here matters are otherwiſe: had Rowley been a Londoner, inſtead of a Briſtowyan, I could have lived by copying his works.—In my humble opinion, I am under very few obligations to any perſons in Briſtol: one, indeed, has obliged me; but, as moſt do, in a manner which makes his obligation no obligation.—My youthful acquaintances will not take it in dudgeon, that I do not write oftener to them, than I believe I ſhall: but, as I had the happy art of pleaſing in converſation, my company was often liked, where I did not like: and to continue a correſpondence under ſuch circumſtances, would be ridiculous. Let my ſiſter improve in copying muſic, drawing, and every thing which requires genius: in Briſtol's mercantile ſtyle thoſe things may be uſeleſs, if not a detriment.

detriment to her; but here they are highly profitable.—Inform Mr. Rhiſe that nothing ſhall be wanting, on my part, in the buſineſs he was ſo kind as to employ me in; ſhould be glad of a line from him, to know whether he would engage in the marine department; or ſpend the reſt of his days, ſafe, on dry ground.—Intended waiting on the Duke of Bedford relative to the Trinity-Houſe; but his Grace is dangerouſly ill. My grandmother, I hope, enjoys the ſtate of health I left her in. I am Miſs Webb's humble ſervant. Thorne ſhall not be forgot, when I remit the ſmall trifles to you. Notwithſtanding Mrs. B.'s not being able to inform me of Mr. Garſed's addreſs, through the cloſeneſs of the pious Mr. Ewer, I luckily ſtumbled upon it this morning.

I remain, &c. &c. &c. &c.

Monday Evening. Thomas Chatterton.

(Direct for me, at Mr. Walmſley's, at Shoreditch—only.)

LETTER IV.

Tom's Coffee-houſe, London, May 30, 1770.

Dear Siſter,

There is ſuch a noiſe of buſineſs and politicks in the room, that my inaccuracy in writing here, is highly excuſable. My preſent profeſſion obliges me to frequent places of the beſt reſort. To begin with, what every female converſation begins with, dreſs: I employ my money now in fitting myſelf faſhionably, and getting into good company; this laſt article always brings me in intereſt. But I have engaged to live with a Gentleman, the brother of a Lord (a Scotch one indeed), who is going to advance pretty deeply into the bookſelling branches: I ſhall have lodging and boarding, genteel and elegant, gratis: this article, in the quarter of the town he lives, with worſe accommodations, would be 50l. per annum. I ſhall have, likewiſe, no inconſiderable premium; and aſſure yourſelf every month ſhall end to your advantage: I will ſend you two ſilks this ſummer; and expect, in anſwer to this, what colours you prefer. My mother ſhall not be forgotten. My employment will be writing a voluminous Hiſtory of London, to appear in numbers the beginning of the next winter. As this will not, like writing political eſſays, oblige me to go to the coffee-houſe, I ſhall be able to ſerve you the more by it: but it will neceſſitate me to go to Oxford, Cambridge, Lincoln, Coventry, and every collegiate church near; not at all diſagreeable journeys, and not to me expenſive. The Manuſcript Gloſſary, I mentioned in my laſt, muſt not be omitted. If money flowed as faſt upon me as honours, I would give you a portion of 5000l. You have, doubtleſs, heard of the Lord Mayor's remonſtrating and addreſſing the King: but it will be a piece of news, to inform you that I have been with the Lord Mayor on the occaſion. Having addreſſed an eſſay to his Lordſhip, it was very well received; perhaps better than it deſerved; and I waited on his Lordſhip, to have his approbation, to addreſs a ſecond letter to him, on the ſubject of the remonſtrance, and its reception. His Lordſhip received me as politely as a citizen could; and warmly invited me to call on him again. The reſt is a ſecret—But the devil of the matter is, there's no money to be got of this ſide the queſtion. Intereſt is of the other ſide. But he is a poor author, who cannot write on both ſides. I believe I may be introduced (and, if I am not, I'll introduce myſelf) to a ruling power in the Court party. I might have a recommendation to Sir George Colebrook, an Eaſt-India Director, as qualified for an office no ways deſpicable; but I ſhall not take a ſtep to the ſea, whilſt I can continue on land. I went yeſterday to Woolwich, to ſee Mr. Wenſley; he is paid to-day. The artillery is no unpleaſing ſight, if we bar reflection, and do not conſider how much miſchief it may do. Greenwich Hoſpital and St. Paul's Cathedral are the only ſtructures which could reconcile me to any thing out of the Gothic. Mr. Carty will hear from me ſoon: multiplicity of literary buſineſs muſt be my excuſe.—I condole with him, and my dear Miſs Sandford, in the misfortune of Mrs. Carty: my phyſical advice is, to leech her temples plentifully: keep her very low in diet; as much in the dark as poſſible. Nor is this laſt preſcription the whim of an old woman: whatever hurts the eyes, affects the brain: and the particles of light, when the ſun is in the ſummer ſigns, are highly prejudicial to the eyes; and it is from this ſympathetic effect, that the headach is general in ſummer. But, above all, talk to her but little, and never contradict her in any thing. This may be of ſervice. I hope it will. Did a paragraph appear in your paper of Saturday laſt, mentioning the inhabitants of London's having opened another view of St. Paul's; and adviſing the corporation, or veſtry of Redclift, to procure a more compleat view of Redclift church? My compliments to Miſs Thatcher: if I am in love, I am; though the devil take me, if I can tell with whom it is. I believe I may addreſs her in the words of Scripture, which no doubt ſhe reveres; "If you had not ploughed with my heifer" (or bullock rather), "you had not found out my riddle." Humbly thanking Miſs Rumſey for her complimentary expreſſion, I cannot think it ſatisfactory. Does ſhe, or does ſhe not, intend coming to London? Mrs. O'Coffin has not yet got a place; but there is not the leaſt doubt but ſhe will in a little time.

Eſſay-writing has this advantage, you are ſure of conſtant pay; and when you have once wrote a piece which makes the author enquired after, you may bring the Bookſellers to your own terms. Eſſays on the patriotic ſide fetch no more than what the copy is ſold for. As the patriots themſelves are ſearching for a place, they have no gratuities to ſpare. So ſays one of the beggars, in a temporary alteration of mine, in the Jovial Crew:

A patriot was my occupation
It got me a name but no pelf:
Till, ſtarv'd for the good of the nation,
I begg'd for the good of myſelf.
Fal, lal, &c.

I told them, if 'twas not for me,
Their freedoms would all go to pot;
I promis'd to ſet them all free,
But never a farthing I got.
Fal, lal, &c.

—On the other hand, unpopular eſſays will not even be accepted; and you muſt pay to have them printed: but then you ſeldom loſe by it. Courtiers are ſo ſenſible of their deficiency in merit, that they generally reward all who know how to daub them with an appearance of it. To return to private affairs—Friend Slade may depend upon my endeavouring to find the publications you mention. They publiſh the Goſpel Magazine here. For a whim I write in it. I believe there are not any ſent to Briſtol; they are hardly worth the carriage—methodiſtical, and unmeaning. With the uſual ceremonies to my mother, and grandmother; and ſincerely, without ceremony, wiſhing them both happy; when it is in my power to make them ſo, they ſhall be ſo; and with my kind remembrance to Miſs Webb, and Miſs Thorne; I remain, as I ever was,

Yours, &c. to the end of the chapter,
Thomas Chatterton.

P. S. I am this minute pierced through the heart by the black eye of a young Lady, driving along in a Hackney-coach.—I am quite in love: if my love laſts till that time, you ſhall hear of it in my next.

LETTER V.

June 19, 1770.

Dear Siſter,

I have an horrid cold—The relation of the manner of my catching it may give you more pleaſure than the circumſtance itſelf. As I wrote very late Sunday night (or rather very early Monday morning), I thought to have gone to bed pretty ſoon laſt night: when, being half undreſſed, I heard a very doleful voice, ſinging Miſs Hill's favorite bedlamite ſong. The hum-drum of the voice ſo ſtruck me, that though I was obliged to liſten a long while before I could hear the words, I found the ſimilitude in the

We ſhall add two farther ſpecimens of his ſatirical poetry [*SS*]. The firſt is on the Art of

ſound. After hearing her with pleaſure drawl for above half an hour, ſhe jumped into a briſker tune, and hobbled out the ever-famous ſong, in which poor Jack Fowler was to have been ſatirized.—" I put " my hand into a buſh: I prick'd my finger to the " bone: I ſaw a ſhip ſailing along: I thought the " ſweeteſt flowers to find:" and other pretty flowery expreſſions, were twanged with no inharmonious bray.—I now ran to the window, and threw up the ſaſh; reſolved to be ſatisfied, whether or no it was the identical Miſs Hill, *in propria perſona*.—But, alas! it was a perſon whoſe twang is very well known, when ſhe is awake, but who had drank ſo much royal bob (the gingerbread-baker for that, you know), that ſhe was now ſinging herſelf aſleep. This ſomnifying liquor had made her voice ſo like the ſweet echo of Miſs Hill's, that if I had not conſidered that ſhe could not ſee her way up to London, I ſhould abſolutely have imagined it hers—There was a fellow and a girl in one corner, more buſy in attending to their own affairs, than the melody.

This part of the letter, for ſome lines, is not legible.

. . . . . the morning) from Marybone gardens; I ſaw the fellow in the cage at the watch-houſe, in the pariſh of St. Giles; and the nymph is an inhabitant of one of Cupid's inns of Court.—There was one ſimilitude it would be injuſtice to let ſlip. A drunken fiſhman, who ſells ſouſe mackarel, and other delicious dainties, to the eternal detriment of all two-penny ordinaries; as his beſt commodity, his ſalmon, goes off at three halfpence the piece: this itinerant merchant, this moveable fiſh-ſtall, having likewiſe had his doſe of bob-royal, ſtood ſtill for a while; and then joined chorus, in a tone which would have laid half a dozen lawyers, pleading for their fees, faſt aſleep: this naturally reminded me of Mr. Haythorne's ſong of

" Says Plato, who oy oy oy ſhould man be vain?"

However, my entertainment, though ſweet enough in itſelf, has a diſh of ſour ſauce ſerved up in it; for I have a moſt horrible wheezing in the throat: but I don't repent that I have this cold; for there are ſo many noſtrums here, that 'tis worth a man's while to get a diſtemper, he can be cured ſo cheap.

June 29th, 1770.

My cold is over and gone. If the above did not recall to your mind ſome ſcenes of laughter, you have loſt your ideas of riſibility.

LETTER VI. (*)

Dear Mother,

I ſend you in the box—ſix cups and ſaucers with two baſons, for my ſiſter—If a china tea pot and cream pot, is in your opinion, neceſſary, I will ſend them, but I am informed they are unfaſhionable, and that the red china, which you are provided with, is more in uſe—a cargo of patterns, for yourſelf, with a ſnuff box, right French and very curious in my opinion.

Two fans—the ſilver one, is more graver than the other, which would ſuit my ſiſter beſt—But that I leave to you both.

Some Britiſh herb ſnuff, in the box; be careful how you open it—(This I omit leſt it injure the other matters)

Some Britiſh herb tobacco for my grandmother, ſome trifles for Thorne. Be aſſured whenever I have the power, my will won't be wanting to teſtify, that I remember you—

Yours,

July 8, 1770. T. Chatterton.

N. B.—I ſhall foreſtall your intended journey, and pop down upon you at Chriſtmas—

I could have wiſhed, you had ſent my red pocket book, as 'tis very material.

(*) Chatterton had probably changed his lodging a little before he wrote this letter. It is a remarkable paſſage where he ſays, he wiſhes ſhe had ſent him up his red pocket book, " as 'tis very material." " More graver," in the 11th line, confirms Mr. Bryant's opinion, p. 481, " that he was not well grounded in the firſt principles of Grammar."

I bought two very curious twiſted pipes for my grandmother; but both breaking, I was afraid to buy others leſt they ſhould break in the box; and being looſe, injure the china. Have you heard any thing further of the clearance—

Direct for me at Mrs. Angels', Sack-maker, Brooke-ſtreet, Holborn.

" Mrs. Chatterton."

LETTER VII.

Dear Siſter,

I have ſent you ſome china and a fan. You have your choice of two. I am ſurpriſed that you choſe purple and gold. I went into the ſhop to buy it: but it is the moſt diſagreeable colour I ever ſaw—dead, lifeleſs, and inelegant. Purple and pink, or lemon and pink, are more genteel and lively. Your anſwer in this affair will oblige me. Be aſſured, that I ſhall ever make your wants, my wants; and ſtretch to the utmoſt to ſerve you. Remember me to Miſs Sandford, Miſs Rumſey, Miſs Singer, &c. &c. &c.

As to the ſongs, I have waited this week for them, and have not had time to copy one perfectly: when the ſeaſon's over, you will have 'em all in print. I had pieces laſt month in the following Magazines:

Goſpel Magazine,
Town and Country, viz.
Maria Friendleſs,
Falſe Step.
Hunter of Oddities,
To Miſs Buſh, &c.

Court and City. London. Political Regiſter, &c. &c.

The Chriſtian Magazine, as they are not to be had perfect, are not worth buying—I remain,

Yours,

July 11, 1770. T. Chatterton.

LETTER VIII.

I am now about an Oratorio, which, when finiſhed, will purchaſe you a gown. You may be certain of ſeeing me before the 1ſt of January, 1771.—The clearance is immaterial.—My mother may expect more patterns.—Almoſt all the next Town and Country Magazine is mine. I have an univerſal acquaintance:—my company is courted every where; and, could I humble myſelf to go into a compter, could have had twenty places before now:—but I muſt be among the great; ſtate matters ſuit me better than commercial. The Ladies are not out of my acquaintance. I have a deal of buſineſs now, and muſt therefore bid you adieu. You will have a longer letter from me ſoon—and more to the purpoſe.

Yours,

20th July, 1770. T. C.

[*SS*] *Two farther ſpecimens of his ſatirical Poetry.*]

THE ART OF PUFFING,

BY A BOOKSELLER'S JOURNEYMAN.

VERS'D by experience in the ſubtle art,
The myſt'ries of a title I impart:
Teach the young author how to pleaſe the town;
And make the heavy drug of rhime go down.
Since Curl, immortal, never dying name,
A double pica in the book of fame,
By various arts did various dunces prop,
And tickled every fancy to his ſhop:
Who can like Pottinger enſure a book?
Who judges with the ſolid taſte of Cooke?
Villains exalted in the midway ſky,
Shall live again, to drain your purſes dry:

Nor

(*b*) Father
writer of t
article.

of Puffing, and the other an Extract from the unpubliſhed Manuſcript of the Poem entitled "Kew Gardens." A fac-ſimile of this extract is given by Dr. Gregory.]

Nor yet unrivall'd they; ſee Baldwin comes;
Rich in inventions, patents, cuts and hums:
The honorable Boſwell writes, 'tis true,
What elſe can Paoli's ſupporter do?
The trading wits endeavour to attain,
Like bookſellers, the world's firſt idol—gain:
For this they puff the heavy Goldſmith's line,
And hail his ſentiment tho' trite, divine;
For this, the patriotic bard complains,
And Bingley binds poor liberty in chains:
For this was every reader's faith deceiv'd,
And Edmund ſwore what nobody believ'd:
For this the wits in cloſe diſguiſes fight;
For this the varying politicians write;
For this each month new magazines are ſold,
With dulneſs fill'd and tranſcripts of the old.
The Town and Country ſtruck a lucky hit,
Was novel, ſentimental, full of wit:
Apeing her walk, the ſame ſucceſs to find,
The Court and City hobbles far behind:
Sons of Apollo learn, merit's no more
Than a good frontiſpiece to grace her door;
The author who invents a title well,
Will always find his cover'd dullneſs ſell;
Flexney and every bookſeller will buy,—
Bound in neat calf, the work will never die.

VAMP.

July 22, 1770.

KEW GARDENS.

WHAT are the wages of the tuneful nine,
What are their pleaſures when compar'd to mine?
Happy I eat and tell my num'rous pence,
Free from the ſervitude of rhime and ſenſe;
Tho' ſing-ſong Whitehead uſhers in the year,
With joy to Britain's King and Sovereign dear:
And in compliance to an ancient mode,
Meaſures his ſyllables into an ode;
Yet ſuch the ſcurvy merit of his muſe,
He bows to Deans and licks his Lordſhip's ſhoes
Then leave the wicked barren way of rhime,
Fly far from poverty, be wiſe in time:
Regard the office more; Parnaſſus leſs,
Put your religion in a decent dreſs:
Then may your intereſt in the town advance,
Above the reach of muſes or romance.

APPENDIX, No. II.

VOL. IV. Page 544.

*** [CRUDEN, (ALEXANDER), M. A. was the ſecond ſon of Mr. William Cruden, Merchant, and one of the Baillies of Aberdeen, an office ſimilar to that of Alderman in England, and was born in the year 1701. He received his education in the Grammar School of Aberdeen, and was a ſchoolfellow with the late George Earl Mariſchal, and James, afterwards the celebrated Field Mareſchal Keith, who in the ſchool catalogue were diſtinguiſhed by *Dominus Georgius Keith*, and *Magiſter Jacobus Keith*. At the expiration of the uſual number of years, Mr. Cruden entered as Student of Mariſcal College. From his cloſe attendance at the Divinity Lectures of Mr. Blackwell, father to the late Principal Blackwell, he appears to have had thoughts of the church, as a profeſſion; and although prevented by the melancholy change of mind which took place about this time, he preſerved through the whole of life the impreſſion that he was appointed by Heaven to preach the goſpel and reform mankind.

It is uncertain to what that inſanity which now appeared in his words and actions, and which with few intervals accompanied him to his grave, is to be attributed. Some thought it was occaſioned by the bite of a mad dog; but nothing can be gathered from the hiſtory of that dreadful diſtemper which favours this opinion. Others derived his madneſs from diſappointment in a love affair, but it is uncertain whether this operated as a cauſe or conſequence. Some uncommon circumſtances with which it was attended, however, will apologize for making mention of it in this place. The object of his affection was the daughter of a Clergyman of Aberdeen. Cruden courted her with enthuſiaſm and perſeverance, but the Lady thought proper to reject his addreſſes, and his behaviour becoming outrageous and troubleſome, her father ordered his doors to be ſhut againſt him. This increaſed his paſſion, and his friends ſoon found it neceſſary to confine him for a conſiderable time in priſon. The young Lady in the mean while became pregnant, which was with too much reaſon attributed to a criminal intercourſe with her own brother (*a*). She was ſent into the country, and never returned. That Mr. Cruden ſhared in the general horror which this event produced may be eaſily believed. He never mentioned the name of the unhappy woman but with the bittereſt grief and moſt tender compaſſion.

(*a*) As there are ſome relations of the parties yet living the names are omitted.

On his releaſe from confinement, he gave up the purſuit of his ſtudies at Aberdeen, and reſolved to leave his native country. In the year 1722 he came to London, and engaged in ſeveral families as private Tutor to young perſons at School, or who were intended for the Univerſity. In this employment he ſpent ſome years in the Iſle of Man. In the year 1732, we find him in London again, as corrector of the preſs, and bookſeller. His ſhop was under the Royal Exchange. While in this ſituation an incident happened which Mr. Cruden numbered among the moſt remarkable occurrences of his life. A Gentleman from Aberdeen (*b*), who wiſhed to ſerve Cruden, offered to introduce him to a Mer-

(*b*) Father to the writer of this article.

a Merchant near the Royal Exchange, a near relation of the young Lady above-mentioned. When they knocked at the door of this Merchant's houſe, it was opened by the young Lady herſelf, who, unknown to Mr. Cruden or his friend, had found an aſylum here. Mr. Cruden ſtarted back, with viſible ſigns of wonder, and agony, and graſping his friend's hand, exclaimed wildly, "Ah! ſhe has ſtill her fine black eyes." It is perhaps unneceſſary to add, that his hopes of intimacy in this family were now at an end. He did not then, nor ever after, enter the houſe, nor court the acquaintance of its owner, who was indeed a younger brother of the Lady.

The year after, he began to compile the work which entitles him to be ranked among the friends of literature, and conſequently to a place in theſe records. He had long meditated "A Complete Concordance of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament." If the merit of labour only be given to this work, it muſt be acknowledged that it required labour to which it is impoſſible to make any addition, and perſeverance that knows no interval. Mr. Cruden was well qualified for ſuch an undertaking; for habits of induſtry were familiar to him, and his inclination led him to form the plan and indeed to execute the whole before he had received any encouragement from the public. The firſt edition was publiſhed in the year 1737. The preface explains his plan and his views in publiſhing [*A*]. The book was dedicated to Queen Caroline, who had given the author ſome reaſon to expect a gratuity on its being preſented to her. But a very few days before its publication, the Queen died [*B*], and Cruden loſt his Patroneſs. His affairs were now embarraſſed; the time he had beſtowed on his work was not productive of immediate profit, and his reward was no longer to be expected; for that he did expect a reward from her Majeſty appeared by viſible ſymptoms of the keeneſt diſappointment. He diſpoſed of his ſtock in trade and ſhut up his ſhop. Without employment, without friends, and without hope, he became again a prey to his phrenetic diſorder, and it was found neceſſary to confine him in a private Madhouſe at Bethnal Green. As ſoon as he was releaſed he took revenge on his keepers, and on thoſe who were the cauſe of his confinement, by publiſhing a pamphlet, entitled "The London Citizen exceedingly injured, "giving an account of his adventures during the time of his ſevere and long campaign "at Bethnal Green, for nine weeks and ſix days, the Citizen being ſent thither in "March 1738, by Robert Wightman a notoriouſly conceited whimſical man, where he "was chained, hand-cuffed, ſtrait-waiſtcoated and impriſoned, &c. &c." He alſo commenced an action againſt Dr. Monro, and other defendants, which was tried in Weſtminſter-Hall, July 17, 1739, when a verdict was given in favour of the defendants. After

[*A*] *His views in publiſhing.*] After reviewing the principal works of this kind which had appeared, Mr. Cruden ſays, "Thus it appears that we have "had Concordances to the Bible ſome centuries "ago; and the world has been ſo ſenſible of their "uſefulneſs, that many of them have been compoſed "and publiſhed in different languages. But as there "are ſeveral in our language, it may be enquired, "What occaſioned my undertaking this great and "laborious work, or what advantage it has above "any other hitherto publiſhed?

"When I firſt began this work, I deſigned to "compoſe an uſeful *Concordance* in *octavo*; but after "I had printed ſeveral ſpecimens, I found it neceſ-"ſary to alter my ſcheme, and to compile one to be "printed in this large volume, in order to make "thoſe improvements which now render it prefer-"able to any other.

"The method is eaſy and regular, and each text "of Scripture is generally contained in one line, "whereby the reader may readily find the place he "wants, if he remembers any material word. When "there are two or more texts of Scripture that are "parallel, I have generally mentioned the firſt that "occurs in order in the BIBLE, and have directly "added the parallel texts. It is printed with a good "letter, though pretty ſmall, which was neceſſary "in order to bring it into this volume, and make "it contain *multum in parvo*, much in a little com-"paſs; and great care has been taken that the "figures referring to the chapters and verſes of the "BIBLE be exact and correct. When a text is "marked with a †, it denotes a marginal reading.

"This CONCORDANCE is divided into three "*alphabets*. The *firſt alphabet* contains the *appella-"tive* or *common* words, which is the principal part. "It is very full and large, and any text may be "found by looking for any material word, whether "it be *ſubſtantive, adjective, verb*, &c.

"In this part I have given the various SIGNIFI-"CATIONS of the principal words, which, I hope, "will be eſteemed an uſeful improvement, there not "being any thing of this kind in the other large "*Concordances:* By this improvement the reader "will have many texts explained, and difficulties "removed; and the meaning of the Scripture may "be here known by that which is accounted the beſt "rule of interpreting Scripture, namely, *by com-"paring one Scripture with another.* There is ſo "large a collection of the various *ſignifications* of "many words in Scripture, as may, perhaps, be "not only uſeful to private Chriſtians, but alſo to "thoſe who preach the Goſpel, for hereby many "important things may be obſerved at one view, "without the trouble of turning over ſeveral volumes; "and occaſion is ſometimes taken to give an account "of the *Jewiſh* cuſtoms and ceremonies, by which "the reader is led into the meaning of many paſ-"ſages of Scripture, as may be ſeen in the words, "*Elder, Ephod, Synagogue*, &c.

"The *ſecond alphabet* contains the *proper names* "in the holy Scriptures, which the reader will re-"ceive with improvements, as in *Abraham, David*, "&c. The texts referred to, where thoſe names "are mentioned, give a ſhort hiſtorical account of "the remarkable things recorded in Scripture con-"cerning them. To this part is prefixed a *table*, "containing the *ſignifications* of the words in the "original languages from which they are derived.

"The *third* and *laſt alphabet* is a *Concordance* for "thoſe books that are called APOCRYPHAL, which "is only added that this work might not be defi-"cient in any thing that is treated of in any other "*Corcordance*; thoſe books not being of divine in-"ſpiration, nor any part of the Canon of Scripture, "and therefore are of no authority in the Church of "God (1)."

(1) Preface to the firſt edition.

[*B*] *The Queen died.*] Mr. Cruden ſays in a note to his Dedication, that it "was preſented Nov. 3, "1737, to her Majeſty, who departed this life the "20th of that very month." It was preſented, however, before it was publiſhed.

the verdict was given, Cruden ſaid, " I truſt in God." The Chief Juſtice, Sir William Lee, replied, " I wiſh you had truſted more in God, and not have come hither." Mr. Cruden had recourſe again to his pen, and publiſhed an account of the trial with remarks on the Oeconomy of Private Madhouſes, which he dedicated to the late King.

After this he lived chiefly by correcting the preſs, and under his inſpection ſeveral editions of the Greek and Roman Claſſics were publiſhed with great accuracy. He rendered himſelf uſeful to the bookſellers and printers in various ways. His manners were inoffenſive: he was always to be truſted, and performed his engagements with ſtrict fidelity. In theſe occupations he employed ſeveral years, until the return of his diſorder obliged his friends a third time to ſhut him up in a madhouſe. When he was releaſed, he publiſhed his caſe with the whimſical title of " The Adventures of Alexander the Corrector."—Three parts afterwards appeared under the ſame title. It is not eaſy to characterize them. They are a faithful tranſcript of a wild mind, various, whimſical, ſerious and jocoſe. His madneſs was *ſui generis*. We find nothing like it in the Annals of Medicine, nor can it be accounted for on any known principles of phyſiology. The faculty are ſeldom called in, and ſeldom attend to caſes like that of Cruden; and the world either laughed at or pitied him: in his worſt paroxyſms it appears that he was perfectly harmleſs, and it is more than probable that the ſeverity of confinement, unneceſſarily added to his diſorder [*C*].

In September 1753, when laſt releaſed, he undertook what was more difficult to effect than all his former attempts. He endeavoured to perſuade one or two of his friends who had confined him, to ſubmit to be impriſoned in Newgate, as a compenſation for the injuries they had brought upon him. To his ſiſter he propoſed what he thought very mild terms; ſhe was to have her choice of four priſons; Newgate, Reading and Ayleſbury Jails, and the priſon in Windſor Caſtle. When he found that his perſuaſions were of no avail, he commenced an action againſt her and three others, and ſtated his damages at 10,000 l. The cauſe was tried in February, 1754, and a verdict given in favour of the defendants. Cruden had now no remedy but in an appeal to the public: accordingly he publiſhed an account of this trial in a ſix-penny pamphlet, dedicated to the King. He went to St. James's Palace to preſent it, but was prevented, and denied the honour of Knighthood, to which, at this time, he aſpired.

His phrenzy, indeed, was now at its height. He called himſelf " Alexander the Corrector," and gave out that he was commiſſioned by Heaven to reform the manners of the age, particularly to reſtore the due obſervance of the Sabbath. To raiſe the public belief in his favour, he produced and printed certain prophecies of eminent Miniſters and others, all anonymous, or with the initials only of names. The ſubſtance of theſe prophecies was, that " Mr. Cruden was to be a ſecond Joſeph, to be a great man at Court, and to " perform great things for the ſpiritual Iſrael in this ſinful Egypt, &c." Furniſhed with ſuch credentials, he went to Oxford and Cambridge, and exhorted the Ladies and Gentlemen, whom he found in the public walks on the Sabbath, to go home and keep that day holy. But his advice was not welcomed as he wiſhed. And on one occaſion he narrowly eſcaped corporal chaſtiſement for having been too bold in his addreſſes to a young Lady, who happened to be walking with a Student in Clare-Hall walks. He generally followed his advice with a denunciation of eternal wrath in caſe of non-compliance.

On his return to London his ambition increaſed; for ambition he certainly indulged from the idea that he was deſtined to a ſuperior ſtation in life; and the general election approaching, Mr. Cruden determined to ſtand candidate for the city of London, and in a Common Hall was nominated by Mr. Sheriff Chitty, whom he had importuned to do this office for him. What will be thought very remarkable, Mr. Cruden had the ſatisfaction to ſee ſeveral hands held up for him; but he declined the poll which was inſtituted by the other party, and conſequently loſt his election. It is ſcarcely poſſible to record this event with hiſtorical gravity; but it is worthy of notice that he had actually received promiſes of ſupport, and was comforted by the reflection, as he ſays himſelf, that if he had not the hands, he had the hearts of the citizens. His advertiſements on this occaſion are too curious not to be preſerved [*D*]. They are ſpecimens of his manner of ſpeaking and writing

[*C*] *Unneceſſarily added to his diſorder.*] They put a ſtraight waiſtcoat upon him, and beat him, which he relates thus: " When the *Corrector* went to bed, " the barbarous Inſkip (one of his keepers) bound " him very cloſely in the *ſtrait-waſte-coat*. This " academical garment is made of ſtrong tick, with " long ſleeves which come below the ends of the " fingers, and the priſoner's arms being claſped upon " his breaſt, and brought round his ſides towards " his back, his hands are tied there very firmly with " ſtrong ſtrings of tape.—The *Corrector* was very ill " uſed this night: particularly *Inſkip* ſwore at him " for calling out in his pain, alas! alas! And a " common method with *Inſkip* and *Hare*, upon his " calling out through pain, was to give him a blow " or two on the breaſt, and to put a pillow or hand- " kerchief upon his mouth." Uſage like this was certainly not to be juſtified by any part of Mr. Cruden's conduct, and muſt have aggravated his diſtemper.

[*D*] *Not to be preſerved.*] " *Wedneſday, April* 17, " it appeared from what one of the door-keepers of " the palace ſaid to the *Corrector*, that the letter " ſent by him to the perſonage of the higheſt rank " (*aſking the honour of knighthood*) came ſafe to hand. " The *Corrector*, perceiving that he was not likely " to ſucceed at preſent in obtaining the honour of " knighthood; and the election for the Repreſenta- " tives of the City of London in Parliament coming " on the 30th inſtant, it was full time to declare his " re-

writing concerning himself, when his phrenzy was at its height. About the same time he paid his addresses to a Lady, but lamented that in this as in every other great design, he could not command success.

Amidst this series of wild attempts and undertakings Mr. Cruden devoted his best hours to study. He was continually making additions to the Concordance, the second edition of which was published in 1761 [*E*]. At this time he was corrector of the press to the Public Advertiser published by the late Mr. Woodfall. He laboured, indeed, incessantly at some employment or other; and apportioned his time so judiciously that only when he appeared in public could he be said to do nothing. The business of the Printing-Office was rarely over before one o'clock in the morning, when the paper was put to press. Cruden seldom slept more than four or five hours, and before six in the morning

" resolution to offer himself a *candidate*, though not " yet graced with the order of knighthood. If it " should be asked, why the *Corrector* was so desirous " of the honour of being a *knight*; he answers, *that* " *thinking men often seek after titles rather to please* " *others than themselves.*

" *Thursday, April* 18, the *Corrector* now suspended " his going to Court, and wrote an *appendix* to his " *Adventures*, containing the motives of his being a " *candidate* for the City of *London*, and next day " caused copies of it to be dispersed in the coffee-" houses near the Royal Exchange.

" *Saturday, April* 20, was the first day the *Cor-* " *rector* made known his being a *candidate* in the " News papers. He was this morning at the " *Chapter Coffee-house*, where some cloudy-headed " Booksellers and Printers dissuaded him from it, " and told him it was now too late: but the *Cor-* " *rector* replied, that he was not to look backward " but forward. The *appendix* was from henceforth " distributed, and when the *Corrector* himself had " an opportunity of delivering a copy of it to a " *Liveryman*, he desired the favour of him to read " it, and then to vote as his conscience should direct " him. It was replied by some, *that nothing could* " *be fairer.* Several thousands of the *appendix* were " distributed before and on the day of election.

" *Tuesday, April* 23, the *Corrector*, a Citizen and " Liveryman of the Company of *Stationers*, thought " it proper to acquaint the *Sheriffs* of his being a " *candidate*, and therefore sent each of them the " following letter:

" *To the honourable Alderman Chitty and Alderman* " *Blakiston, the two Sheriffs of London.*

" *Gentlemen,*

" I humbly propose myself one of the *candidates* " to be a Representative for the City of *London*, at " the ensuing election; which may be looked upon " as an extraordinary step. This is not denied, but " I trust I am under *divine direction*, and I entirely " refer the issue to the supreme disposer of all things. " I hope that whatever pleaseth God shall please " me, being altogether resigned to his will and " pleasure. It ought to be my care to do my duty, " and then to refer all events to God: It is the " opinion of the *Corrector* that all the prophecies " concerning him will come to pass in God's own " time and way. *The* LORD *was with* JOSEPH, " *and that which he did the* LORD *made it to prosper.*

" May the great GOD be pleased powerfully and " graciously to incline the hearts of the *Liverymen* " to act from the best principles, and to choose those " who will be faithful, and will answer the ends of " so great a trust: and may the persons who shall " be chosen be inclined and determined to act zeal-" ously for the reformation, the peace and prosperity " of the City.

" Heartily wishing you happiness in this world " and in the world to come,

" I am, with great respect,
" Gentlemen,
" Your most obedient
North's Coffee-house, " And most humble servant,
near Guildhall,
April 23, 1754. " ALEXANDER CRUDEN."

" Thursday, April 25, the *Corrector* caused the fol-" lowing letter, addressed to the Liverymen of " *London*, to be dispersed:

" *Gentlemen of the Livery.*

" I have acquainted the *Sheriffs* of my humbly " proposing to be a candidate for one of the *Repre-* " *sentatives* in Parliament of the City of *London:* " which may be looked upon as an extraordinary " step. This is not denied, but I trust I am under " the direction of a gracious *providence*, and I desire " to be entirely resigned to the will of GOD the " supreme disposer of all things. In the *appendix* to " *Alexander the Corrector's Adventures*, I have ac-" quainted you with some of my motives for being a " candidate, which are such as, I hope, will be " approved of by every good man, as they are by " my own conscience.

" If there is any just ground to hope that God " will be pleased to make the *Corrector* an instrument " to reform the nation, and particularly to promote " the reformation, the peace and prosperity of this " great City, and to bring its inhabitants to a more " religious temper and conduct, no good men in " such an extraordinary case will deny the Corrector " his vote: and the *Corrector's election* may be a " means to pave the way to his being a JOSEPH, " and an useful *prosperous man.*

" May GOD be pleased to give a happy turn to " the minds of the *electors* to act from the best prin-" ciples, and to choose those who will be faithful to " their trust, and study to promote the temporal and " eternal happiness of the people.

" My earnest prayers are put up from time to time " for your happiness in this world, and the world to " come through JESUS CHRIST.

" I am very respectfully,
" Gentlemen,
" Your most obedient
" And affectionate humble servant,
North's Coffee-house,
near Guildhall,
April 25, 1754. " ALEXANDER CRUDEN (2)."

(2) Adventures of Alexander the Corrector, Part III. p. 17—19.

[*E*] *Was published in* 1761,] And dedicated to his present Majesty. A short preface informs us, that " as to what respects this NEW EDITION, not-" withstanding the great pains taken in the *first*, " there was room for improvements. The filling up " of the lines to make the text fuller could not so " well be done in the manuscript copy, as in the " printed. This renders the sentences more com-" pleat in many thousands of places: moreover the " texts are more distinct in many places by the lead-" ing words being distinguished in *Italic characters.* " Some texts are added, and some improvements " are made in the *significations* of words, and an " historical account is given of some eminent per-" sons under their *proper names*; and other things " that need not here be particularly mentioned.

" The labours of many persons to compile *Con-* " *cordances* to the Bible, and their acceptance from " time to time by the public, shew their great use-" fulness: It may be reckoned a good sign that re-" ligion is revived in some considerable degree in the " present age, by the great demand for *Concordances* " and *religious books.* The *first edition* of several " thousands in number has been long sold off, which " shews this book's favourable reception from the " public; and a demand has long been made for a " new edition." June 11, 1761, A. C.

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he might always be found turning over his Bible, adding, amending, and improving his Concordance with great and ſcrupulous attention: at this he continued till evening, when he went to the Printing Office. This aſſiduous attention to uſeful objects, it was hoped, would reſtore his mind to a ſtate of calm regularity, and in ſome degree this was the caſe. His next appearance in public will be ſeen with ſatisfaction.

In 1762, one Richard Potter, a Sailor, was tried and capitally condemned at the Old Bailey for forging, or rather uttering, knowing it to be forged, a Seaman's Will, a crime which then, as well as now, is rarely pardoned. It appeared, however, from the evidence, that Potter was a poor illiterate creature, the tool of another, and ignorant of the nature of the crime he committed. Fortunately for him Mr. Cruden happened to be in Court, and was ſo firmly convinced that Potter was a proper object of the Royal clemency, that he determined to interfere in his behalf.—To be more fully ſatisfied, however, he viſited Potter in Newgate, examined him, and found that his crime was the crime of ignorance, without any evil intention on his part. But it was not to ſave him from the ſentence of the law only that Cruden meditated. He prayed with him, exhorted him, taught him the principles of religion, and gave him a proper ſenſe of the wickedneſs of his paſt life, and the enormity of the crime for which he was condemned: in a word, he made a convert of a poor wretch who had ſcarcely ever heard of a God. He then began to deviſe means to obtain a pardon, and improbable as it appeared, his repeated applications ſucceeded, and Potter's ſentence was changed into tranſportation. Mr. Cruden accompanied his petition to the Earl of Hallifax, then Secretary of State, with a copy of the ſecond edition of the Concordance, to which was prefixed an elegant Latin Dedication to his Lordſhip [*F*]. The tenderneſs with which Mr. Cruden viſited, exhorted, fed and cloathed his pupil, the anxiety he felt, and the unceaſing importunity of his applications to every perſon that could be uſeful to Potter, deſerve to be remembered with approbation, and to reconcile us to all his oddities. A particular account of the whole affair was publiſhed the ſame year, entitled "The Hiſtory of Richard Potter, &c. &c."

The ſucceſs Mr. Cruden had enjoyed in reforming this poor criminal induced him to continue his labours among the other felons in Newgate. He viſited them every day, gave them New Teſtaments, Catechiſms, &c. catechiſed them, and beſtowed ſmall pecuniary rewards on the moſt apt ſcholars. His labour, however, was loſt; the books were ſoon exchanged for money, and the money ſpent in drinking; and Cruden diſcontinued his practice when he found it produced no better effects. A regard for the eternal welfare of his fellow-creatures was a predominant feature in his character. He was peculiarly elated when he had ſucceeded in reſcuing any poor creature from the barbarity of ignorance or the practice of wickedneſs. Of this we have another inſtance, but at what period it happened cannot now be remembered. Returning one Sunday evening from a place of worſhip, he accidentally met with a man whoſe looks betrayed anxious ſorrow, melancholy, and, as Cruden imagined, deſpair. He immediately accoſted the man, and drew from him a confeſſion that the extreme poverty of his family, and other cauſes, had driven him to the deſperate reſolution of committing ſuicide. Mr. Cruden expoſtulated with him, diſplayed the wickedneſs of his intention, and adminiſtered ſuch friendly conſolation, accompanied with pecuniary aſſiſtance and a promiſe of future ſupport, that the poor man became chearful, reſigned and hopeful. In ſuch acts Mr. Cruden delighted.

At the time when the diſputes between Mr. Wilkes and the Government agitated the nation, Mr. Cruden wrote a ſmall pamphlet againſt that Gentleman, whom he never could hear named with patience. He teſtified his averſion to him in a way peculiar to himſelf, by effacing No. 45, wherever he found it chalked on doors or window-ſhutters. His inſtrument was a large piece of ſponge, which he carried in his pocket, partly for this purpoſe, and partly that no words, offenſive to good morals, might be allowed to diſgrace the walls, doors, &c. of the metropolis. This employment rendered his walks through the city very tedious.

In the year 1769 he viſited Aberdeen, the place of his nativity, and in a public hall gave a lecture on the cauſe of reformation; contended that he was born to reform the age, and exhorted all ranks to amend their ways. There was nothing in this advice improper or abſurd—but Mr. Cruden's manner was always at variance with his matter, and he met with no better ſucceſs here than in other places. Many anecdotes are related of his labours

[*F*] *Dedication to his Lordſhip.*] The dedication is the following.

Nobiliſſimo, Conſultiſſimo, Excellentiſſimoque Viro GEORGIO MONTAGU DUNK, COMITI de HALIFAX, Sereniſſimo REGI GEORGIO TERTIO à Secretis fideliſſimo, nec non per multos annos Commercii Inſularum occidentalium & Coloniarum in *America* primario Gubernatori feliciſſimo, et nuper Præfecto ſupremo in *Hibernia* digniſſimo, et ab omnibus *Hiberniæ* Incolis dilectiſſimo, ac etiam durante præſenti infelici motu inteſtino in BRITANNIA ab omnibus cujuſcunque ordinis probatiſſimo.

Hoc Dictionarium Chriſtianum, Scripturarum ſacrarum Concordantia, in ſignum ingentis obſervantiæ, et veræ gratitudinis propter inſignam benevolentiam tuam in anſcultando ſupplicationibus meis ardentibus, & RICHARDUM POTTER à mortis pænâ liberando, humillime offertur: Et COMITI DE HALIFAX omnimodam felicitatem & gratiam ac pacem à DEO per CHRISTUM precatur

ALEXANDER CRUDEN.

Londini, Ivy-lane, Idibus Septembris, Anno Æræ Chriſtianæ, 1763.

here.

here. Among others, he printed the Fourth Commandment in the form of a hand-bill, and diſtributed them to all perſons, without diſtinction, whom he met in the ſtreets on Sunday. To a young Clergyman whom Cruden thought too conceited and modern, he very gravely and formally preſented a little catechiſm, uſed by children in Scotland, called "The Mother's Catechiſm," dedicated to the *Young and Ignorant*. For young people he always had his pockets full of religious tracts, ſuch as Guyſe's Sermons, &c. which he beſtowed with pleaſure on ſuch as promiſed to read them.

After reſiding about a year at Aberdeen he returned to London, and took lodgings in Camden-ſtreet, Iſlington, where he died. In the morning of Thurſday, November 1, 1770, he was found dead on his knees, apparently in the poſture of prayer. He had complained for ſome days of an aſthmatic affection, but it did not ſeem attended with danger. As he never married, he bequeathed his moderate ſavings to his relations, except a certain ſum to the city of Aberdeen to be employed in the purchaſe of religious books for the uſe of the poor; and he founded a burſary (or exhibition) of five pounds ſterling *per annum*, to aſſiſt in educating a Student at the Mariſchall College. This burſary was to be obtained on certain terms ſpecified in his will, one of which was a perfect acquaintance with Vincent's Catechiſm.

In private life Mr. Cruden was courteous and affable; prone to give his opinions, and firm in all his religious perſuaſions. To the poor he was as liberal of his money as of his advice: he ſeldom, indeed, ſeparated the one from the other. His concern for them muſt have been ſincere, for intereſt he could have none; and his generoſity muſt have been pure, for he often gave more than he retained for his own uſes. To ſuch young men, eſpecially from Aberdeen, as were recommended to him, he acted like a father, or affectionate friend and tutor. Among men of genius he cannot be claſſed: but in his greateſt labours he experienced no fatigue, and the utility of his literary projects will not admit of a diſpute. His Concordance was his favourite work [*G*]; and it is probable that the attention he beſtowed upon it was favourable to the ſtate of his mind, although it could not altogether prevent the return of that phrenzy which gave a certain colour to all his actions, and ſuggeſted to him thoſe whimſical plans of reformation, and thoſe hopes of ſuperiority, which were as uſeleſs to himſelf as unprofitable to others. In converſation and in writing his ſtile was ſtiff and aukward. He does not appear to have had a prompt memory, and his words came ſlowly. In religion he profeſſed Calviniſm, as appears from the definitions in his Concordance of the words *grace*, *faith*, *predeſtination*, &c. But it muſt be added, that he had not an intolerant ſpirit, and often with ſeverity he cenſured the principles and practices of narrow-minded men. During the greateſt part of his life in London, he joined in communion with Dr. Guyſe's Independent Meeting; but about the year 1761-2, when age and infirmities obliged the Doctor to reſign, and Dr. Stafford ſucceeded him, Mr. Cruden attended Dr. Conder on the paved ſtones, Moorfields, and went to Dr. Guyſe's Meeting on the firſt Sunday of every month only, when the Sacrament was adminiſtered.]

[*G*] *His Concordance was his favourite work.*] The laſt edition of this work was the *fourth*, publiſhed in 1786. The two former editions as well as this are embelliſhed with a head of the author. That publiſhed in 1769 is the moſt ſtriking likeneſs.

DANIEL

D.

DANIEL (Samuel), an eminent Poet and Hiſtorian [*A*], in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. was the ſon of a Muſic-maſter, and born near Taunton in Somerſetſhire (*a*), in the year 1562. In 1579 (*b*), he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford; where he continued about three years, and, by the help of an excellent Tutor, made a conſiderable improvement in academical

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England. Somerſ. p. 28.

(*b*) Langbaine, *ubi infra*, ſays, in 1581.

[*A*] *An eminent Poet and Hiſtorian.*] Mr. Daniel's Poetical Works, conſiſting of Dramatic and other Pieces, are as follows. I. *The Complaint of Roſamond.* London, 1594. 1598, 1611, and 1623, in 4to. II. *A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius.* London, 1611, in 8vo. (1). Theſe two pieces reſemble each other both in the ſubject and ſtile, being written in the Ovidian manner, with great tenderneſs and variety of paſſions. The meaſure is ſtanzas of ſeven lines, of which take the following ſpecimen, where he makes Roſamond ſpeak of Beauty in as expreſſive a manner as deſcription can reach.

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 447, 448.

Ah! Beauty, Syren, fair enchanting good,
Sweet ſilent rhet'rick of perſuading eyes;
Dumb eloquence, whoſe pow'r doth move the blood,
More than the words or wiſdom of the wiſe;
Still harmony, whoſe diapaſon lies
Within a brow; the key, which paſſions move,
To raviſh ſenſe, and play a world in love (2).

(2) Poetical Works of Mr. S. Daniel. Lond. 1718. 8vo. vol. i. p. 41.

III. *Hymen's Triumph: A Paſtoral Tragi-Comedy. Preſented at the Queen's Court in the Strand, at her Majeſty's magnificent entertainment of the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, being at the nuptials of the Lord Roxborough.* London, 1623, 4to. ſecond edition (3). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the moſt excellent Majeſty of the higheſt born Princeſs, Anne of Denmark, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.* It is introduced by a pretty contrived Prologue, by way of dialogue, in which *Hymen* is oppoſed by *Avarice*, *Envy*, and *Jealouſy*, the diſturbers of quiet marriage. In this piece, our author ſometimes touches the paſſions with a very delicate hand. IV. *The Queen's Arcadia: A Paſtoral Tragi-Comedy. Preſented to her Majeſty and her Ladies, by the Univerſity of Oxford, in Auguſt*, 1605. London, 1623, 4to. (4). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty.* V. *The Viſion of the Twelve Goddeſſes, preſented in a Maſk, the eighth of January, at Hampton-Court, by the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty and her Ladies.* London, 1604, 8vo. and 1623, 4to. Some copies have it, *The Wiſdom of the Twelve Goddeſſes*, &c. (5). It is dedicated to the Right Honourable the Lady Lucy, Counteſs of Bedford. It had been printed without the author's leave, and ſo imperfectly, that, to prevent the prejudice it might ſuffer thereby, he publiſhed it from his own copy. His deſign, under the ſhapes, and in the perſons of twelve goddeſſes, was, to ſhadow out the bleſſings, which the nation enjoyed under the peaceful reign of King James I. By *Juno* was repreſented *Power*; by *Pallas*, *Wiſdom* and *Defence*; by *Venus*, *Love* and *Amity*; by *Veſta*, *Religion*; by *Diana*, *Chaſtity*; by *Proſerpine*, *Riches*; by *Macaria*, *Felicity*; by *Concordia*, the *Union* of *Hearts*; by *Aſtræa*, *Juſtice*; by *Flora*, the *Beauties* of the *Earth*; by *Ceres*, *Plenty*; and by *Tethys*, *Naval Power*. All theſe allegorical perſonages were properly attired, and offered up the ſeveral emblems of their power to the temple of *Peace*, erected upon four pillars, repreſenting the four Virtues, that ſupported a globe of the earth. 1. *Juno*, in a ſky-coloured mantle, embroidered with gold, and figured with peacocks feathers, wearing a crown of gold on her head, preſents a ſceptre. 2. *Pallas* (which was the perſon her Majeſty choſe to repreſent) was attired in a blue mantle, with a ſilver embroidery of all weapons and engines of war, with an helmet on her head; and preſents a launce and target. 3. *Venus*, in a mantle of dove-colour, and ſilver embroidered doves, preſented (inſtead of her *Ceſtus*, the Girdle of Amity) a ſcarf of divers colours. 4. *Veſta*, in a white mantle embroidered with gold flames, and dreſſed like a Nun, preſented a burning lamp in one hand, and a book in the other. 5. *Diana*, in a green mantle embroidered with ſilver half-moons, and a creſcent of pearl on her head, preſents a bow and a quiver. 6. *Proſerpine*, in a black mantle embroidered with gold flames, with a crown of gold on her head, preſents a mine of gold ore. 7. *Macaria*, the Goddeſs of Felicity, in a mantle of purple and ſilver, embroidered with the figures of Plenty and Wiſdom (which concur to the making of true happineſs) preſents a *Caduceus* with the figure of Abundance. 8. *Concordia*, in a party-coloured mantle of crimſon and white (the colours of England and Scotland joined) embroidered with ſilver hands in hand, with a head-dreſs likewiſe of party-coloured roſes, preſents a branch thereof in a wreath or knot. 9. *Aſtræa*, in a mantle of crimſon embroidered with ſilver, figuring the ſword and balance (the emblems of Juſtice) which ſhe preſented. 10. *Flora*, in a mantle of divers colours, embroidered with all ſorts of flowers, preſents a pot of flowers. 11. *Ceres*, in a ſtraw-colour and ſilver embroidery, with ears of corn, and a head-dreſs of the ſame, preſents a ſickle. 12. *Tethys*, in a ſea-green mantle, with a ſilver embroidery of waves, and a head-dreſs of reeds, preſents a trident (6). VI. *The Tragedy of Cleopatra.* Lond. 1594 and 1598, 4to (7). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the Right Honourable the Lady Mary, Counteſs of Pembroke.* VII. *The Tragedy of Philotas.* London, 1611, &c. 8vo. (8). It is dedicated by a copy of verſes *To the Prince*, afterwards King Charles I. This play met with ſome enemies, not on the ſcore of the wit, or conduct of the deſign;

(3) Wood, *ibid.*

(4) *Id. ibid.*

(5) *Id. ibid.*

(6) Poetical Works, &c. vol. i. p. 228, &c.

(7) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(8) *Ibid.*

demical learning. But his genius inclining him more to ſtudies of a ſofter and gayer nature, he left the Univerſity without a degree, and applied himſelf to Engliſh Hiſtory and

ſign; but becauſe it was reported, that the character of *Philotas* was drawn for the unfortunate Earl of Eſſex; which obliged the author to vindicate himſelf from this charge in an *Apology*, printed at the end of the play. Both this play, and that of *Cleopatra*, are written after the manner of the antients, with a chorus between each act; and were much eſteemed in their time. VIII. *The Hiſtory of the Civil Wars between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter.* A Poem in eight books. London, 1604, 8vo. and 1623, 4to. with his picture before it (9). It is dedicated *To the High and moſt Illuſtrious Prince Charles His Excellence.* The introduction to this Poem is plainly an imitation of the beginning of *Lucan's Pharſalia.*

(9) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

I ſing the Civil Wars, tumultuous broils,
And bloody factions of a mighty land;
Whoſe people, haughty, proud with foreign ſpoils,
Upon themſelves turn back their conqu'ring hand;
Whilſt kin their kin, brother the brother foils;
Like enſigns all againſt like enſigns band;
Bows againſt bows, the crown againſt the crown;
Whilſt all pretending right, all right's thrown down.

What fury, O! what madneſs held thee ſo,
Dear England, too, too prodigal of blood,
To waſte ſo much, and war without a foe;
Whilſt France, to ſee thy ſpoils, at pleaſure ſtood!
How much might'ſt thou have purchas'd with leſs woe,
T' have done thee honour, and thy people good?
Thine might have been whatever lies between
The *Alps* and us, the *Pyrenees* and *Rhene* (10).

(10) Poetical Works, &c. vol. ii. p. 5, 6.

IX. *Funeral Poem upon the Death of the late Earl of Devonſhire.* London, 1623, 4to. X. *A Panegyrick Congratulatory, delivered to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty at Burleigh-Harrington, in Rutlandſhire.* London, 1604 and 1623, 4to. XI. *Epiſtles to various great Perſonages in Verſe.* London, 1601 and 1623, 4to. (11). XII. *The Paſſion of a diſtreſſed Man, who being in a Tempeſt on the Sea, and having in his Boat two Women (of whom he loved the one, that diſdained him; and ſcorned the other, who affected him) was by Commandment from Neptune to caſt out one of them, to appeaſe the Rage of the Tempeſt; but which, was referred to his own choice* (12). If the reader is curious to know the determination of this man's choice, it is ſummed up in the concluding line of the Poem;

(11) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(12) Poetical Works, &c. vol. ii. p. 364.

She muſt be caſt away, that wou'd not ſave.

XIII. *Muſophilus, containing a general Defence of Learning.* Printed with the *Epiſtles*, &c. (13). It is addreſſed *To the Right worthy and judicious Favourer of Virtue, Mr. Fulke Grevil.* XIV. *Various Sonnets to Delia* (14). They are fifty-ſeven in number. XV. *An Ode.* XVI. *A Paſtoral.* XVII. *A Deſcription of Beauty, tranſlated out of* Marino. XVIII. *To the Angel Spirit of the moſt excellent Sir Philip Sydney.* XIX. *To the Right Reverend Father in God James Montague, Biſhop of Wincheſter* (15). *A Defence of Rhime.* Lond. 1611, 8vo. (16). The title, at length, is; *A Defence of Rhime, againſt a Pamphlet, intituled, Obſervations on the Art of Engliſh Poeſy: wherein is demonſtratively proved, that Rhime is the fitteſt Harmony of Words, that comports with our Language.* It is dedicated *To all the worthy Lovers and learned Profeſſors of Rhime within his Majeſty's Dominions*; and it is addreſſed to his patron, *William Herbert Earl of Pembroke.* This piece is in proſe. All theſe pieces are publiſhed together, in two volumes, 12mo. under the title of *The Poetical Works of Mr. Samuel Daniel, author of the Engliſh Hiſtory.* London, 1718. We muſt not omit the praiſes beſtowed on Mr. Daniel, as a Poet, by contemporary writers; one of whom, in a copy of verſes on the *Time Poets* (17), ſtiles him

(13) Wood, *ibid.*

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) Poetical Works, &c. vol. ii. p. 418, &c.

(16) Wood, *ibid.*

(17) See Choice Drollery, in 8vo. Lond. 1656, p. 6.

The pithy *Daniel*, whoſe ſalt lines afford
A weighty ſentence in each little word.

Another author, in a copy called *A Cenſure of the Poets* (18), ſpeaks of him thus:

(18) See Sportive Wit, 8vo. p. 70.

Amongſt theſe *Samuel Daniel*, whom I
May ſpeak of, but to cenſure do deny:
Only have heard ſome wiſe men him rehearſe
To be too much Hiſtorian in verſe.
His rhimes were ſmooth, his metres well did cloſe;
But yet his manner better fitted proſe.

His good friend Mr. Charles Fitz-Geoffry wrote the following Latin epigram in his praiſe (19):

(19) *Vide* Epigr. in 8vo. *Oxon.* 1601.

Spenſerum ſi quis noſtrum velit eſſe *Maronem*,
Tu, *Daniele*, mihi *Naſo* Britannus eris.
Sin illum potius *Phœbum* velit eſſe Britannum,
Tum, *Daniele*, mihi tu *Maro* noſter eris.
Nil Phœbo ulterius; ſi quid foret, illud haberet
Spenſerus, *Phœbus* tu, *Daniele*, fores.
Quippe loqui Phœbus cuperet ſi more Britanno,
Haud ſcio quo poterat, ni velit ore ſuo.

If Spenſer merits Roman Virgil's name,
Daniel, at leaſt, comes in for Ovid's fame.
If Spenſer rather claims Apollo's wit,
Virgil's illuſtrious name will Daniel fit.
No higher than Apollo we can go:
But, if a loftier title you can ſhow,
That greater name let Spenſer's Muſe command,
And Daniel be the Phœbus of our land.
For, in my judgment, if the god of verſe
In Engliſh wou'd heroic deeds rehearſe,
No language ſo expreſſive he cou'd chuſe,
As that of Engliſh Daniel's lofty Muſe.

We come now to conſider Mr. Daniel as an *Hiſtorian*, in which capacity he wrote: *The Firſt Part of the Hiſtory of England, in three Books.* London, 1613. 4to. reaching to the end of King Stephen. To which he afterwards added a *Second Part*, reaching to the end of King Edward III. London, 1618, 1621, 1623, and 1634. This Hiſtory was continued to the end of King Richard III. by John Truſſel, a Trader and Alderman of the city of Wincheſter (20). Of Mr. Daniel's Hiſtory a certain writer (21) gives this character: 'It is written with great brevity and 'politeneſs; and his political and moral Reflections 'are very fine, uſeful, and inſtructive.' Mr. Langbaine takes it to be the *Crown* of all our author's *Works* (22); and Dr. Fuller tells us (23), 'he was a 'judicious Hiſtorian; witneſs his Lives of our Eng-'liſh Kings, ſince the conqueſt, until King Edward 'the Third; wherein he hath the happineſs to re-'concile brevity with clearneſs, qualities of great 'diſtance in other authors.' Dr. Heylin (24), ſpeaking of the chief Hiſtorians of this nation, has theſe words: *And, to end the bead-roll, Half the ſtory of this realm done by Mr. Daniel, of which I believe that which himſelf ſaith of it in his Epiſtle to the reader, that there was never brought together more of the main.* To conclude the character of this performance, I ſhall tranſcribe what Dr. Kennet ſays of it (25). 'Mr. *Daniel*'s Hiſtory follows next, containing the 'reigns of William I. and II. Henry I. King Stephen, 'Henry II. Richard I. King John, Henry III. Ed-'ward I. II. and III. The author had a place at 'Court in the reign of King James I. and ſeems to 'have taken all the refinement a Court could give 'him. It is ſaid, he had a good vein in Poetry, 'and it is certain he has ſhewn great judgment in 'keeping it, as he did, from infecting his proſe, 'and deſtroying that ſimplicity, which is a principal 'beauty in the ſtile of an Hiſtorian. His narration 'is ſmooth and clear, and carries every-where an 'air of good ſenſe and juſt eloquence; and his Eng-'liſh is much more modern than *Milton*'s, though 'he lived before him. But Mr. *Milton* choſe to write (if

(20) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(21) Bohun's Tranſlation of Whear's *Method. legendi Hiſtor.* p. 171.

(22) Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 104.

(23) Worthies of England. Somerſ. p. 28.

(24) In the Preface to his Coſmography.

(25) In the Preface to his Complete Hiſtory of England.

and Poetry (*c*) under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family [*B*]. Afterwards he became Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford [*C*], and, upon the death of the famous Spenſer, was appointed Poet Laureat to Queen Elizabeth. In King James's reign, he was made Gentleman Extraordinary, and afterwards one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber to the Queen Conſort, who took great delight in his converſation and writings (*d*). He rented a ſmall houſe and garden in Old-ſtreet near London, where in private he compoſed moſt of his Dramatic Pieces (*e*). Towards the end of his life, he retired to a farm, which he had at Beckington near Philips-Norton in Somerſetſhire (*f*), where, after ſome time ſpent in the enjoyment of the Muſes and religious contemplation, he died, and was buried [*D*], in the year 1619 (*g*). He left no iſſue by his wife Juſtina, to whom he was married ſeveral years (*h*).

(*c*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 447.

(*d*) *Id. ib.*

(*e*) Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets. Oxford 1691. p. 100. and Winſtanley's Lives of the Poets. Lond. 1687. p. 111.

(*f*) Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, ſays, near the Devizes in Wiltſhire.

(*g*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 448.

(*h*) Fuller, *ibid.*

' (if the expreſſion may be allowed) a hundred years ' backwards; whereas it is particularly to be admired ' how Mr. *Daniel* could, ſo long ago, expreſs him- ' ſelf with the ſame purity and grace as our moſt ' ſenſible writers do now, though we flatter our- ' ſelves, that we have conſiderably improved the ' language.'

[*B*] —— *under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family.*] This may be gathered from a hint in his *Defence of Rhime*, dedicated to William Herbert Earl of Pembroke. For, addreſſing himſelf to that Lord, he ſays (26): ' We are told, ' how that our meaſures go wrong, all rhiming is ' groſs, vulgar, barbarous; which if it be ſo, we ' have loſt much labour to no purpoſe; and for my ' own particular, I cannot but blame the fortune of ' the times, and my own genius, that caſt me upon ' ſo wrong a courſe, drawn with the current of cuſ- ' tom, and an unexamined example: Having been ' firſt encouraged and framed thereunto by your moſt ' worthy and honourable *Mother*, and received the ' firſt notion for the formal ordering of thoſe com- ' poſitions at *Wilton*, which I muſt ever acknowledge ' to have been my beſt ſchool, and thereof always ' am to hold a feeling and grateful memory. After- ' ward, drawn farther on by the well-liking and ' approbation of my worthy *Lord*, the foſterer of me ' and my Muſe, I adventured to beſtow all my whole ' powers therein, perceiving it agreed ſo well, both ' with the complexion of the times, and my own ' conſtitution.'

(26) Poetical Works, &c. vol. i, p. 6.

[*C*] *He was Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford.*] This we learn from his epitaph (27). By the way it muſt be noted, that this Lady Anne, afterwards Counteſs of Pembroke, was the ſame perſon, who lived like a Princeſs, for many years after our author's death, in Weſtmorland; was a great lover and encourager of learning and learned men, hoſpitable, charitable to the poor, and of a moſt generous and public ſpirit. She died the 22d of March, 1675, aged 87, and was buried under a ſtately monument in the church of Appleby, in Weſtmorland (28).

(27) See the laſt Remark.

(28) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*D*] —— *was buried.*] On the wall over his grave is this inſcription (29): *Here lies, expecting the ſecond coming of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the dead body of* Samuel Daniel, *Eſq; that excellent Poet and Hiſtorian, who was Tutor to the Lady* Anne Clifford *in her youth, ſhe that was daughter and heir to* George Clifford *Earl of* Cumberland; *who in gratitude to him erected this monument to his memory, a long time after, when ſhe was Counteſs-Dowager of* Pembroke, Dorſet, *and* Montgomery. *He died in* Octob. an. 1619. B.

(29) *Id. ibid.*

*** [The writers of the Biographia Dramatica have remarked, that there is an evident confuſion in the account which ſome authors have given of Mr. Daniel's Life. But the confuſion is ſolely owing to a blunder of Langbaine's that is flagrantly abſurd. Langbaine, after ſtating the time of Mr. Daniel's birth and death in the ſame manner as is done in the article above, unaccountably adds, that he lived to fourſcore years of age. This groſs miſtake has been copied by Gildon and Jacob (30).

(30) *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. i. p. 110.

Mr. Granger obſerves, on Samuel Daniel's having ſucceeded Spenſer as Poet-Laureat to Queen Elizabeth, that he was then thought to have merited the Laurel. " His proſe," adds Mr. Granger, " has much more ſimplicity and elegance than is to " be found in the generality of the writers of his " age; but his poetry is too proſaic to gain many " admirers in the preſent (31)." It appears, from the lines quoted in note [*A*], that the ſame objection was made to him by ſome of his contemporaries.

(31) Biographical Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 11, 12. 2d edit.

Mr. Headley, in the Biographical Sketches prefixed to his " Select Beauties of ancient Engliſh Poetry," has given the moſt accurate eſtimate that has yet been formed of Daniel's poetical character. Speaking of the dialogue between Ulyſſes and the Syren, in one of our author's plays, and which he acknowledges to be only neat and unaffected, he adds:

" But Daniel has a right to the merit of ſtill higher excellence. Though very rarely ſublime, he has ſkill in the pathetic, and his pages are diſgraced with neither pedantry nor conceit. We find, both in his poetry and proſe, ſuch a legitimate and rational flow of language as approaches nearer the ſtyle of the 18th than the 16th century, and of which we may ſafely aſſert, that it will never become obſolete. He certainly was the Atticus of his day. It ſeems to have been his error to have entertained too great a diffidence of his own abilities. Conſtantly contented with the ſedate propriety of good ſenſe, which he no ſooner attains than he ſeems to reſt ſatisfied, though his reſources, had he but made the effort, would have carried him much farther. In thus eſcaping cenſure, he is not always entitled to praiſe. From not endeavouring to be great, he ſometimes miſſes of being reſpectable. The conſtitution of his mind ſeems often to have failed him in the ſultry and exhauſting regions of the Muſes; for, though generally neat, eaſy, and perſpicuous, he too frequently grows ſlack, languid, and enervated. In peruſing his long hiſtorical poem we grow ſleepy at the dead ebb of his narrative, notwithſtanding being occaſionally relieved with ſome touches of the pathetic. Unfortunate in the choice of his ſubject, he ſeems fearful of ſupplying its defects by digreſſional embelliſhment. Inſtead of fixing upon one of a more fanciful caſt, which the natural coolneſs of his judgement would neceſſarily have corrected, he has cooped himſelf up within the limited and narrow pale of dry events: inſtead of caſting his eye on the general hiſtory of human nature, and giving his genius a range over her immeaſurable fields, he has confined himſelf to an abſtract diary of Fortune: inſtead of preſenting us with pictures of Truth from the effects of the Paſſions, he has verſified the truth of action only. He has ſufficiently, therefore, ſhewn the hiſtorian, but by no means the poet. For, to uſe a ſentiment of Sir Wm. Davenant's, " Truth narrative and paſt is the idol of hiſtorians (who worſhip a dead thing,) and truth operative, and by its effects continually alive, is the miſtreſs of poets, who hath not her exiſtence in matter but in reaſon." Daniel has often the ſoftneſs of Rowe without his effeminacy. In his Complaint of Cleopatra he has caught Ovid's manner very happily, as he has no obſcurities either of ſtyle or language, neither pedantry nor affectation, all of which have concurred in baniſhing from uſe the works of his contemporaries. The oblivion he has met with is peculiarly undeſerved: he has ſhared their fate, though innocent of their faults. Daniel enjoyed the friendſhip and the praiſes of the moſt eminent men of his age (32)."

(32) Select Beauties of ancient Engliſh Poetry, vol. i. p. xlii, xliii.

We ſhall inſert one of the ſpecimens which Mr. Headley, in his collection, has produced of Daniel's poetical talents. It is the deſcription of Richard the Second, the morning before his murder in Pomfret Caſtle.

" Whether

Whether the ſoul receives intelligence
By her near Genius, of the body's end,
And ſo imparts a ſadneſs to the ſenſe,
Foregoing ruin, whereto it doth tend;
Or whether Nature elſe hath conference
With profound ſleep, and ſo doth warning ſend
By prophetizing dreams, what hurt is near,
And gives the heavy careful heart to fear:

" However, ſo it is; the now ſad King
(Toſs'd here and there, his quiet to confound)
Feels a ſtrange weight of ſorrows gathering
Upon his trembling heart, and ſees no ground;
Feels ſudden terror bring cold ſhivering:
Liſts not to eat; ſtill muſes; ſleeps unſound:
His ſenſes droop, his ſteady eyes unquick;
And much he ails, and yet he is not ſick.

" The morning of that day which was his laſt,
After a weary reſt riſing to pain,
Out at a little grate his eyes he caſt
Upon thoſe bord'ring hills, and open plain,
And views the Town, and ſees how people paſs'd;
Where others liberty makes him complain
The more his own, and grieves his ſoul the more;
Conferring captive crowns, with freedom poor.

" O happy Man, ſaith he, that lo I ſee
Grazing his cattle in thoſe pleaſant fields!
If he but knew his good, (how bleſſed he
That feels not what affliction greatneſs yields!)
Other than what he is he would not be,
Nor change his ſtate with him that ſceptres wields.
Thine, thine is that true Life—that is to live,
To reſt ſecure, and not riſe up to grieve.

" Thou ſitt'ſt at home ſafe by thy quiet fire,
And hear'ſt of others harms, but feeleſt none;
And there thou tell'ſt of Kings, and who aſpire,
Who fall, who riſe, who triumph, who do moan.
Perhaps thou talk'ſt of me, and doſt enquire
Of my reſtraint, why here I live alone;
And pitieſt this my miſerable fall:
For pity muſt have part: envy not all.

" Thrice happy you, that look as from the ſhore,
And have no venture in the wreck you ſee;
No int'reſt, no occaſion to deplore
Other mens travels, while yourſelves ſit free.
How much doth your ſweet reſt make us the more
To ſee our miſery, and what we be!
Whoſe blinded greatneſs ever in turmoil,
Still ſeeking happy life, makes life a toil.

" Great Diocleſian (and more great therefore,
For yielding up that whereto Pride aſpires)
Reck'ning thy gardens in Illyria more
Than all the Empire, all what th' Earth admires;
Thou well didſt teach, that he is never poor
That little hath, but he that much deſires;
Finding more true delight in that ſmall ground,
Than in poſſeſſing all the Earth was found.

Are Kings (that freedom give) themſelves not free,
As meaner men, to take what they may give?
What! are they of ſo fatal a degree,
That they cannot deſcend from that, and live?
Unleſs they ſtill be Kings, can they not be?
Nor may they their authority ſurvive?
Will not my yielded crown redeem my breath?
Still am I fear'd?—is there no way but death (33)?" (33) *Ibid.* 111—113.

With regard to Daniel's dramatic pieces, it is obſerved, in the Biographia Dramatica, that they are not equal to ſome other of his poetical works, and ſtill leſs ſo to his hiſtories, which are yet held in very high eſtimation. His tragedy, however, of Cleopatra was greatly eſteemed in its time; and there is an edition of it in 1623, in which the author has made various alterations, much to its advantage. Both in this Tragedy and in his Philotas, Mr. Daniel has ſhewn great judgment, by treading in the ſteps of the ancients in the modelizing of his fable, and the conduct of his morals; two circumſtances of principal importance, though frequently diſregarded (34).

(34) *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. i. p. 111. vol. ii. p. 58. 281.

K.

DANVERS (HENRY), a brave warrior in the end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth century; and created Earl of Danby by King Charles I. was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Danvers, Knight [*A*], by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir to John Nevil the laſt Lord Latimer (*a*). He was born at Danteſey in Wiltſhire, on the 28th day of June, 1573. After an education ſuitable to his birth, he went and ſerved in the Low-Country wars, under Maurice Count of Naſſau, afterwards Prince of Orange; and was engaged in many military actions of thoſe times, both by ſea and land. He was made a Captain in the wars of France, occaſioned in that kingdom by the League; and there knighted for his good ſervice under Henry IV. King of France. Next, he was employed in Ireland (*b*), as Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, and Serjeant-Major of the whole Army, under Robert Earl of Eſſex, and Charles Baron of Montjoy, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*c*). Upon the acceſſion of King James I. he was, on account of his family's deſerts and ſufferings [*B*], advanced, the twenty-firſt of July, 1603, to the dignity of a Peer of this realm, by the title of Baron of Danteſey (*d*): and in 1605, by a ſpecial act of Parliament, reſtored in blood, as heir to his father, notwithſtanding the attainder of his elder brother, Sir Charles Danvers, Knight (*e*). Moreover, he was appointed Lord Preſident of Munſter in Ireland (*f*): and in 1620 made Governor of the Iſle of Guerneſy, for life (*g*). By King Charles I. he was created Earl of Danby (*h*), on February 5, 1625-6; and made of his Privy-Council; and Knight of the Order of the Garter (*i*). Being himſelf a man of learning, as well as a great encourager of it; and obſerving that opportunities were wanting in the Univerſity of Oxford for the uſeful ſtudy

(*a*) The Baronage of England, by Sir W. Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 416. and vol. i. p. 313.
(*b*) See *Pacata Hibernia*: Ireland appeaſed and reduced, &c. by T. Stafford, edit. 1633. fol. p. 199. 233. and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; in 1725. vol. i. p. 370.
(*c*) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 416, 417.
(*d*) *Ibid.* & Pat. 1. Jac. p. 14. The Danvers were deſcended from the ancient family of Danteſey. Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. col. 305.
(*e*) Dugdale, *ib.* and Journ. of Parliament.
(*f*) Dugdale, *ib.* p. 417.
(*g*) Pat. 18. Jac. p. 13.
(*h*) Pat. 1. C. I. p. 7. Camden's Brit. col. 915.
(*i*) Dugdale, *ut ſupra*, p. 417.

[*A*] *Was the ſecond ſon of Sir John Danvers, Knt.*] That family was originally of *Anvers* or *Antuerp*, as their ſurname implies. The greateſt acceſſion to their honour and fortune (1), came by the marriage of Sir John Danvers with Elizabeth, the youngeſt daughter, and one of the co-heireſſes to John Lord Latimer: Whoſe three other daughters, were, Catherine, wife of Henry Earl of Northumberland; Dorothy, wife of Tho. Cecill, the firſt Earl of Exeter; and Lucy, wife of Sir William Cornwallis, Knt. (2). Sir Henry Danvers's elder brother, was Sir Charles Danvers, Knt. who adhering to Robert Earl of Eſſex, in his diſloyal deſigns againſt the Court, fell a ſacrifice to the Cecilian faction, and was attainted of high-treaſon, and beheaded in 1601 (3). The reader is to obſerve, that this family's ſurname is ſometimes written *Danvers*, and ſometimes *Davers* (4).

(1) See Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. fol. col. 920.
(2) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 313.
(3) See Camden's Annals of Q. Elizabeth, under the year 1601.
(4) See Dugdale, and Camden, *ib.* and Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 416, 417. and *Hiberni Pacata*, by T. Stafford, *ubi ſupra*.

[*B*] *On account of his family's deſerts and ſufferings.*] For, both the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Charles Danvers, and the reſt that then ſuffered, were thought to have fallen a ſacrifice to the King of Scots ſucceſſion; and the Earl of Eſſex was conſidered by King James I. as his martyr (5).

(5) See Rapin's Hiſt. of England; in the beginning of K. James the Ild's reign, vol. ii. edit. 1733, fol. p. 159.

of Botany, he purchaſed a piece of ground by the river Charwell, oppoſite to Magdalen-College; which he encompaſſed with a curious wall of ſquare poliſhed ſtone, and repleniſhed with a great variety of plants and herbs proper for the ſtudy of Phyſic and Botany [*C*]. He founded alſo an Alms-houſe, and a Free-ſchool, at Malmeſbury in Wiltſhire (*k*). In his latter days he choſe a retired life; and (upon what account is not well known) fell under the diſpleaſure of the Court [*D*]. At length, he died at his houſe in Cornbury Park in Oxfordſhire, January the 20th, 1643-4, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age: and was buried in the Chancel of the Pariſh-church of Danteſey, under a noble monument of white marble, with an epitaph [*E*], which contains the beſt character that can be given of him. He was never married (*l*).

(*k*) Camden's Britannia, *ut ſupra*, col. 105.

(*l*) Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 417.

His younger brother and heir, was Sir *John Danvers*, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber to King Charles I. who was ſo ungrateful and inhuman, as to ſit in judgment upon his gracious Maſter, that unfortunate Prince, and to be one of thoſe who ſigned the warrant for his execution. He died before the Reſtoration of King Charles II. but, however, all his eſtates both real and perſonal were confiſcated in 1661 (*m*). His character is given below [*F*].

(*m*) See Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. by Biſhop Kennet. Lond. fol. 1728. p. 156. 178. 490.

[*C*] *Proper for the ſtudy of Phyſick and Botany.*] In order to put this noble deſign in execution, he purchaſed for the ſum of two hundred and fifty pounds, *five acres* of ground, in the place mentioned above; which had formerly ſerved for a burying place to the Jews (reſiding in great numbers at Oxford, till they were expelled England by King Edward I. in 1290). His right and title to that piece of land, he conveyed to the Univerſity, on the 27th of March, 1622. And the ground being firſt conſiderably raiſed, to prevent its being overflowed by the river Charwell; the Heads of the Univerſity laid the firſt ſtones of the walls, on the 25th of July following. They were finiſhed in 1633, being fourteen foot high: and coſt the noble benefactor about five thouſand pounds. The entrance into the garden, is on the north ſide under a ſtately gate, the charge of building which amounted to between five and ſix hundred pounds. Upon the front of that gateway, is this Latin inſcription: *Gloriæ Dei Opt. Max. Honori Caroli Regis, in uſum Acad. et Reipub. Henricus Comes Danby, D. D.* MDCXXXII. i. e. 'To the Glory 'of God, and the Honour of King Charles, for the 'uſe of the Univerſity and the Kingdom, Henry 'Earl of Danby gives and dedicates [*this Garden.*'] For the maintenance of it, and of a Gardener, the noble founder left, by Will, the impropriate rectory of Kirkdale in Yorkſhire: which was afterwards ſettled for the ſame purpoſe, by his brother and heir, Sir John Danvers, Knt. The Earl of Danby's Will bore date the 14th of December, 1640 (6).

(6) A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiquitates Univ. *Oxon.* edit. 1674. *lib.* ii. p. 45. See alſo the Preſent State of England, &c. by J. Chamberlayne. Part i. ch. 12. (7) The Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, vol. ii. Part ii. edit. 1735. 8*vo*. p. 644.

[*D*] *Fell under the diſpleaſure of the Court.*] For, he was fined *five thouſand pounds* in the Star-Chamber, for having felled timber in Wichwood-foreſt, without licence (7). This was ſuch a ſevere puniſhment, as would not have been inflicted upon him, had he been in the good graces of the Court.

[*E*] *With an epitaph.*] Being as follows: 'Henry 'Earl of *Danby*, ſecond ſon to Sir *John Danvers*, 'Knight, and Dame *Elizabeth*, daughter and coheir 'to *John Nevil* Lord *Latimer*; born at *Dauntſey*, in 'the county of *Wiltſhire*, the 28th day of June, 'Ann. Dom. 1573, and baptized in this church, 'the firſt of July following, being Sunday. He 'departed this life on the Twentieth day of January, 'Ann. Dom. 1643, and lyeth here interred.

'He was partly bred up in the *Low-Country*-wars, 'under *Maurice* E. of *Naſſaw* (afterwards Prince of 'Orange) and in many other military actions of thoſe 'times both by ſea and land. He was made a Captain in the wars of *France*, and there knighted for 'his good ſervice, under *Henry* the Fourth, then 'French King. He was employed as Lieutenant-'General of the Horſe, and Serjeant-Major of the 'whole army in *Ireland*, under *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, 'and *Charles* Baron of *Montjoy*, in the reign of 'Queen *Elizabeth*.

'He was made Baron of *Dauntſey*, and Peer of 'this realm, by King *James* the Firſt; and by him 'made Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, and Governor of 'Garneſey.

'By King *Charles* the Firſt, he was created Earl 'of *Danby*; made of his Privy Council, and Knight 'of the moſt noble Order of the Garter. But, declining more active employments, in his later time '(by reaſon of his imperfect health;) full of honour, 'wounds, and dayes, he died at his houſe, in *Corn-'bury Park*, in the county of *Oxford*, in the 71 'year of his age (8).'

(8) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 417.

Laus Deo.

Sacred marble, ſafely keep
His duſt, who under thee muſt ſleep,
Untill the years again reſtore
Their dead, and time ſhall be no more.
Meane while, if he (which all things wears)
Does ruine thee; or if thy tears
Are ſhed for him: diſſolve thy frame,
Thou art requited: for his fame,
His vertue, and his worth, ſhall be
Another monument to thee.

G. Herbert.

[*F*] *His character is given below.*] From the Lord Clarendon (9), who delivers it in the following words: 'The other (10) was Sir John Danvers, the 'younger brother and heir of the Earl of Danby, 'who was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to the 'King, and being neglected by his brother, and 'having, by a vain expence in his way of living, 'contracted a vaſt debt, which he knew not how to 'pay, and being a proud formal weak man, between 'being ſeduced and a ſeducer, became ſo far involved in their counſels, that he ſuffered himſelf to 'be applied to their worſt offices, taking it to be a 'high honour to ſit upon the ſame bench with Crom-'well, who employed and contemned him at once: 'nor did that party of miſcreants look upon any 'two men in the kingdom with that ſcorn and de-'teſtation as they did upon *Danvers* and Mildmay.'

M.

(9) The Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731. 8*vo*. Part iii. vol. i. p. 255, 256. (10) He had been juſt before giving the character of Sir Henry Mildmay, another of the King's ſervants, and Judges.

DAVENANT (JOHN), Biſhop of Saliſbury in the ſeventeenth century, was born in Watling-ſtreet, London, where his father was an eminent Merchant, but originally deſcended from the antient family of the Davenants of Sible-Heningham in Eſſex (*a*) [*A*]. What ſchool he was educated in, we cannot find. But, on the fourth of July, 1587, he was admitted Penſioner of Queen's College in Cambridge (*b*). He regularly

(*a*) T. Fuller's Church Hiſt. edit. 1655. B. x. p. 176.

(*b*) From the College Regiſter. It does not appear by it that he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner, as T. Fuller affirms. *Ib.*

[*A*] *Deſcended from the ancient family of the Davenants of Sible Heningham in Eſſex.*] And of Davenant's-lands in that pariſh; where his father was born, and his anceſtors had continued in a worſhipful degree from Sir John Davenant, who lived in the time of King Henry the Third (1).

(1) Fuller, *ubi ſupra*.

took his degrees in Arts; that of Maſter in 1594 (*c*). A Fellowſhip was offered him about the ſame time; but his father would not permit him to accept of it on account of his plentiful fortune: however, after his father's deceaſe, he accepted of one (*d*), into which he was admitted September 2, 1597 (*e*). Being thus ſettled in the College, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as he had already done before [*B*], by his learning and other excellent qualifications (*f*). In the year 1601 he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity: and that of Doctor in 1609 (*g*). This ſame year laſt-mentioned he was elected Lady Margaret's Profeſſor, which place he enjoyed till 1621 (*h*). He was alſo one of her Preachers in 1609 and 1612. On the 20th of October 1614, he was admitted Maſter of his College, and continued in that ſtation till April 20, 1622 (*i*). And ſo conſiderable did he become, that he was one of thoſe eminent Engliſh Divines, ſent by King James I. to the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618 [*C*]. He returned to England in May 1619 (*k*), after having viſited the moſt eminent cities, and other remarkable places, in the Low-Countries (*l*). Upon the death of his brother-in-law Dr. Robert Townſon, he was nominated Biſhop of Saliſbury; and was elected June 11, 1621, confirmed November 17 following, and conſecrated the 18th of the ſame month (*m*). He continued in favour during the remainder of King James the Firſt's reign: but in Lent 1630-1, he incurred the Court's diſpleaſure, for meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the predeſtinarian controverſy [*D*]; "all curious ſearch" into which, his Majeſty had ſtrictly injoined "to be laid aſide (*n*)." For this pretended contempt of the King's Declaration, he was not only reproved, the ſame day; but alſo ſummoned to anſwer, two days after, before the Privy Council. And though he was diſmiſſed without farther trouble, and even admitted to kiſs the King's hand [*E*], yet he was never afterwards in favour at Court (*o*). He died of a conſumption April 20, 1641 (*p*), to which a ſenſe

(*c*) From the Univerſity Regiſter. The Regiſter-book, wherein his Bachelor of Arts degree was entered, is loſt.
(*d*) T. Fuller, *ibid.*
(*e*) College Regiſter.
(*b*) Catalogue of thoſe Profeſſors; before the Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon, reprinted at London, 1709.
(*i*) College Regiſter.
(*k*) *G. Camdeni regni Regis Jacobi I. Annal. Apparatus*, edit. 1691. 4*to*. p. 45, *ad calcem ipſius Epiſtol.*
(*m*) T. Fuller, *ibid.* p. 91. and J. Le Neve's *Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, &c. edit. 1716. fol. p. 261.
(*p*) *Godwin de Præſulibus, cum continuatione Cl. Vir. Gul. Richardſon. Cantab.* 1743. fol. p. 358.

(*f*) T. Fuller, *ib.*
(*g*) Univerſity Regiſter.
(*l*) T. Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, Book x. p. 82.
(*n*) In his Declaration prefixed to the XXXIX Articles, in 1628: which has frequently been reprinted at the head of them.
(*o*) Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, Book xi. p. 138, 139, 140.

[*B*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as he had already done before.*] In his youthful exerciſes, he gave ſuch an earneſt of his future maturity, that Dr. Whitacre hearing him diſpute, ſaid, 'That he would in time 'prove the honour of the Univerſity;' a prediction that proved not untrue, as T. Fuller obſerves (2).

(2) Fuller, *ubi ſupra.*

[*C*] *He was one of thoſe eminent Engliſh Divines, ſent by King James I. to the Synod of Dort, in the year* 1618.] The others were, George Carleton, D. D. then Biſhop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chicheſter; Joſeph Hall, D. D. then Dean of Worceſter, and afterwards Biſhop of Exeter and Norwich; and Samuel Ward, D. D. Maſter of Sidney-College, Camb. and Archdeacon of Taunton. [But the air not agreeing with Dr. Hall, he obtained leave to return to England about Chriſtmas, and Thomas Goade, D. D. was ſent in his room (3).] They embarked Octob. 17 (4), landed at Middleburgh the 20th; came to the Hague the 27th of the ſame month; and thence removed to Dort, where the Synod was opened November 3, O. S. and ended April 29 (5). They came back to England May 7 (6). During their ſtay in Holland, theſe four Divines had ten pounds a day allowed them by the States; and a preſent of two hundred pounds, at their departure, for their charges; beſides a golden medal, to each of them, whereon was repreſented the Synod ſitting (7).

(3) T. Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, Book x. p. 77, 78, 79, 80.
(4) *Camdeni Annales, ubi ſupra.* p. 37.
(5) Fuller, *ib.* p. 78.
(6) Camden, *ib.* p. 45.
(7) *Ibid.* p. 79. 82.

[*D*] *For meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the Predeſtinarian controverſy.*] As ſoon as his Sermon was ended, it was ſignified to him, That his Majeſty was much diſpleaſed, that he had ſtirred this queſtion, which his Majeſty had forbidden to be meddled withal, one way or other: the Biſhop's anſwer was, That he had delivered nothing, but the received doctrine of our Church, eſtabliſhed in the 17th Article, and that he was ready to juſtify the truth of what he had then taught. He was told, The doctrine was not gainſaid, but his Majeſty had given command, theſe queſtions ſhould not be debated, and therefore he took it more offenſively that any ſhould be ſo bold, as in his own hearing to break his royal commands. To this he replied, That he never underſtood his Majeſty had forbidden the handling of any doctrine compriſed in the Articles of our Church, but only raiſing of new queſtions, or adding of new ſenſe thereunto, which he had not done, nor ever ſhould do. Two days after, when he appeared before the Privy-Council, Dr. Sam. Harſnet, Archbiſhop of York, made a ſpeech nearly half an hour long, aggravating the boldneſs of Biſhop Davenant's offence, and ſhewing many inconveniencies that it was likely to draw after it. When the Archbiſhop had finiſhed his ſpeech, the Biſhop deſired, That ſince he was called thither as an offender, he might not be put to anſwer a long ſpeech upon the ſudden, but that his Grace would be pleaſed to charge him point by point, and ſo to receive his anſwer; for he did not yet underſtand wherein he had broken any commandment of his Majeſty's, which was taken for granted. After ſome pauſe, the Archbiſhop told him, He knew well enough the point which was urged againſt him, namely the breach of the King's declaration. Then he ſtood upon this defence, That the doctrine of Predeſtination which he taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration: 1ſt. Becauſe in the Declaration all the Articles are eſtabliſhed, amongſt which, the Article of Predeſtination is one. 2. Becauſe all Miniſters are urged to ſubſcribe unto the truth of the Article, and all ſubjects to continue in the profeſſion of that as well as of the reſt. Upon theſe and ſuch like grounds, he gathered, that it could not be eſteemed amongſt forbidden, curious, or needleſs doctrines; and here he deſired that out of any clauſe in the Declaration it might be ſhewed him, that keeping himſelf within the bounds of the Article, he had tranſgreſſed his Majeſty's command; but the Declaration was not produced, nor any particular words in it: only this was urged, That the King's will was, that for the peace of the Church theſe high queſtions ſhould be forborne. He added, That he was ſorry he underſtood not his Majeſty's intention; which if he had done before, he ſhould have made choice of ſome other matter to treat of, which might have given no offence; and that for the time to come, he ſhould conform himſelf as readily as any other to his Majeſty's command; whereupon he was diſmiſſed. At his departure, he entreated the Lords of the Council, to let his Majeſty underſtand, that he had not boldly, or wilfully and wittingly, againſt his Declaration, meddled with the forenamed point; and that now underſtanding fully his Majeſty's mind, and intention, he ſhould humbly yield obedience thereunto (8).

[*E*] *And even admitted to kiſs the King's hand.*] When he came into the royal preſence, his Majeſty declared to him his reſolution, That he would not have this high point meddled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, becauſe it was too high for the people's underſtanding; and other points which concern reformation and newneſs of life, were more needful and profitable. The Biſhop promiſed obedience therein, and ſo kiſſing his Majeſty's hand departed (9).

(8) This account is taken from Bp. Davenant's relation of the whole matter in a letter to Dr. Ward. See Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, B. xi. p. 139, 140.
(9) Fuller, *ib.*

of

of the ſorrowful times, that he ſaw were bad, and foreſaw would be worſe, did not a little contribute (*q*). Among other benefactions, he gave to Queen's College in Cambridge, the perpetual Advowſons of the Rectories of Cheverel Magna, and Newton Tony in Wiltſhire; and a Rent-charge of thirty-one pounds ten ſhillings *per annum*, for the founding of two Bible-Clerks, and buying books for the library, in the ſame College (*r*). We ſhall give an account of what he publiſhed in the note [*F*]. As to his character; He was humble, and hoſpitable; painful in preaching and writing; and behaved in every ſtation with exemplary gravity and moderation (*s*). He was a man of great learning, and an eminent Divine (*t*); but ſtrictly attached to Calviniſm, with all its abſurdities of unconditionate Predeſtination, &c. Whilſt he was at the Synod of Dort, he inclined to the doctrine of Univerſal Redemption; and was for a middle way between the two extremes, maintaining The Certainty of the Salvation of a certain number of the Elect; and that offers of pardon were ſent not only to all that ſhould believe and repent, but to all that heard the Goſpel: that Grace ſufficient to convince and perſuade the impenitent (ſo as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themſelves) went along with theſe offers; that the Redemption of Chriſt and his Merits were applicable to theſe; and conſequently there was a poſſibility of their Salvation (*u*). He was buried in Saliſbury Cathedral.

(*q*) Fuller, *ibid.* p. 176.

(*r*) From the information of the preſent worthy Maſter.

(*s*) Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, p. 176.

(*t*) *Summæ fuit eruditionis, & magni nominis theologus.* Richardſon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*u*) The Hiſtory of the Reformation, &c. in the Low-Countries. fol. by Ger. Brandt, vol. iii. p. 256.

[*F*] *We ſhall give an account of what he publiſhed.*] I. A Latin Expoſition on St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Coloſſians. *Expoſitio Epiſtolæ D. Pauli ad Coloſſenſes, per Reverendum in Chriſto Patrem Joannem Sariſburienſem Epiſcopum in lucem edita: Olim ab eodem, Dominæ Margaretæ in Academia Cantabrigienſi Profeſſore Theologico, dictata*, fol. The third edition was printed at Cambridge in 1639. It is the ſubſtance of Lectures read by our author as Lady Margaret Profeſſor. So was alſo the following; II. *Prælectiones de duobus in Theologia controverſis Capitibus: De Judice Controverſiarum, primo; De Juſtitia habituali & actuali, altero: Per Reverendiſſimum Virum Joan. Davenantium, S. Theol. Doctorem (nunc Epiſcopum Sariſburienſem) ante aliquot annos in celeberrima Academia Cantabrigienſi Theologiæ profeſſorem pro Domina Margareta, in Scholis Theologicis auditoribus ſuis dictatæ.* Cantab. 1631, fol. i. e. Lectures on the two controverted points, 1. The Judge of controverſies; 2. Habitual and actual Righteouſneſs, &c. III. In 1634, he publiſhed the Queſtions, which he had diſputed upon in the ſchools, 49 in number, under this title, *Determinationes Quæſtionum quarundam Theologicarum, per Reverendiſſimum Virum Joannem Davenantium*, &c. fol. IV. The laſt thing he publiſhed, was, 'Animadverſions upon a treatiſe lately publiſhed and intitled, *'God's Love to Mankind, manifeſted by diſproving his 'abſolute Decree for their Damnation.'* Cambr. 1641, 8*vo*. This treatiſe was written by S. Hoard.

M.

D'AVENANT or DAVENANT (WILLIAM), Poet-Laureat in the reigns of Charles the Firſt and Charles the Second. He was the younger ſon of an honeſt citizen of Oxford, one Mr. John Davenant, who kept that which was afterwards the Crown-Tavern there, and was a perſon of a very grave diſpoſition, as well as unblemiſhed reputation (*a*). William Davenant, of whom we are to ſpeak, was born in the latter end of the month of February 1605, and, on the third of March following, was chriſtened at St. Martin's Church, in which pariſh his father's houſe ſtood (*b*). While he was a child he was very much taken notice of for his briſk and lively parts, and for his early inclination to letters, more eſpecially to Poetry, hinted by ſome, and aſſerted by others, to have been owing to ſome very ſingular accidents, as to which it may not be amiſs to enter into a few particulars, though the reports themſelves deſerve but little credit (*c*) [*A*]. He received the firſt rudiments of polite learning from Mr. Edward Sylveſter, who kept,

(*a*) *Hiſt. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib.* ii. p. 168.

(*b*) Langbaine's EngliſhDramatic Poets, p. 106.

(*c*) Winſtanley's Lives of Engliſh Poets, p. 185.

[*A*] *Deſerve but little credit.*] We are obliged to Mr. Wood for a double account of this celebrated Poet. In his Latin work, which was tranſlated for him, and is thought ſometimes to expreſs the ſentiments alſo of Dr. Fell, under whoſe auſpice that tranſlation was performed; there is a ſuccinct account of the different humours of John Davenant the father, and William Davenant the ſon (1). But in Mr. Wood's Engliſh Hiſtory of Oxford writers, we have his ſentiments a little more at large; for, having told us who his father was, and that the tavern he kept was afterwards known by the ſign of the Crown, he proceeds thus (2): 'His mother was a 'very beautiful woman, of a good wit and converſation, in which ſhe was imitated by none of her 'children, but by this William. The father, who 'was a very grave and diſcreet citizen (yet an 'admirer and lover of plays and play-makers, eſpecially Shakeſpeare, who frequented his houſe in 'his journies between Warwickſhire and London) 'was of a melancholic diſpoſition, and was ſeldom 'or never ſeen to laugh, in which he was imitated 'by none of his children, but by Robert his eldeſt 'ſon, afterwards Fellow of St. John's college, and 'a venerable Doctor of Divinity.' That there is ſomewhat of myſtery in this account, and more eſpecially in the parentheſis relating to Shakeſpeare, the reader will eaſily diſcern; but whether a modern writer has truly interpreted Mr. Wood's meaning, muſt be left to the reader's judgment (3). 'His 'father's houſe, ſays Mr. Jacob, being frequented 'by the famous Shakeſpeare in his journies to War-'wickſhire, his poetical genius in his youth, was, 'by that means, very much encouraged, and ſome 'will have it, that the handſome landlady, as well 'as the good wine, invited the Tragedian to thoſe 'quarters.' Thus much is certain, that our author admired Shakeſpeare more than any Engliſh Poet, and that one of the firſt eſſays of his muſe was a poem upon his death, which happened when Davenant was about ten years old. The reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it (4).

(1) *Hiſt. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib.* ii. p. 168.

(2) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 411.

(3) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, vol. ii. p. 58.

(4) Davenant's Works, P. i, p. 218.

ODE in remembrance of Maſter William Shakeſpeare.

I.

Beware delighted Poets! when you ſing,
To welcome nature in the early ſpring,
  Your num'rous feet not tread
The banks of Avon; for each flow'r
As it ne'er knew or ſun or ſhow'r,
  Hangs there the penſive head.

Each

kept, at that time, a grammar-ſchool in the pariſh of All Saints in Oxford (*d*), where he was ſo happy as to breed up ſeveral perſons, who, afterwards, became eminent for their learning and abilities. In the year 1621, the ſame in which his father was Mayor of the city, he was entered a member of the Univerſity of Oxford in Lincoln-College, under the tuition of Mr. Daniel Hough (*e*): but the Oxford Hiſtorian is of opinion, that he did not ſtay there long (*f*), but, being ſtrongly affected to lighter ſtudies, and perhaps encouraged by ſome of the young Noblemen and Gentlemen with whom he became acquainted there, he quitted the ſeat of the Muſes, in hopes of making his fortune at Court, where he became firſt Page to Frances Ducheſs of Richmond, a Lady very famous in thoſe days, who had a great influence at Court, and who kept a kind of court of her own (*g*). He afterwards removed into the family of Sir Fulk Grevile Lord Brooke, who being himſelf a man of parts and learning, and much addicted to Poetry, he ſtood very high in his favour, and might, very probably, have made a figure in the world under his patronage, if that noble Peer had not been ſuddenly deprived of life by the hands of a barbarous aſſaſſin, September 30th, 1628 (*h*). By this unfortunate accident Mr. Davenant was left quite at large, but, however, without any detriment to his fortune, ſince we find that the year enſuing he produced his firſt play to the world, which was very well received, and to which ſome very honourable recommendations were prefixed when it was printed [*B*]. He ſpent the next eight years of his life in a conſtant attendance upon the Court, where nobody was better received, or more highly careſſed, being particularly intimate with Thomas Carew, Eſq; Endymion Porter, Eſq; Sir John Suckling, Mr. Henry Jermyn, the Honourable Henry Howard, and, in a word, with all the great wits of that time: nor was he leſs regarded by the Earl of Dorſet, the Lord Treaſurer Weſton, and other great men (*i*), notwithſtanding an unlucky accident that did no ſmall injury to his handſome face, which the Oxford Hiſtorian aſſures us, aroſe from his familiarity with a handſome black girl in Axe-yard, in Weſtminſter (*k*), and which expoſed him to a good deal of raillery [*C*]. In this ſpace of time he wrote ſeveral plays, and many more poems, which

(*d*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 411. 505.

(*e*) *Hiſt. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib.* ii. p. 168.
(*f*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 411.

(*g*) Wilſon's Reign of King James I. in the Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 777.

(*h*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 443.

(*i*) As appears from the poems addreſſed to them in his Miſcellanies, and from his Dedications.

(*k*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 412.

II.

Each tree, whoſe ſpreading growth hath made
Rather a night beneath than ſhade,
(Unwilling now to grow)
Looks like the plume a Captain wears,
Whoſe rifled falls are ſteeped with tears,
Which from his laſt rage flow.

III.

The pitious river wept itſelf away,
Long ſince (alas! to ſuch a ſwift decay,)
That reach the map and look,
If you a river there can ſpie,
And for a river your mock'd eye,
Will find a ſhallow brook.

Will Dav'nant aſham'd of a fooliſh miſchance,
That he had got lately trav'ling in France;
Modeſtly hop'd th' handſomeneſs of 's muſe,
Might any deformity about him excuſe.

Surely the company had been content,
If they could have found any precedent;
But in all their records, in verſe or in proſe,
There was none of a Laureat who wanted a noſe.

And, as if this had been a jeſt that could never die, in a poem written ſome years after with the ſame title, there was another bold ſtroke at poor Sir William Davenant's diſfigured viſage, but with more of ill nature, and much leſs of wit in it (10).

(10) Dryden's Miſcellanies, vol. ii. p. 95.

Damn'd Holden, with's dull German Princeſs appear'd,
Whom if Dav'nant begot, as ſome do ſuppoſe,
Apollo ſaid the pillory ſhould crop off his ears,
And make them more ſuitable unto his noſe.

But, what is moſt extraordinary, Mr. Davenant himſelf could not forget the authoreſs of his misfortune, but has introduced her into his *Gondibert*, and, as the Criticks think, a little improperly. He brings two friends, Ulfinore the elder, and Goltho the younger, on a journey to the Court of Gondibert; but in their paſſage, to ſhew, as he would ſuggeſt, the frailty of youth, they were arreſted by a very unlooked-for accident, in ſpite of the wiſe counſels which Ulfinore had juſt received from his father (11).

(11) Gondibert, B. iii. Cant. 6. Stanza 31.

For a black beauty did her pride diſplay,
Through a large window, and in jewels ſhone,
As if to pleaſe the world, weeping for day,
Night had put all her ſtarry jewels on.

This beauty gaz'd on both, and Ulfinore
Hung down his head, but yet did lift his eyes
As if he fain would ſee a little more,
For much, though baſhful, he did beauty prize.

Goltho did like a bluſhleſs ſtatue ſtare,
Boldly her practis'd boldneſs did out-look,
And ev'n for fear ſhe would miſtruſt her ſnare,
Was ready to cry out, That he was took!

She,

[*B*] *Were prefixed when it was printed.*] The title of this firſt dramatick piece of our author's runs thus:

I. ALBOVINE *King of the* Lombards, *his Tragedy*, Lond. 1629, 4*to*.

This work is founded upon true Hiſtory, and our author ſeems to have drawn his materials both from antient and modern writers (5). He imitates Shakeſpeare in many places, and copies him in ſome. Mr. Langbaine ſays it was dedicated to the Right Honourable the Duke of Somerſet (6), in which ſtrange miſtake he is followed by later writers; but the Play itſelf plainly proves, that it was addreſſed to the unfortunate Robert Ker, Earl of Somerſet (7); and it is very evident from thence, that this Nobleman was not ſo little conſidered under his misfortunes as is generally imagined. It was juſtly eſteemed a very good firſt Play, and as ſuch is commended to the world by eight copies of verſes, all written by eminent men, of whom we will mention three, Sir Henry Blount, Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and the Honourable Henry Howard.

(5) *Paulus Diaconus de Geſtis Langobardorum, Lib.* ii. *c.* 28. *Gregorius Epiſc. Turonenſis Hiſt. Francorum. Lib.* ii. *c.* 28. *Belleforeſt Hiſt. Tragiques, tom.* iv. *n.* 19.
(6) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 107. Jacob's Lives of Engliſh Poets, vol. i. p. 59.
(7) Davenant's Works, P. ii. p. 414.

[*C*] *To a good deal of raillery.*] The plain fact is, that Mr. Davenant, being very amorous, was ſo unlucky as to carry the tokens of his irregular gallantries in the depreſſion of his noſe, which afforded the ſatyrick wits of thoſe times a pregnant ſubject for a kind of familiar abuſe, which affected him as little, or perhaps leſs, than it would any other man (8). This accident happened pretty early in his life, ſince it gave occaſion to the following ſtanzas in Sir John Suckling's *Seſſions of the Poets*, which I have tranſcribed from a very correct copy (9).

(8) *Athen Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 412.

(9) The Works of Sir John Suckling, p. 6, 7.

which he addreſſed to the principal perſons of the Court, and was alſo employed in framing ſeveral maſques, that were acted at court, not only by the principal nobility of both ſexes, but one in which even the Queen herſelf vouchſafed to take a ſhare, though it gave very high offence to the ſcrupulous moraliſts of thoſe times (*l*). By theſe performances he raiſed his poetical character to a very great height; moſt of his pieces, whatever may be thought of them now, being then eſteemed the beſt of their kind, and, as ſuch, highly applauded by thoſe who were thought the ableſt judges (*m*). We ſhall mention their titles, and a few remarkable particulars that relate to them, in the notes [*D*]. Upon the death of the juſtly celebrated Benjamin Johnſon, in 1637, our Poet ſucceeded to his laurel; which gave very high offence to Mr. Thomas May, who was his competitor; and though it was well enough known, that Mr. Davenant owed his preferment to the favour of the Queen, yet his rival carried his ſpleen ſtill higher, and, from being a warm courtier, became not only a warmer maleçontent, but diſtinguiſhed himſelf afterwards againſt his Royal Maſter, both as an Advocate and an Hiſtorian to the Parliament (*n*). As for Mr. Davenant, he continued very ſtedfaſt in his old road, adhered to his old principles, and his old friends, writing from time to time new poems, exhibiting new plays, and having the chief direction and management of the Court diverſions, ſo long as the diſorders of thoſe times would permit (*o*). Of theſe pieces alſo we ſhall ſay ſo much as is neceſſary at the bottom of the page [*E*]. When the troubles began, Mr. Davenant had an early ſhare in them;

(*l*) Langbaine's Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 110.

(*m*) As appears by the recommendatory verſes of Sir John Suckling, Mr. Waller, Mr. Cowley, Mr. Carew, &c.

(*n*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 413, 414.

(*o*) Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, P. ii. p. 191.

She, with a wicked woman's proſp'rous art,
A ſeeming modeſty, the window clos'd;
Wiſely delay'd his eyes, ſince of his heart
She thought ſhe had ſufficiently diſpos'd.

* * * * * * * * * *

E're he could more lament, a little page,
Clean and perfum'd, one whom this Dame did breed
To gueſs at ills too manly for his age,
Steps ſwiftly to him, and arreſts his ſteed:

With civil whiſper cries, *My Lady, Sir!*——
At this Goltho alights as ſwiftly poſt,
As poſters mount by ling'ring loth to err;
As wind-bound men, whoſe ſloth their firſt wind loſt.

* * * * * * * * * *

They enter, and aſcend, and enter then
Where DALGA with black eyes does ſinners draw;
And with her voice holds faſt repenting men,
To whoſe warm jet light Goltho is but ſtraw.

Nicely as bridegroom's was her chamber dreſs'd,
Her bed as bride's, and richer than a throne;
And ſweeter ſeem'd than the Circania's neſt,
Though built in Eaſtern groves of cinnamon.

The price of Princes pleaſure, who her love
(Though but falſe ware) at rates ſo coſtly bought;
The wealth of many, but may hourly prove
Spoils to ſome one by whom herſelf is caught.

She, ſway'd by ſinful beauty's deſtiny,
Finds her tyrannick pow'r muſt now expire,
Who meant to kindle Goltho in her eye,
But to her breaſt has brought the raging fire.

Yet even in ſimple love ſhe uſes art,
Though weepings are from looſer eyes but leaks,
Yet eldeſt lovers ſcarce would doubt her heart,
So well ſhe weeps, and thus to Goltho ſpeaks.

much wit, deep contrivance, and a quick ſucceſſion of buſy ſcenes handſomely expreſſed. Some of our later Poets, who had read this piece, loſt nothing by their reading; and if it were not an invidious taſk, one might ſhew where and what they gained.

III. *The* CRUEL BROTHER, *a Tragedy*, London, 1630, 4*to*.

This is dedicated to Richard Lord Weſton, at that time Lord High Treaſurer of England. The author acknowledges, in this Dedication, ſome errors in the piece itſelf; and in this, no doubt, the Criticks will allow him a ſound judgment: it ſeems however to have been pretty well received.

IV. COELUM BRITANNICUM, *a Maſque at Whitehall, in the Banquetting-Houſe, on Shrove Tueſday night, the 18th of February* 1633.

It was attributed to our author, though the machinery, which was very fine, was contrived and executed by Inigo Jones, and part of the piece itſelf written by Tho. Carew (12). The King himſelf wore a maſk in this piece, and the reſt of the performers were men of the firſt quality in the three nations (13). This we find omitted in Mr. Langbaine's catalogue.

(12) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 413.

(13) Sir Wm. Davenant's Works, p. 382.

V. *Triumphs of Prince D'Amour, a Maſque, preſented by his Highneſs at his palace in the Middle Temple the 24th of February* 1635, 4*to*.

This maſque, at the requeſt of the honourable ſociety of the Middle Temple, was invented and written by our author in three days, and was preſented by the members thereof as an entertainment to the Prince Elector. The muſick of the ſongs and ſymphonies was compoſed by Mr. Henry and Mr. William Lawes, his Majeſty's ſervants (14).

(14) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets. p. 1, 11.

VI. *Platonick Lovers, a Tragi-Comedy*, London, 1636, 4*to*.

VII. *The Wits, a Comedy*, London, 1636, 4*to*.

This play is dedicated to our author's true friend, and early patron, Endymion Porter, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber. There is a copy of verſes in vindication of it, prefixed by Thomas Carew, Eſq. It was favourably received by the publick after it's firſt performance, in which it ran ſome riſk of being loſt, and was for many years acted with great applauſe.

VIII. BRITANNIA TRIUMPHANS, *a Maſque preſented at Whitehall by the King's Majeſty and his Lords, on Sunday after Twelfth night, anno* 1637, 4*to*.

This piece is not inſerted in Mr. Langbaine's catalogue, or in the folio edition of our author's works, but has been very lately printed in Ireland.

IX. *The* TEMPLE *of* LOVE, *a Maſque, preſented by the Queen's Majeſty and her Ladies at Whitehall.*

[*D*] *That relate to them in the notes.*] We will in this note give a liſt of ſuch of his works, as were written within this period, that is, before he was honoured with the title of Poet Laureat, and which, in the judgment of thoſe times, were generally thought to have deſerved it.

II. *The* JUST ITALIAN, *a Tragi-Comedy*, London, 1630, 4*to*.

This dramatick performance is dedicated to Edward Earl of Dorſet, whoſe favourable opinion of it ſaved it from the condemnation of a haſty audience. It is introduced by two copies of verſes, one written by Mr. William Hopkins, and the other by Mr. Thomas Carew; and it cannot certainly be denied to have

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] Within the ſpace preſcribed to this note, his performances were but few:

X. SALMACIDA SPOLIA, *a Maſque, preſented to the King and Queen at Whitehall, the 21ſt of January* 1639, London, 1639, 4*to*.

them; for he was accuſed to the Parliament of being embarked in a deſign in May 1641, for bringing up the army for the defence of the King's perſon, and the ſupport of his authority, into which he was very probably drawn by his friends, there being many of them deep in this ſcheme, ſuch as Mr. Henry Piercy, afterwards Lord Piercy, Mr. Goring, Mr. Jermyn, Mr. Aſhburnham, Sir John Suckling, and others (*p*). Moſt of theſe, upon the diſcovery of their deſign, ſought to ſecure themſelves by flight, and Mr. Davenant among the reſt; but a Proclamation being publiſhed for apprehending him, he was ſtopped at Feverſham, ſent up to town, and put into the cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms (*q*). In the month of July following he was bailed, and, not long after, finding it expedient to withdraw to France, he had the misfortune to be ſeized again in Kent, by the Mayor of Canterbury. At laſt, however, he had the good luck to compleat his intention, and to retire beyond the ſeas, where he continued for ſome time (*r*). But the Queen ſending over a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, for the uſe of the Earl of Newcaſtle's army, Mr. Davenant (*s*) came over with them, offered his ſervice to that noble Peer, who was his old friend and patron, and was by him made Lieutenant-General of his Ordnance (*t*), to the no ſmall diſlike of ſome, who thought that a poſt very unfit for a Poet; in which, however, they made no great compliment to their General, who wrote poems and plays as well as Mr. Davenant (*u*). It is very probable, that he took ſome pains to qualify himſelf effectually for his duty in that capacity, ſince, in the month of September, 1643 (*w*), he received the honour of knighthood from the King, at the ſiege of Glouceſter, as a mark of the ſatisfaction he took in his ſervices, at a ſeaſon when he had a very fair opportunity of diſcovering who they were that deſerved that character. His Muſe, in the midſt of theſe toils and troubles, ſometimes raiſed her voice, and the ſame gratitude he had expreſſed to former patrons, he was inclined to ſhew to ſuch as protected his fortunes now, ſome inſtances of which were made public [*F*]. It does not appear how he came to leave the northern army, nor have we any accounts of his military ſervices after the time before-mentioned; but, after the King's affairs began to

(*p*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. i. p. 97.

(*q*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 412.

(*r*) Sir John Mennes's Poems, p. 35.

(*s*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. ii. p. 53.

(*t*) Life of Wm. Duke of Newcaſtle, written by his Ducheſs, p. 150.

(*u*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236.

(*w*) Walkeley's catalogue of the Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, Barons of England, Baronets, Knights, &c. Lond. 1653. 8*vo*. p. 163.

The ſubject was ſet down by our author and Inigo Jones; the invention, ornament, ſcenes, &c. by the latter, and what was ſpoken or ſung was written by Mr. Davenant, then her Majeſty's ſervant; and the muſick compoſed by Lewis Richard, Maſter of her Majeſty's muſick (15). This piece is likewiſe omitted in Mr. Langbaine's catalogue, and in the collections of Davenant's works, which however is a point of injuſtice: for though no queſtion can be made that Inigo Jones was a man of exalted genius, yet convincing evidence might be brought to prove, that in matters of this nature few people had a more lively imagination, or a taſte more correct, than our author.

(15) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 413.

It muſt have been ſome time within this period, that he publiſhed the firſt edition of his *Miſcellaneous Poems*, which I muſt confeſs I have never ſeen, but I am acquainted with their contents from later editions. Theſe conſiſted of addreſſes to his patrons and his friends, of new years compliments to the Queen, of prologues and epilogues to his own and other mens plays, and other things of a like nature. It muſt be confeſſed, that as a great part of them were written while he was a very young man, ſo they want this apology to palliate the roughneſs of ſome, and the want of eaſe and perſpicuity in others; though in his ſucceeding works he is not at all liable to this cenſure. But whatever exceptions may be taken to his poetical character in theſe juvenile performances, we muſt allow, that the candour, gratitude, tenderneſs, friendſhip, and good nature, expreſſed in them, make ſufficient amends, inaſmuch as it plainly proves, that, if we allow for the ſtate of our poetry at that time, he deſerved to be admired for his parts. The many amiable qualities of his mind rendered him alſo very juſtly beloved.

[*F*] *Some inſtances of which were made publick.*] It is very probable, that the two following pieces were written ſome years earlier than they were printed, for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that after Mr. Davenant had fallen ſo grievouſly under the diſpleaſure of the Parliament, he could have any great intercourſe with his Stationer at London; ſo that it is more likely, theſe plays having been formerly acted with applauſe, were now printed in the abſence, though not without the conſent, of their author.

XI. *The unfortunate Lovers, a Tragedy*, London, 1643, *and again in* 1649, 4*to*.

This tragedy is founded upon an Italian ſtory, was received very kindly at the time of it's appearance, and was often acted after the Reſtoration. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that this ſhould be omitted in Mr. Langbaine's catalogue of our author's works, notwithſtanding it is mentioned by Winſtanley (16), and which is more in Mr. Langbaine's own catalogue of plays.

(16) Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets, p. 186.

XII. *Love and Honour, a Tragi-Comedy*, Lond. 1649, 4*to*.

The ſcene is laid in Savoy, and after dramatick entertainments were revived again, Mr. Langbaine aſſures us, that he has ſeen this play often acted with applauſe, at the play-houſe in Lincoln's-inn fields, and afterwards at the theatre in Dorſet Garden (17). In point of ſtile it reſembled Shakeſpeare rather than Fletcher, and is more correctly finiſhed than any of Sir William Davenant's former plays, which ſhews that he was not hurt by the applauſe that he had met with, but thought himſelf obliged to labour hard, and take ſo much the more pains to deſerve it. Both theſe plays are without any teſtimonies of the author's friends before them, becauſe publiſhed at a time, when, perhaps, there were not many who were inclined to inform the world that they were his friends.

(17) Account of the Engliſh Dramatick Poets, p. 109.

XIII. MADAGASCAR, *with other poems*, London, 1648, 8*vo*. 2*d* edit.

His Madagaſcar was addreſſed to Prince Rupert, and muſt have been written many years before, ſince there are ſome commendatory verſes addreſſed to him expreſsly upon this poem, by his old friend Sir John Suckling, who died about ſix years before the printing of this edition. There are ſome other commendatory verſes alſo, that were prefixed to the firſt edition, and were reprinted now; and amongſt theſe likewiſe there is a copy of Sir John Suckling's. We may diſcern from the printing of this ſecond edition at that juncture, how much the poetick talent of Sir William Davenant was then admired, ſince it is plain he could then have no other patron than the publick, being himſelf an exile in France, and many of his friends with him. The dedicatory inſcription before theſe poems is very ſingular and laudable, and as at the ſame time it is very ſhort, the reader will probably be well pleaſed to peruſe it. Thus it runs:

If theſe POEMS *live, may their memories by whom they were cheriſhed,* ENDYM. PORTER, H. JERMYN, *live with them.*

decline,

decline, he judged it neceſſary to retire into France, where he was extremely well received by the Queen (*x*) and, it ſeems, was taken much into her confidence, ſince we find him embarked in a negotiation of great importance, when the King was at Newcaſtle, which was in the ſummer of 1646. Before this time Sir William had embraced the Popiſh Religion, which, we have reaſon to judge, might be a concurring, if not a principal, cauſe of his being employed at this time, and upon ſuch an occaſion. The noble Hiſtorian (*y*), who had always a particular friendſhip for him, has given a full account of it, though not much to his advantage, but ſtill with all the tenderneſs due to his acknowledged ſenſe of Sir William's good intentions, and of that long and intimate acquaintance that had ſubſiſted between them; which is ſo much more worthy the reader's notice, as it has entirely eſcaped the obſervation of moſt of thoſe, who have undertaken to give us this Gentleman's memoirs, though the moſt remarkable paſſage in his whole life (*z*) [*G*]. Upon his return to Paris, he fell in with that ſet of people, who laboured to ſilence the ſtorm of their ſorrows by ſome kind of amuſement. His were literary; and the deſire he had of writing an heroic poem, meeting with much leiſure, and ſome encouragement, led him to undertake one of a new kind, the two firſt books of which he finiſhed at the Louvre, where he lived with his old friend Lord Jermyn; and theſe, with a ſenſible preface, addreſſed to Mr. Hobbes, his anſwer, and ſome commendatory poems, were publiſhed in England (*a*). All, however, were not captivated by Sir William's verſe, or frighted into ſilence by the Philoſopher of Malmſbury's proſe; ſo that the worth of this work was quickly drawn into queſtion, and, upon this, the King's little Court were extremely divided (*b*). Fame, however, was ſo thin a diet, that Sir William Davenant was willing to venture into any climate that promiſed a better: yet, like a worthy man, he had a view to his country's good, while he conſulted his own. He had heard, that vaſt improvements might be made in the loyal colony of Virginia, in caſe they had proper artificers, and, finding there were many of theſe in France, who were deſtitute of employment, he formed a very wiſe and honeſt project of removing induſtrious men, who were in want of bread, to a fruitful country that was in want of them; which having, by the aſſiſtance of Queen Henrietta-Maria, brought to bear, he embarked, with his little colony, at one of the ports in Normandy (*c*). But, as he was a moſt unlucky traveller, ſo, before his veſſel was clear of the French coaſt, ſhe was met by one of the Parliament ſhips of war, taken and carried into the Iſle of Wight, where our diſappointed projector was ſent cloſe priſoner to Cowes-Caſtle (*d*), and there had leiſure enough, and, which is more extraordinary, wanted not inclination to reſume his heroic poem; and, having written about half the third book, in a very gloomy priſon, he thought fit to ſtop ſhort again, finding himſelf, as he imagined, under the very ſhadow of death. This part of his poem was alſo publiſhed, and was, in thoſe days, well received (*e*) [*H*]. In this ſituation

(*x*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 412.

(*y*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 495.

(*z*) Such as Langbaine, Winſtanley, &c.

(*a*) Langbaine's Engl. Dramatick Poets, p. 112, 113.

(*b*) See certain verſes written by the author's friends, to be reprinted with the ſecond edition of Gondibert.

(*c*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 412.

(*d*) This appears from his own poſtſcript to part of the third book of Gondibert.

(*e*) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 112.

[*G*] *Though the moſt remarkable paſſage in his whole life.*] The King, in retiring to the Scots, had followed the advice of the French Ambaſſador, who had promiſed on their behalf, if not more than he had authority to do, at leaſt more than they were inclined to perform. To juſtify however his conduct at home, he was inclined to throw the weight in ſome meaſure upon the King, and with this view, he, by an expreſs, informed Cardinal Mazarine, that his Majeſty was too reſerved in giving the Parliament ſatisfaction, and therefore deſired that ſome perſon might be ſent over, who might have a ſufficient degree of credit with that Monarch, to perſuade him to ſuch compliances as were neceſſary for his ſervice. 'The Queen, ſays the Noble Hiſtorian (18), who was never adviſed by thoſe who either underſtood or valued his true intereſt, conſulted with thoſe about her, and ſent Sir William Davenant, an honeſt man and a witty, but in all reſpects inferior to ſuch a truſt, with a letter of credit to the King, who knew the perſon well enough under another character than was like to give him much credit in the argument in which he was intruſted, although her Majeſty had likewiſe otherwiſe declared her opinion to his Majeſty, "That "he ſhould part with the Church for his peace and "ſecurity." Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French Ambaſſador, eaſy admiſſion to the King, who heard him patiently all he had to ſay, and anſwered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleaſed with the advice. When he found his Majeſty unſatisfied, and that he was not like to conſent to what was ſo earneſtly deſired by them by whoſe advice he was ſent, who undervalued all thoſe ſcruples of conſcience which his Majeſty himſelf was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with, he took upon himſelf the confidence to offer ſome reaſons to the King to induce him to yield to what was propoſed, and among other things ſaid, 'It was the 'opinion and advice of all his friends,' his Majeſty aſking 'What friends?' and he anſwering, ſaid, 'that it was the opinion of the Lord Jermyn;' the King ſaid, 'that the Lord Jermyn did not under-'ſtand any thing of the Church.' The other ſaid, 'the Lord Colepepper was of the ſame mind.' The King ſaid, 'Colepepper had no religion,' and aſked, 'Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of 'that mind?' to which he anſwered he did not know, for that he was not there, and had deſerted the Prince, and thereupon ſaid ſomewhat from the Queen, of the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceived againſt the Chancellor, to which the King ſaid, 'The Chan-'cellor was an honeſt man, and would never deſert 'him, nor the Prince, nor the Church, and that he 'was ſorry he was not with his ſon, but that his 'wife was miſtaken.' Davenant then offering ſome reaſons of his own, in which he mentioned the Church ſlightingly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the conceſſion, his Majeſty was tranſported with ſo much indignation, that he gave him a ſharper reprehenſion than was uſual for him to give to any other man, and forbid him to preſume to come again into his preſence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted, and returned into France to give an account of his ill ſucceſs to thoſe who ſent him.

(18) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 495.

[*H*] *And was in thoſe days well received.*] He publiſhed at Paris a diſcourſe upon this poem by way of preface to it, in a letter to Mr. Thomas Hobbes, dated from the Louvre at Paris, January 2, 1650, with the anſwer of Mr. Hobbes, dated at Paris, January

situation we find him in October 1650, and, indeed, in a worſe ſituation no man could well be, the Parliament having delivered him over, by an ordinance, to be tried by a high

January 10, the ſame year (19). Mr. Waller and Mr. Cowley wrote commendatory verſes on the two firſt books of this poem. The three firſt books of it were printed under the following title, GONDIBERT, *an Heroic Poem, written by Sir* WILLIAM DAVENANT. The ſeventh and laſt canto of the third book, was printed at London, in 8*vo*. 1685 (20). Mr. Hobbes, in his letter above-mentioned, affirms, that he never yet ſaw a poem that had ſo much ſhape of art, health of morality, and vigour and beauty of expreſſion, as this of our author. But that gentleman obſerves in his letter to the Honourable Edward Howard, on his intended impreſſion of his poem of the *Britiſh Princes*, dated at Chatſworth, November 6, 1668, 'that his judgment in poetry hath been once 'already cenſured by very good wits for commend-'ing Gondibert. But yet have they not I think, 'continues he, diſabled my teſtimony. For what 'authority is there in wit? a jeſter may have it; a 'man in drink may have it, and be fluent over-'night, and wiſe and dry in the morning. What 'is it? or, Who can tell whether it be better to 'have it or be without it, eſpecially if it be a pointed 'wit? I will take my liberty to praiſe what I like, 'as well as they do to reprehend what they do not 'like.' Mr. Langbaine tells us, that it was deſigned by him to be an imitation of an Engliſh drama, it being to be divided into five books, as the other is into five acts; the cantos to be the parallel of the ſcenes, with this difference, that this is delivered narratively, the other dialogue-wiſe (21). The Honourable Edward Howard, Eſq; tells us, 'that in 'this poem there are many remote and excellent 'thoughts, with apt and perſpicuous expreſſions, 'the eſſential dignities of the Muſes; whoſe chiefeſt 'beauties flow from the ornaments of words, and 'delightful variety of imagination; from which 'choice productions of nature, the Muſes are moſt 'deſirous to adopt their children, and, in no ſmall 'degree, are juſtly acknowledged to the honour of 'his pen. Notwithſtanding which, his heroick poem 'of *Gondibert*, coming into the world in a capricious 'time of cenſure, perhaps did not meet with a de-'ſerved reception, though the ſevereſt judges, I 'doubt not, are forced to grant, that there is in 'that work more to be praiſed than pardoned.' Mr. Thomas Rymer obſerves (22), that our author's wit is well known, and that in the preface to this poem there appear ſome ſtrokes of an extraordinary judgment; that he is for unbeaten tracks and new ways of thinking; but that certainly in his untried ſeas he is no great diſcoverer. One deſign of the Epick Poets before him, was to adorn their own country, there finding their heroes and patterns of virtue, whoſe example, as they thought, would have the greateſt influence and power over poſterity. 'But 'this Poet, ſays Mr. Rymer, ſteers a different courſe: 'his heroes are all foreigners; he cultivates a country 'that is nothing akin to him; it is Lombardy that 'reaps the honour of all. Other Poets chooſe ſome 'action or heroe ſo illuſtrious, that the name of the 'poem prepared the reader, and made way for it's 'reception. But in this poem none can divine what 'great action he intended to celebrate, nor is the 'reader obliged to know whether the heroe be Turk 'or Chriſtian. Nor do the firſt lines give any light 'or proſpect into his deſign. Methinks, though his 'religion could not diſpenſe with an invocation, he 'needed not have ſcrupled at the propoſition. Yet 'he rather chooſes to enter in at the top of the 'houſe, becauſe the mortals of mean and ſatisfied 'minds go in at the door. And I believe the reader 'is not well pleaſed to find his poem begin with the 'praiſes of Aribert, when the title has promiſed a 'Gondibert. But before he falls on any other buſi-'neſs, he preſents the reader with a particular de-'ſcription of each heroe, not troſting their actions 'to ſpeak for them as former Poets have done. 'Their practice was fine and artificial, his he tells 'us is a new way. Many of his characters have but 'little of the heroick in them; Dalga is a jilt proper 'only for Comedy; Birtha, for a Paſtoral; and 'Aſtragon, in the manner here deſcribed, yields no 'very great ornament to an heroick poem: nor are 'his battles leſs liable to cenſure than thoſe of 'Homer. He dares not, as other Heroick Poets, 'heighten the action by making Heaven and Hell 'intereſted, for fear of offending againſt probability, 'and yet he tells us of

'—— *Threads by patient Parcæ ſlowly ſpun.*

'And for being dead his phraſe is,

'*Heaven call'd him where peacefully he rules a ſtar.*

'And the emerald he gives to Birtha has a ſtronger 'tang of the old woman, and is a greater improba-'bility, than all the enchantments in Taſſo. A juſt 'medium reconciles the fartheſt extremes, and one 'preparation may give credit to the moſt unlikely 'fiction. In *Marino*, Adonis is preſented with a 'diamond ring, where indeed the ſtone is much-'what of the ſame nature; but this preſent is made 'by Venus, and from a goddeſs could not be ex-'pected a gift of ordinary virtue.' The ſame Critick afterwards tells us, 'that the ſort of verſe of which 'Sir William makes choice, might contribute much 'to the vitiating of his ſtile; for thereby he obliges 'himſelf to ſtretch every period to the end of four 'lines. Thus the ſenſe is broken perpetually with 'parentheſes, the words jumbled in confuſion, and 'a darkneſs ſpread over all; ſo that the ſenſe is 'either not diſcerned, or found not ſufficient, for 'one juſt verſe which is ſprinkled on the whole 'tetraſtich. In the Italian and Spaniſh, where all 'the rhymes are diſſyllable, and the percuſſion 'ſtronger, this kind of verſe may be neceſſary; and 'yet, to temper that grave march, they repeat the 'ſame rhyme over again, and then they cloſe the 'ſtanza with a couplet farther to ſweeten the ſeverity. 'But in French and Engliſh, where we rhyme gene-'rally with only one ſyllable, the ſtanza is not al-'lowed, much leſs the alternate rhyme in long 'verſe, for the ſound of the monoſyllable rhyme is 'either loſt before we come to it's correſpondent, or 'we are in pain by the ſo long expectation and ſuſ-'pence. This alternate rhyme, and the downright 'morality throughout whole cantos together, ſhew 'Davenant better acquainted with the Quatrains of 'Pybrach which he ſpeaks of, than with any true 'models of Epick Poeſy. After all, Davenant is 'ſaid to have a particular talent for the manners; 'his thoughts are great; and there appears ſome-'thing roughly noble throughout this fragment, 'which had he been pleaſed to finiſh, it would 'doubtleſs not have been left ſo open to the attack 'of Criticks.' All theſe objections to the meaſure of the verſe, had been foreſeen, conſidered, and anſwered, by Sir William Davenant: but inſtead of troubling the reader with what he has delivered very well, but very much at large, upon this ſubject, we will content ourſelves with ſaying, that his reaſons had ſo much weight with Mr. Dryden, a better Poet indeed than him, and at the ſame time a better Critick than Mr. Rymer, that he thought fit to imitate him in the choice of his ſtanza, and gives the following reaſons for it in a letter to Sir Robert Howard (23). 'I have, ſays he, choſen to write my 'poem in quatrains or ſtanzas of four, in alternate 'rhyme, becauſe I have ever judged them more 'noble, and of greater dignity, both for the ſound 'and number, than any other verſe in uſe amongſt 'us, in which I am ſure I have your approbation. 'The learned languages have certainly a great 'advantage over us, in not being tied to the ſlavery 'of any rhyme, and were leſs conſtrained in the 'quantity of every ſyllable, which they might vary 'with ſpondees or dactyls, beſides ſo many other 'helps of grammatical figures, for the lengthening

(19) Printed for John Holden, at the ſign of the anchor in the New Exchange, 1651. 12*mo*.

(20) Reprinted alſo in the folio edition of his works.

(21) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 112.

(22) Preface to his tranſlation of Rapin's Reflections on Ariſtotle's treatiſe of Poetry.

(23) Preface to his *Annus mirabilis*, Lond. 1669, 8*vo*.

high commiſſion Court, where, ſuppoſing that innocence might have been ſafe, it was pretty difficult to know how a man ſhould prove himſelf innocent (*f*). He was conveyed from the Iſle of Wight to the Tower of London, and, for ſome time, his life was in the utmoſt hazard; nor is it well known how it was ſaved. Some ſay, that two Aldermen of York, to whom he had been very kind when they were priſoners, and when he had a high command in the Marquis of Newcaſtle's army, interpoſed out of gratitude (*g*); others, that Milton was his friend (*h*), and prevented the utmoſt effects of party rage from deſcending on the head of this ſon of the Muſes. But, whoever ſaved his life, we find him two years after a priſoner in the Tower, where he obtained ſome indulgence by the favour of the Lord Keeper Whitelocke (*i*); upon receiving which he wrote him a letter of thanks, that would have ſecured him the reputation of the politeſt pen of thoſe times, if nothing of his had remained beſides [*I*]. This liberty of his left him only room to ſolicit farther favours, which he likewiſe obtained, and was, at laſt, entirely delivered from every thing but the narrowneſs of his circumſtances; and againſt theſe, encouraged by the intereſt of his friends, he likewiſe made a bold effort. He knew very well, that a Play-houſe was utterly inconſiſtent with the purity of thoſe times, and yet, if he could open any thing like one, it would be ſure to be well filled. He managed his project with great addreſs, and by degrees brought it to bear: and, having the countenance of Lord Whitelocke, Sir John Maynard, and other perſons of great rank (*k*), who were aſhamed of the hypocriſy that then prevailed, he opened a kind of a theatre at Rutland-Houſe, where ſeveral pieces were acted; and theſe, if they did not gain him reputation, brought him money, of which, at that time, he ſtood in great need. The firſt of theſe entertainments, for that was the name they originally bore, was performed May 21ſt, and publiſhed September the third, 1656 (*l*). As to the names and nature of theſe mixt compoſitions, we ſhall give the reader the beſt account we can in the notes [*K*]. After the

(*f*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 81, 82.

(*g*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 412.
(*h*) Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradiſe Loſt, by J. Richardſon, p. xc.

(*i*) Whitelocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

(*k*) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 412.

(*l*) Whitelocke's Mem. p. 650.

'or abbreviation of them, than the modern are in 'the cloſe of that one ſyllable, which often confines, 'and more often corrupts, the ſenſe of all the reſt. 'But in this neceſſity of our rhymes I have always 'found the couplet verſe moſt eaſy, though not ſo 'proper for this occaſion; for there the work is 'ſooner at an end, every two lines concluding the 'labour of the Poet; but in quatrains he is to carry 'it farther on, and not only ſo, but to bear along 'in his head the troubleſome ſenſe of four lines 'together. For thoſe who write correctly in this 'kind muſt needs acknowledge, that the laſt line of 'the ſtanza is to be conſidered in the compoſition of 'the firſt. Neither can we give ourſelves the liberty 'of making any part of a verſe for the ſake of 'rhyme, or concluding with a word which is not 'current Engliſh, or uſing the variety of female 'rhymes, all which our fathers practiſed, and for 'the female rhymes they are ſtill in uſe amongſt 'other nations; with the Italian in every line, with 'the Spaniard promiſcuouſly, with the French alternately, as thoſe who have read the *Alarique*, the '*Pucelle*, or any of their later poems, will agree 'with me. And beſides this they write in Alexandrins, or verſes of ſix feet, ſuch as, amongſt us, is 'the old tranſlation of Homer by Chapman. All 'which, by lengthening of their chain, makes the 'ſphere of their activity the larger. I have dwelt 'too long upon the choice of my ſtanza, which you 'may remember is much better defended in the Preface to *Gondibert*, and therefore I will haſten to 'acquaint you with my endeavours in the writing.'

A late learned Profeſſor of Greek in the univerſity of Aberdeen, cenſures the ſtructure of the poem; but at the ſame time pays a compliment to the abilities of the author (24). 'It was indeed, ſays he, a 'very extraordinary project of our ingenious country-'man, to write an Epick Poem without mixing al-'legory, or allowing the ſmalleſt fiction throughout 'the compoſure. It was like lopping off a man's 'limb, and then putting him upon running races, 'though it muſt be owned, that the performance 'ſhews with what ability he could have acquitted 'himſelf, had he been ſound and entire.' After all, it will, in the eye of a judicious reader, paſs for an inconteſtable proof of the merit of this poem, that it has been a ſubject of controverſy for more than a hundred years, that is, from it's firſt appearance to the preſent time. Perhaps the diſpute had been long ago decided, if the author's leiſure or inclination had permitted him to finiſh it. At preſent we ſee it to great diſadvantage, and if, in ſpite of this, it has any beauties, we may well conclude that it would have come much nearer perfection, if the ſtory begun with ſo much ſpirit, had been brought to an end upon the author's plan.

(24) Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, Lond. 1735. 8vo. p. 141.

[*I*] *If nothing of his had remained beſides.*] This ſhort epiſtle, as it regards a very eſſential part of his perſonal hiſtory, ſo, as we hinted in the text, it affords inconteſtible evidence of his writing as eaſy and correct proſe, with as much true ſpirit, and as far removed either from meanneſs or bombaſt, as any that can be produced in our language, even if liberty were given to tranſlate from Voiture, or any other of the boaſted letter-writers in a neighbouring nation (25).

(25) Whitelocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

'My Lord,

'I AM in ſuſpence, whether I ſhould preſent my 'thankfulneſs to your Lordſhip for my liberty of the 'Tower, becauſe, when I conſider how much of 'your time belongs to the publick, I conceive, that 'to make a requeſt to you, and to thank you afterwards for the ſucceſs of it, is to give you no more 'than a ſucceſſion of trouble; unleſs you are reſolved 'to be continually patient and courteous to afflicted 'men, and agree in your judgment with the late 'wiſe Cardinal, who was wont to ſay, *If he had not 'ſpent as much time in civilities as in buſineſs, he had 'undone his maſter.*

'But whilſt I endeavour to excuſe this preſent of 'thankfulneſs, I ſhould rather aſk your pardon for 'going about to make a preſent to you of myſelf; 'for it may argue me to be incorrigible, that, after 'ſo many afflictions, I have yet ſo much ambition as 'to deſire to be at liberty, that I may have more 'opportunity to obey your Lordſhip's commands, 'and ſhew the world how much I am,

'My Lord,

Tower, Aug. 9, 1652. 'Your Lordſhip's moſt
'obliged, moſt humble,
'and obedient ſervant,
'WILL. DAVENANT.'

[*K*] *The beſt we can in the notes.*] Some of the people then in power, it ſeems, were lovers of Muſick, and, at bottom perhaps, were wiſe enough to know, that there was nothing ſcandalous or immoral in the diverſions of the theatre: but this they did not think proper to own, and therefore perſecuted the poor Players who attempted to act privately, ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another, as if they had held ſeditious or lewd aſſemblies (26). Sir William Davenant therefore, when he applied for permiſſion,

(26) *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, or an Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage, p. 8, 9.

the ice was thus broken, he grew a little bolder, and not only ventured to write, but to act, ſeveral new plays, which were alſo ſomewhat in a new taſte; that is, they were more regular in their ſtructure, and the language, generally ſpeaking, ſmoother and more correct than in the old tragedies (*m*). Theſe improvements, there is good reaſon to believe, were, in a great meaſure, owing to Sir William's long reſidence in France, which gave him an opportunity of reading their beſt writers, and hearing the ſentiments of their ableſt critics upon dramatic entertainments, when they were as much admired and encouraged there as, for ſome years, they had been ſlighted and diſcountenanced in England. That theſe were really improvements, and that the public ſtood greatly indebted to Sir William Davenant, as a Poet as well as Maſter of a Theatre, may be put out of all doubt, if there be any regard due to Mr. Dryden's judgment [*L*]. Upon the commotions which preceded the Reſtoration, and particularly upon Sir George Booth's inſurrection, Sir William Davenant fell into freſh troubles, and underwent another impriſonment, from which, however, he was quickly releaſed (*n*). He complimented General Monk upon his good deſigns, and the great capacity he had ſhewn in the execution of them, in a ſhort poem, and his Majeſty King Charles the Second, upon his return, in a very long one (*o*). Soon after the Reſtoration there were two companies of players form-

(*m*) See this explained in the note.

(*n*) Whitelocke's Mem. p. 682.

(*o*) Theſe poems are inſerted in the general collection of his works.

permiſſion, called what he intended to repreſent an Opera; but, when he brought it upon the ſtage, it appeared quite another thing, which, when printed, had the following title:

XIV. *Firſt Day's Entertainment at* Rutland-Houſe, *by Declamation and Muſick, after the manner of the Ancients.* Lond. 1656, 8*vo*.

This being an introductory piece, it required all the author's wit to make it anſwer different intentions; for, firſt, it was to be ſo pleaſing as to gain applauſe; and next, it was to be ſo remote from the very appearance of a play, as not to give any offence to that pretended ſanctity which was then in faſhion. It began with muſick, then followed a prologue, in which the author banters the oddity of his own performance. The curtain being drawn up to the ſound of ſlow and ſolemn muſick, there followed a grave declamation by one in a gilded roſtrum, who perſonated Diogenes, and whoſe buſineſs was to rail at and expoſe publick entertainments. Then muſick in a lighter ſtrain, after which a perſon in the character of Ariſtophanes, the old comic Poet, anſwered Diogenes, and ſhewed the uſe and excellency of dramatick entertainments. The whole of the grave entertainment was concluded by a ſong, accompanied with muſick, in which the arguments on both ſides are ſuccinctly and elegantly ſtated. The ſecond part of the entertainment conſiſted of two lighter declamations; the firſt, by a citizen of Paris, who wittily rallies the follies of London; the other, by a citizen of London, who takes the ſame liberty with Paris, and it's inhabitants. To this was tacked a ſong, and after that came a ſhort epilogue. The muſick, which was very good, was compoſed by Dr. Coleman, Capt. Cook, Mr. Henry Lawes, Mr. George Hudſon.

XV. *The Play-houſe to be Lett.*

This was another very ſingular entertainment, compoſed of five acts, each being a diſtinct performance. The firſt act is introductory, ſhews the diſtreſs of the players in the time of vacation, that obliges them to lett their houſe, which ſeveral offer to take for different purpoſes, amongſt the reſt a Frenchman, who had brought over a troop of his countrymen to act a farce. This is performed in the ſecond act, which is a tranſlation of Moliere's *Sganarelle*, or, the Cuckold in Conceit; all in broken French, to make the people laugh. The third act is a ſort of comic opera, under the title of the Hiſtory of Sir Francis Drake. The fourth act is a ſerious opera, repreſenting the cruelties of the Spaniards in Peru. The fifth act is a burleſque in Heroicks, on the amours of Cæſar and Cleopatra; has a great deal of wit and humour, and was often acted afterwards by itſelf (27).

(27) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 109, 110. *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 413.

XVI. *News from Plimouth*, a Comedy.

XVII. *Law againſt Lovers*, a Tragi-Comedy.

This is compoſed out of two of Shakeſpeare's plays; *Meaſure for Meaſure*, and *Much ado about Nothing*. Mr. Langbaine gives a very good character of it (28); and, indeed, it is very ſmoothly and correctly written.

(28) An account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 108, 109. *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 413.

XVIII. *The Diſtreſſes*, a Tragedy.

In Mr. Langbaine's catalogue this is ſtiled a Tragi-Comedy (29), merely becauſe it is fortunate in it's cataſtrophe.

(29) An account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 107.

XIX. *The Siege, a Tragi-Comedy.*

The ſcene is laid at Piſa in Italy, and it derives it's title from the ſame cauſe with the former.

XX. *The Fair Favourite*, a Tragi-Comedy.

All theſe plays were acted in the time of Oliver and Richard, firſt printed in quarto, and afterwards reviſed, and inſerted in the author's works. To theſe we may add,

XXI. *The Siege of* RHODES, *in two parts.*

Theſe were a kind of operas, and acted to muſick. The author reviſed, altered, and augmented them, after the Reſtoration, when they had the honour of the King's preſence: they were alſo printed and publiſhed in folio, with a dedication to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and very much eſteemed.

[*L*] *If there be any regard due to Mr. Dryden's judgment.*] What we have ventured to advance in the text and notes, in favour of an author and his works, now ſo little regarded, ſeems to ſtand in need of ſome ſupport, and therefore we ſhall cite what ſo great a Poet, and ſo good a judge of Poetry, has written upon this ſubject, with regard to heroick plays. Mr. Dryden (30) tells us, 'The firſt light we had of 'them on the Engliſh theatre, was from the late Sir 'William Davenant. It being forbidden him, in 'the religious times, to act tragedies and comedies, 'becauſe they contained ſome matter of ſcandal to 'thoſe good people, who could more eaſily diſpoſſeſs 'their lawful Sovereign, than endure a wanton jeſt, 'he was forced to turn his thoughts another way, 'and to introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ 'in verſe, and performed in recitative muſick. The 'original of this muſick, and of the ſcenes which 'adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas; 'but he heightened his characters, as I may probably imagine, from the examples of Corneille, and 'ſome French Poets. In this condition did this part 'of Poetry remain at his Majeſty's return, when 'growing bolder, as now being owned by publick 'authority, Davenant reviewed his *Siege of Rhodes*, 'and cauſed it to be acted as a juſt drama. But, 'as few men have the happineſs to begin and finiſh 'any new project, ſo neither did he live to make his 'deſign perfect. There wanted the fullneſs of a 'plot, and the variety of characters, to form it as it 'ought; and, perhaps, ſomewhat might have been 'added to the beauty of the ſtile; all which he 'would have performed with more exactneſs, had he 'pleaſed to have given us another work of the ſame 'nature. For myſelf, and others who come after 'him, we are bound, with all veneration to his 'memory, to acknowledge what advantage we received from that excellent ground-work which he 'laid; and, ſince it is an eaſy thing to add to what 'already is invented, we ought all of us, without 'envy to him, or partiality to ourſelves, to yield 'him the precedence in it.'

(30) Eſſay on Heroick Plays.

ed,

ed, one under the title of the King's Servants, the other under that of the Duke's Company, both by patents from the Crown; the firſt granted to Henry Killigrew, Eſq; and the latter to Sir William Davenant (*p*). The King's Company acted firſt at the Red Bull, at the upper end of St. John's-ſtreet; from thence they removed to a new Play-houſe in Vere-ſtreet, Clare-market; and, after playing a year or two there, they eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane. As for Sir William Davenant, it was ſome time before he compleated his Company, into which he took all who had formerly played under Mr. Rhodes, in the Cockpit in Drury-lane, and, amongſt theſe, the famous Mr. Betterton, who appeared firſt to advantage, under the patronage of Sir William Davenant (*q*). He opened the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields with his own dramatic performance of *The Siege of* RHODES, the Houſe being finely decorated, and the Stage ſupplied with painted ſcenes, which were by him introduced at leaſt, if not invented (*r*), affording certainly a great addition of beauty to dramatic entertainments, though ſome there are who have inſinuated, that fine ſcenes proved the ruin of fine acting [*M*]. We muſt not omit that, upon the King's return, and Sir William Davenant's having an intereſt at Court, he gave a noble inſtance of his gratitude to Mr. Milton, who had been ſo inſtrumental in ſaving his life ten years before, by rendering him the like ſervice, and preſerving him from feeling the effects of that reſentment which was ſo ſtrong againſt him, that many writers have conſidered his as a kind of miraculous eſcape (*s*). After all the ſtorms that he had met with, Sir William Davenant had the comfort of paſſing the laſt years of his life in credit and quiet. He transferred his company to the new and magnificent Theatre built in Dorſet-Gardens (*t*), where ſome of his old plays were revived, with very ſingular circumſtances of royal kindneſs and favour, and a new one, when brought upon the Stage, met with great applauſe. The laſt labour of his pen was in altering a play of Shakeſpeare's, ſo as to render it agreeable to that age, or rather, ſuſceptible of thoſe theatrical improvements which he had brought into faſhion; and in this alſo he had as much ſucceſs as he could expect; and, though he did not live to ſee the full effects of it, yet the higheſt tribute of praiſe has been paid, and the ſtricteſt juſtice done, to his memory and merit, by that excellent Poet, who ſucceeded to his laurel (*u*) [*N*]. He

(*p*) Apology for the life of Mr. Colley Cibber, p. 75.

(*q*) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(*r*) *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, or an Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage. Lond. 1699, 8*vo*. p. 18. Life of Betterton, p. 6.

(*s*) Explanatory Notes, &c. by J. Richardſon, p. xci.

(*t*) Life of Mr. Betterton, p. 7.

(*u*) See this at large in the note [*N*].

[*M*] *Proved the ruin of fine acting.*] It may, poſſibly, afford ſome ſatisfaction to the reader, to have this point briefly explained. He has heard, that, in King Charles the Firſt's time, dramatick entertainments were accompanied with rich ſcenery, curious machines, and other elegant embelliſhments, proceeding chiefly from the ſkill and care, the great capacity and wonderful dexterity, of that celebrated Engliſh Architect Inigo Jones. But theſe were employed only in maſques at Court, and were too expenſive for the little theatres in which plays were then acted. In them there was nothing more than a curtain, of ſome very coarſe ſtuff, upon the drawing up of which the ſtage appeared either with bare walls on the ſides, coarſely matted, or covered with tapeſtry, ſo that for the place originally repreſented, and all the changes ſucceſſively in which the Poets of thoſe times indulged themſelves very freely, there was nothing to help the reader's underſtanding, or to aſſiſt the actor's performance, but bare imagination. It is true, that, while things continued in this ſituation, there were a great many play-houſes, ſometimes ſix or ſeven, open at once. Of theſe, ſome were large, and in part open, where they acted by day-light; others ſmaller, but better fitted up, where they made uſe of candles. The plainneſs of the theatre made the prices ſmall, and this drew abundance of company; yet, upon the whole, it may be well doubted, whether the ſpectators, in all theſe houſes, were really ſuperior in number to thoſe who have frequented the theatres in later times. If the ſpirit and judgment of the actors ſupplied all deficiencies, and made, as ſome would ſuggeſt, plays more intelligible without ſcenes than they afterwards were with them, it muſt be very aſtoniſhing at leaſt, if not incredible: neither is it difficult to aſſign another cauſe why thoſe, who were concerned in play-houſes, were angry with ſcenes and decorations, which was, that, notwithſtanding the advanced prices, their profits, from that time, were continually ſinking. An author, who ſeems to be very well acquainted with the ſubject on which he writes, aſſures us, that the whole ſharers in Mr. Hart's company divided a thouſand pounds a year apiece, before theſe new and expenſive decorations came into faſhion (31). Sir William Davenant conſidered things in another light: he was well acquainted with the alterations which the French theatre had received, under the auſpice of Cardinal Richlieu, who had an excellent taſte; and he remembered the elegant contrivances of Inigo Jones, which were not at all inferior to the deſigns of the beſt French maſters. Sir William was likewiſe ſenſible, that the Monarch he ſerved was an exquiſite judge of every thing of this kind; and all theſe conſiderations, taken together, excited in him a paſſion for the advancement of the theatre, to which without diſpute the great figure it has ſince made is chiefly owing. Mr. Dryden acknowledged his admirable talents in this way, and very gratefully remembers the pains taken by Sir William to ſet a work of his in the faireſt light poſſible, and to which he very ingenuouſly aſcribes, in a great meaſure, the ſucceſs with which it was received.

(31) *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, or an Hiſtorical account of the Engliſh Stage, p. 11.

[*N*] *By that excellent Poet, who ſucceeded to his laurel.*] At the opening of the new play-houſe in Dorſet-Gardens, Sir William Davenant's play, called *Love and Honour*, was acted before the Court; upon which occaſion Mr. Betterton, who played Prince Alvaro, wore the King's coronation ſuit; his Royal Highneſs of York gave Mr. Harris, who played Prince Proſpero, his; and Mr. Price, who performed the part of Lionel Duke of Parma, had a very rich ſuit, that was given him by the Earl of Oxford (32). We come now to the works penned by our Laureat in the evening of his days; the laſt of which were,

(32) Hiſt. of the Eng. Stage, p. 91.

XXII. *The Man's the Maſter*, a Comedy. Lond. 1669, 4*to*.

This play was acted in our author's life-time, with great applauſe, though not publiſhed till after his deceaſe: the deſign, and part of the language, is borrowed from Scarron's *Jodelet, ou le Maiſtre valet*, and part from *L'Heretier ridicule*, a Comedy of the ſame author's (33).

(33) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 109.

XXIII. *The* TEMPEST, *or the* INCHANTED ISLAND, *altered from* Shakeſpeare *by Sir* William Davenant *and Mr.* Dryden. Lond. 1676, 4*to*.

In the preface to this play, which is dated Dec. 1ſt, 1669, Mr. Dryden gives the following account of the ſhare our author had in this performance, and is that which we have hinted at in the text. 'Sir 'William Davenant, ſays he, who was a man of 'quick and piercing imagination, ſoon found that 'ſomewhat might be added to the deſign of Shake-'ſpeare, of which neither Fletcher nor Suckling had

" ever

He died at his houſe in little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, April 7th, 1668, aged ſixty-three (*w*), and, two days afterwards, was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey, when, to the great grief of honeſt Mr. Wood, there was an inexcuſable error committed in the ceremony; for, through haſte, the laurel-wreath was forgotten, which ſhould have been placed upon his coffin (*x*). On his grave-ſtone is inſcribed, in imitation of Ben Jonſon's ſhort epitaph, O RARE SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT! It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that his remains reſt very near the place, out of which, thoſe of Mr. Thomas May, Hiſtorian and Secretary to the Parliament, who cauſed him to be interred there with a fine monument and pompous inſcription, were removed (*y*). As to the character of our author (*z*), the reader may eaſily collect it from this account of his life and works; to facilitate which ſtill farther, ſome other particulars have been placed in the notes [*O*]. In regard to his family, we have

(*w*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 414.

(*x*) *Hiſt. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib.* ii. p. 169.

(*y*) Antiquities of St. Peter's, Weſtminſter, vol. ii. p. 23, in the Appendix.

(*z*) Langbaine's Engliſh Poets, p. 115.

' ever thought. And, therefore, to put the laſt ' hand to it, he deſigned the counterpart to Shake- ' ſpeare's plot, namely, that of a man who had ' never ſeen a woman, that, by this means, thoſe ' two characters, of Innocence and Love, might the ' more illuſtrate and commend each other. This ' excellent contrivance he was pleaſed to communi- ' cate to me, and to deſire my aſſiſtance in it. I ' confeſs, that, from the very firſt moment, it ſo ' pleaſed me, that I never writ any thing with more ' delight. I might likewiſe do him that juſtice to ' acknowledge, that my writing received daily his ' amendments, and that is the reaſon why it is not ' ſo faulty as the reſt which I have done, without ' the help or correction of ſo judicious a friend. ' The comical parts of the ſailors were alſo of his in- ' vention, and, for the moſt part, his writing, as ' you will eaſily diſcover by the ſtile.'

[*O*] *Have been placed in the notes.*] We have already mentioned a poem written ſome years after the Reſtoration, under the ſame title with Sir John Suckling's, *viz. The Seſſions of the Poets:* in this our author is a little ſeverely, not to ſay rudely, handled in the following ſtanzas (34).

(34) Dryden's Miſcellanies, vol. ii. p. 90.

Will. Davenant would fain have been ſteward o' th' court,
To have fin'd and amerc'd each man at his will,
But Apollo, it ſeems, had heard a report,
That his choice of new plays did ſhew h'ad no ſkill.

Beſides, ſome critics had ow'd him a ſpite,
And a little before had made the god fret,
By letting him know the Laureat did write
That damnable farce, *The Houſe to be Lett.*

The Hiſtorian of Oxford takes ſome pains to inform us, that, while our author was in that Univerſity, he made but a ſmall progreſs in the ſeverer parts of learning, but ſtriking out into the ſmoother road of Poetry, he at once indulged his own inclination, and diſcovered the force of his natural genius, which, without the aſſiſtance of any guides, and with but a very ſmall acquaintance with the ancients, enabled him to aſpire unto, and even acquire, the Laurel. This is very handſomely expreſſed by Dr. Fell, or whoever tranſlated Mr. Wood's ſentiments upon that ſubject (35). *Sed ingenium ipſius, tam aſperis & horridis ſtudiis ſemper averſum ad amœniores Poëticæ campos ſtatim properavit. In his nemo lætiori decurſu, nemo feliciori volatu lauream promeruit, & quamvis omnibus veterum ſubſidiis deſtitutus ſolâ tamen ingenii vi, eos ita aſſequutus videtur, ut grande profectò rariſſimique exempli documentum dederit, quantum ſine arte ſola natura præſtare valeat.* Mr. Dryden, who knew him better, and who was alſo a better judge, has given us a true picture of his poetick character (36). ' I found ' him, ſays he, of ſo quick a fancy, that nothing ' was propoſed to him on which he could not ſud- ' denly produce a thought, extremely pleaſant and ' ſurpriſing, and thoſe firſt thoughts of his, contrary ' to the old Latin proverb, were not always the leaſt ' happy. And, as his fancy was quick, ſo likewiſe ' were the products of it remote and new. He bor- ' rowed not of any other, and his imaginations were ' ſuch as could not eaſily enter into any other man. ' His corrections were ſober and judicious, and he ' corrected his own writings much more ſeverely than ' thoſe of another man, beſtowing twice the time ' and labour in poliſhing which he uſed in invention.' Thus, with all the induſtry in our power, we have collected, and, with all the care and application poſſible, have digeſted, the ſcattered memoirs of this once celebrated Poet; and, to juſtify our diligence therein, we will ſum up all by putting poſterity in mind, that it is to him we owe the ſetting our theatre upon a level with thoſe of France and Italy (37), the preſerving the greateſt genius for Poetry this nation ever produced (38), and the bringing upon the ſtage, and inſtructing, the ableſt actor that ever trod thereon (39). C.

(35) *Hiſt. et Ant. Oxon. Lib.* ii. p. 168.

(36) Preface to the Tempeſt.

(37) *Hiſt. et Ant. Oxon. Lib.* ii. p. 169.

(38) Explanatory Notes, &c. by J. Richardſon, p. xci.

(39) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

*** [The obligations of the Engliſh Theatre to Sir William Davenant have been celebrated by various writers, and are ſufficiently diſplayed by our ingenious predeceſſor. It is remarkable, that not one of the numerous plays, which were written by Sir William, holds, at preſent, the poſſeſſion of the ſtage. This, however, is not owing to their want of merit; for it is ſaid that there are certainly ſome among them which much better deſerve the honour of being acted, than many pieces that are very frequently and ſucceſsfully repreſented (40).

(40) *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. i. p. 117.

The grand object on which Sir William Davenant's poetical reputation depends is his Gondibert; and there ſtill remains a diverſity of opinion concerning the light in which it ought to be conſidered. As, when it was firſt publiſhed, it was condemned by ſome perſons, and applauded by others, ſo, among the critics of the preſent day, it has met both with cenſurers and defenders.

Mr. Granger has ſpoken of it with a ſeverity which we do not uſually find in that amiable writer. " Sir William Davenant," ſays he, " was a man of " great natural and improved talents, which he un- " fortunately miſapplied. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf " by a bold, but unſucceſsful attempt to enlarge the " ſphere of poetry. He compoſed an heroic poem, " called " Gondibert" in five books, after the model " of the Drama; applauded himſelf greatly upon " this invention; and looked upon the followers of " Homer as a timorous, ſervile herd, that were " afraid to leave the beaten track. This perform- " ance, which is rather a ſtring of Epigrams than an " Epic Poem, was not without its admirers, among " whom were Waller and Cowley. But the ſucceſs " did not anſwer his expectation. When the novelty " of it was over, it preſently ſunk into contempt; " and he at length found, that when he ſtrayed " from Homer he deviated from nature (41)."

(41) Granger, vol. iv. p. 43.

Mr. Knox is alſo on the unfavourable ſide of the queſtion. " The Gondibert of Davenant," ſays this Gentleman, " has been the ſubject of critical " controverſy from the time of its publication. Its " plan was originally defended by the great Hobbes, " and its execution has been greatly praiſed. Yet " few have attended to it with any pleaſure, and " ſtill fewer have had a degree of patience ſufficient " to bear them through the peruſal of it. The truth " is, the ſtanza which he has adopted, is better " ſuited to elegiac than to heroic poetry. A beauti- " fully deſcriptive paſſage, interſperſed in the courſe " of two or three hundred lines, will not alleviate " the tedium of the reſt; as an occaſional flaſh of " lightning cannot illuminate the continued gloomi- " neſs of an extenſive proſpect (42)."

(42) Knox's Eſſays, vol. ii. p. 377.

The objections of Biſhop Hurd to the Gondibert are ſtill more important. " When a writer," ſays this ingenious and elegant critic, " who is driven by ſo many powerful motives to the imitation of preceding

have not been able to collect any distinct account of it, farther than what regards two of his sons, concerning whom the reader will receive all the information we can give in the succeed-

ing models, revolts against them all, and determines, at any rate, to be *original*, nothing can be expected but an awkward straining in every thing. *Improper method*, *forced conceits*, and *affected expression*, are the certain issue of such obstinacy. The business is to be *unlike*; and this he may very possibly be, but at the expence of graceful ease and true beauty. For he puts himself, at best, into a convulsed, unnatural state; and it is well, if he be not forced, beside his purpose, to leave *common sense*, as well as his *model*, behind him. Like one, who would break loose from an impediment, which holds him fast; the very endeavour to get clear of it throws him into *uneasy attitudes*, and *violent contorsions*; and, if he gain his liberty at last, it is by an *effort*, which carries him much further than the *point*, he would wish to stop at.

"And, that the reader may not suspect me of asserting this without experience, let me exemplify what has been here said in the case of a very eminent person, who, with all the advantages of art and nature that could be required to adorn the true poet, was ruined by this single error. The person I mean was Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT; whose *Gondibert* will remain a perpetual monument of the mischiefs, which must ever arise from this affectation of originality in lettered and polite poets.

"The great author, when he projected his plan of an heroic poem, was so far from intending to steer his course by *example*, that he sets out, in his preface, with upbraiding the followers of Homer, as a base and timorous crew of *coasters*, who would not adventure to launch forth on the vast ocean of invention. For, speaking of this poet, he observes, "that, as sea marks are chiefly used by coasters, "and serve not those who have the ambition of "discoverers, that love to sail in untried seas; so he "hath rather proved a guide for those, whose "satisfied wit will not venture beyond the track of "others; than to them, who affect a new and re-"mote way of thinking; who esteem it a deficiency "and meanness of mind, to stay and depend upon "the authority of example."

"And, afterwards, he professedly makes his own merit to consist in "an endeavour to lead truth "through unfrequented and new ways, and from "the most remote shades; by representing nature, "though not in an affected, yet in an unusual "dress." These were the principles he went upon; let us now attend to the success of his endeavours.

"The METHOD of his work is defective in many respects. To instance in the two following. Observing the large compass of the antient epic, for which he saw no cause in nature, and which, he supposed, had been followed merely from a blind deference to the authority of the first model, he resolved to construct an heroic poem on the narrower, and, as he conceived, juster plan of the dramatic poems. And, because it was their practice, for the purpose of *raising the passions* by a close accelerated plot, and for the convenience of *representation*, to conclude their subject in *five acts*, he affects to restrain himself within the same limits. The event was, that, cutting himself off, by this means, from the opportunity of digressive ornaments, which contribute so much to the pomp of the epic poetry; and, what is more essential, from the advantage of the most gradual and circumstantiated narration, which gives an air of *truth and reality* to the fable, he failed in accomplishing the proper *end* of this poem, ADMIRATION; *produced* by a grandeur of design and variety of important incidents, and *sustained* by all the energy and minute particularity of description.

"2. It was essential to the antient epos to raise and exalt the fable by the intervention of *supernatural agency*. This, again, the poet mistook for the prejudice of the affected imitators of Homer, "who had "so often led them into heaven and hell, till, by "conversation with gods and ghosts, they sometimes "deprive us of those natural probabilities in story, "which are instructive to human life." Here then he would needs be original; and so, by recording only the affairs of men, hath fairly omitted a necessary part of the epic plan, and that which, of all others, had given the greatest state and magnificence to its construction. Yet here, to do him justice, one thing deserves our commendation. It had been the way of the Italian romancers, who were at that time the best poets, to run very much into prodigy and enchantment. "Not only to exceed the *work*, but "also the *possibility* of nature, they would have im-"penetrable armors, inchanted castles, invulnerable "bodies, iron men, flying horses, and a thousand "other such things, which are easily feigned by "them that dare." These conceits, he rightly saw, had too slender a foundation in the serious belief of his age to justify a relation of them. And had he only dropped these, his conduct had been without blame. But, as it is the weakness of human nature, the observation of this extreme determined him to the other, of admitting nothing, however well established in the general opinion, that was *supernatural*.

"And as here he did too much, so in another respect it may be observed, he did too little. The romancers, before spoken of, had carried their notions of *gallantry* in ordinary life, as high, as they had done those of *preternatural agency*, in their marvellous fictions. Yet here this original genius, who was not to be held by the shackles of superstition, suffered himself to be entrapped in the silken net of *love and honour*. And so hath adopted, in his draught of *characters*, that elevation of sentiment which a change of manners could not but dispose the reader to regard as *fantastic* in the Gothic romance, at the same time that he rejected what had the truest grace in the antient epic, a *sober intermixture of religion*.

"The *execution* of this poem was answerable to the general *method*. His SENTIMENTS are frequently forced, and so tortured by an affectation of wit, that every stanza hath the air of an epigram. And the EXPRESSION, in which he cloaths them, is so quaint and figurative, as turns his description almost into a continued riddle.

"Such was the effect of a studious affectation of *originality* in a writer, who, but for this misconduct, had been in the first rank of our poets. His endeavour was to keep clear of the models, in which his youth had been instructed, and which he perfectly understood. And in this indeed he succeeded. But the success lost him the possession of, what his large soul appears to have been full of, a true and permanent glory; which hath ever arisen, and can only arise, from the unambitious simplicity of nature; *contemplated* in her own proper form, or, by *reflexion*, in the faithful mirror of those very models, he so much dreaded (43)."

While we strongly feel the force of the sentiments which are here advanced, it is no small pleasure to us, that so much justice is done to Sir William Davenant's great abilities. If he had not pursued a mistaken plan, it is allowed that he would have been in the first rank of our poets.

With all its faults, the Gondibert has still its sincere and ardent admirers. The editor of the Biographia Dramatica is of opinion, that the severity of criticism to which the poem has been exposed, has arisen much more from envy than from justice; "for," says he, "though the story of it may not "perhaps be so interesting (and that too in a great "measure from its not being so well known) as "those of the Iliad and Æneid, and that the fetters "of rhyme, and still more so, those of stanza poetry, "lay it under very great restraint, yet it must be "acknowledged, even by its strongest opponents, "that there runs through the whole of it a sublimity "in the sentiments, a nobleness in the manners, a "purity in the diction, and a luxuriancy in the con-"ceptions, that would have done honour to any "writer

(43) Hurd's Critical Commentaries, Notes, and Dissertations, vol. iii. p. 138—144.

ſucceeding articles. Sir William Davenant's works entire were publiſhed by his widow in 1673, and dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. and,

(44) *Biog. Dram. ubi ſupra.*

" writer of any age or country whatſoever (44)."

Mr. Headley, whoſe premature deceaſe will be reflected upon with concern by every lover of polite literature, has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in behalf of the Gondibert. It is to this poem, he obſerves, that Davenant has to truſt for his fame, and he adds, that it particularly merits a republication. " From its total rejection," continues Mr. Headley, " of ſupernatural agency, it has afforded the critics an ample ſubject of contention. After all, it ſeems but candid to examine every work by thoſe rules only which the author preſcribed himſelf in the compoſing of it: every contrary ſtep is but trying a man of one country by the laws of another. What right have we, therefore, to be offended at not finding the critical acts paſſed by Ariſtotle originally, and re echoed by Boſſu and the French critics, rigidly obſerved, when it was the author's profeſſed intention to write without them? We may, nearly with the ſame propriety, accuſe Shakeſpeare for not adhering to the unities. It was Davenant's intention to make an experiment, and let him be heard in his own words: " If I be accuſed of innovation, or to have tranſgreſſed againſt the method of the ancients, I ſhall think myſelf ſecure in believing that a poet, who hath wrought with his own inſtruments at a new deſign, is no more anſwerable for diſobedience to predeceſſors than law-makers are liable to thoſe old laws which themſelves have repealed." In Biſhop Hurd our author has found a ſo midable accuſer. I tranſcribe the following very ſenſible paſſage from his Eſſays on Chivalry and Romance: " Pagan gods and Gothic fairies were equally out of credit when Milton wrote; he did well, therefore, to ſupply their room with angels and devils. If theſe too ſhould wear out of the popular creed (and they ſeem in a hopeful way, from the liberty ſome late critics have taken with them), I know not what other expedients the Epic poet might have recourſe to; but this I know, the pomp of verſe, the energy of deſcription, and even the fineſt moral paintings, would ſtand him in no ſtead. Without admiration (which cannot be effected but by the marvellous of celeſtial intervention, I mean the agency of ſuperior natures really exiſting, or by the illuſion of the fancy taken to be ſo), no Epic poem can be long lived"—It is to be wiſhed (though we have no demand upon him for ſuch a condeſcenſion) that the ingenious Biſhop had given us his idea of a ſubſtitute, for what he here repreſents as already exploded, as well as for what he imagines as ſoon likely to be ſo. Poetry, no doubt, in being thus deprived of theſe her magical ſupports, will loſe much of her attraction. Yet, in the caſe of Davenant (ſuppoſing him amenable to a court of criticiſm), many palliations may be urged in his defence. There can ſcarcely ſubſiſt a doubt but that, in denying himſelf the opportunity of indulging his fancy in the appendages of divine aſſiſtance, the dignity of the poem has been conſiderably diminiſhed: yet, if we recollect the ſituation he ſtood in as to time, it will appear that his conduct did not reſult from a perverſe and affected determination of deviating from rules long eſtabliſhed, and long approved, but from a ſerious and ſenſible conviction that ſuch machinery as thoſe rules ſupplied him with was no longer practicable. The ſpirit of common-ſenſe, which in his day began to ſhew itſelf, would certainly have revolted againſt heathen mythology; the Gothic ſyſtem, which the Italian ſchool preſented him with, was already hacknied and worn out, and no longer foſtered and kept alive by the reliſh for chivalry, which prevailed even when Spenſer wrote; the religion of his country afforded no inſtance that might ſerve to keep him in countenance, or juſtify an application of ſuch hallowed materials to ſo light, and perhaps ſo unworthy, a purpoſe. Theſe united objections made (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) a ſort of poetical atheiſt of Davenant, and reduced him to the neceſſity of purſuing a plan of his own, and of relying on the natural powers of his genius. With his pen in his hand, he ſeems boldly to have exclaimed, in the language of Mezentius,

" *Dextra mihi Deus* et telum quod miſſile libro (45)." (45) Biographical Sketches prefixed to Headley's Collection, vol. i. p. xlviii, xlix.

But the Gentleman who has moſt eminently laboured to reſcue the Gondibert from oblivion, and to recommend its beauties to the attention of the world, is Dr. Aikin. This ingenious writer has devoted a long eſſay to the ſubject; and, after having vindicated the general method of the poem, in anſwer to Dr. Hurd's objections, he proceeds to a more particular analyſis of it, the length of which ſhall not deter us from laying it before our readers; partly becauſe it conduces ſo highly to Sir William Davenant's reputation, and partly becauſe it affords ſo agreeable a ſpecimen of candid and judicious criticiſm. It will, at the ſame time, communicate to many perſons, ſuch a knowledge of the Gondibert as is wholly new to them. " I ſhould now hope," proceeds Dr. Aikin, " that the reader would ſet out with me upon a nearer inſpection of this poem, with the general idea of its being the work of an elevated genius, pregnant with a rich ſtore of free and noble ſentiment, faſhioned by an intimate commerce with the great world, and boldly purſuing an original, but not an unſkilful plan.

" The meaſure choſen for this poem is that which we now almoſt confine to elegy. This choice does not appear very judicious; for although our elegiac ſtanza poſſeſſes a ſtrength and fullneſs which renders it not unſuitable to heroic ſubjects, yet in a piece of conſiderable length, every returning meaſure muſt become tireſome from its frequent repetitions. And this is not the worſt effect of returning ſtanzas, in a long work. The neceſſity of comprizing a ſentence within the limits of the meaſure is the tyranny of Procruſtes to thought. For the ſake of a diſagreeable uniformity, expreſſion muſt conſtantly be cramped or extenuated. In general the latter expedient will be practiſed, as the eaſieſt; and thus both ſentiment and language will be enfeebled by unmeaning expletives. This, indeed, in ſome meaſure is the effect of rhyme couplets; and ſtill more of the Latin hexameter and pentameter. In our author, a redundancy of thought, running out into parentheſes, ſeems to have been produced, or at leaſt encouraged by the meaſure. But I think he has generally preſerved a force and majeſty of expreſſion.

" It would have been highly injudicious for one who has rejected all poetical machinery, to have begun his poem with the antient form of invoking a Muſe. Indeed, in all modern writers this invocation appears little better than an unmeaning ceremony, practiſed by rote from antient cuſtom; and very properly makes a part of the *receipt for an epic poem* humourouſly laid down after the exact model of mechanical imitation, in the Spectator. Our author, with ſimple and unaffected dignity, thus opens at once into his ſubject:

" Of all the Lombards, by their trophies known,
Who ſought fame ſoon, and had her favour long,
King ARIBERT beſt ſeem'd to fill the throne,
And bred moſt buſineſs for heroick ſong.

" This conquering monarch, we are ſoon acquainted, was bleſt with an only child, the heroine of the ſtory,

" Recorded RHODALIND! whoſe high renown
Who miſs in books not luckily have read;
Or vex'd with living beauties of their own
Have ſhunn'd the wiſe records of lovers dead.

" Deſcriptions of female beauty have engaged the powers of poets in every age, who have exhauſted all nature for imagery to heighten their painting; yet the picture has ever been extremely faint and inadequate. Our poet judiciouſly confines his deſcription

and, in her dedication, ſhe tells him, that his Royal Father was not diſpleaſed with her huſband's writings, that the Queen his Mother graciouſly took him into her family, was diverted

tion of Rhodalind to the qualities of her mind, contenting himſelf with general praiſes, though in the high-flown gallantry of the times, of her perſonal charms.

" Her looks like empire ſhew'd, great above pride;
Since pride ill counterfeits exceſſive height:
But nature publiſh'd what ſhe fain would hide,
Who for her deeds, not beauty, lov'd the light.

" To make her lowly mind's appearance leſs,
She us'd ſome outward greatneſs for diſguiſe;
Eſteem'd as pride the cloyſt'ral lowlineſs,
And thought them proud who even the proud deſpiſe."

" Oppreſſors big with pride, when ſhe appear'd
Bluſh'd, and believ'd their greatneſs counterfeit;
The lowly thought they them in vain had fear'd;
Found virtue harmleſs, and nought elſe ſo great.

" Her mind (ſcarce to her feeble ſex a-kin)
Did as her birth, her right to empire ſhow;
Seem'd careleſs outward when employ'd within;
Her ſpeech, like lovers watch'd, was kind and low.

" The court of Aribert could not want men of high rank and accompliſhments to pay their devotions at ſuch a ſhrine. Among theſe " OSWALD the great, and greater GONDIBERT" moved in the moſt exalted ſphere of renown. Theſe noble perſonages are characterized and contraſted with ſo maſterly a hand that it would be an injury not to tranſcribe the whole.

" In court Prince Oſwald coſtly was and gay,
Finer than near vain kings their fav'rites are!
Outſhin'd bright fav'rites on their nuptial day;
Yet were his eyes dark with ambitious care.

" Duke Gondibert was ſtill more gravely clad,
But yet his looks familiar were and clear;
As if with ill to others never ſad,
Nor tow'rds himſelf could others practice fear.

" The Prince could porpoiſe-like in tempeſts play,
And in court ſtorms on ſhipwreck'd greatneſs feed;
Not frighted with their fate when caſt away,
But to their glorious hazards durſt ſucceed.

" The Duke would laſting calms to courts aſſure,
As pleaſant gardens we defend from winds;
For he who bus'neſs would from ſtorms procure,
Soon his affairs above his manage finds.

" Oſwald in throngs the abject people ſought
With humble looks; who ſtill too late will know
They are ambition's quarry, and ſoon caught
When the aſpiring eagle ſtoops ſo low.

" The Duke did theſe by ſteady virtue gain;
Which they in action more than precept taſte;
Deeds ſhew the good, and thoſe who goodneſs feign
By ſuch even through their vizards are oûtfac't.

" Oſwald in war was worthily renown'd;
Though gay in courts, coarſely in camps could live;
Judg'd danger ſoon, and firſt was in it found;
Could toil to gain what he with eaſe did give.

" Yet toils and dangers through ambition lov'd,
Which does in war the name of virtue own:
But quits that name when from the war remov'd,
As rivers theirs when from their channels gone.

" The Duke (as reſtleſs as his fame in war)
With martial toil could Oſwald weary make,
And calmly do what he with rage did dare,
And give ſo much as he might deign to take.

" Him as their founder cities did adore;
The court he knew to ſteer in ſtorms of ſtate;
In fields a battle loſt he could reſtore,
And after force the victors to their fate.

" Of theſe great rivals, Gondibert was he whom the King had deſtined for his ſon-in-law, and the heir of his throne; and Rhodalind too, in the privacy of her own breaſt, had made the ſame choice. This is related in a manner little inferior to Shakeſpeare's famous deſcription of concealed love.

" Yet ſadly it is ſung that ſhe in ſhades
Mildly as mourning doves love's ſorrows felt;
Whilſt in her ſecret tears her freſhneſs fades,
As roſes ſilently in lymbecks melt.

" Gondibert, however, though of a nature by no means unſuſceptible of the tender paſſion, had not as yet felt it for a particular object; and Oſwald, who ſtood forth as the public ſuitor to the Princeſs, was incited by no other motive than ambition. Not Rhodalind herſelf (ſays the Poet)

" Could he affect but ſhining in her throne.

" His cauſe was powerfully pleaded with the Princeſs by his ſiſter Gartha, with whom we are next brought acquainted. A bold, full, majeſtic beauty; and a correſponding mind, high, reſtleſs, and aſpiring, are her diſtinguiſhing features. The Prince and Duke were urged on to ambitious purſuits by their reſpective armies, which, juſt returned from conqueſt, lay encamped, the one at Breſcia, and the other at Bergamo. That of Gondibert was compoſed of hardy youth whom he had ſelected from his father's camp, and educated in martial diſcipline under his own inſpection. Temperance, chaſtity, vigilance, humanity, and all the high virtues of chivalry remarkably diſtinguiſh theſe young ſoldiers from thoſe of later times. Beauty, indeed, commanded no leſs regard amongſt them than in a modern camp; but it was an object of paſſion, and not of appetite; and was the powerful engine in their education which inſpired them with noble and exalted ſentiments. This is an idea on which our author, true to the principles of chivalry, very frequently enlarges, and always with peculiar force and dignity. In the preſent inſtance it is thus finely expreſſed.

" But tho' the Duke taught rigid diſcipline,
He let them beauty thus at diſtance know;
As prieſts diſcover ſome more ſacred ſhrine,
Which none muſt touch, yet all to it may bow.

" When thus as ſuitors mourning virgins paſs
Thro' their clean camp, themſelves in form they draw,
That they with martial reverence may grace
Beauty, the ſtranger, which they ſeldom ſaw.

" They vayl'd their enſigns as it by did move,
Whilſt inward, as from native conſcience, all
Worſhip'd the poet's darling godhead, Love;
Which grave philoſophers did Nature call.

" Indeed, the influence of this paſſion in its pureſt and moſt exalted ſtate, during the courſe of education, is a ſubject that might, perhaps, ſhine as much in the hands of a moraliſt as of a poet.

" The ſoldiers of Oſwald were his father's brave veterans, in whoſe arms he had been bred. The ſtory thus opened, and our attention awakened to the expectation of important events, the firſt canto is cloſed.

diverted by, and often ſmiled upon, his endeavours; and that the latter part of his life had been ſpent in the ſtudy and labour to entertain his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs.

" The ſecond canto introduces us to a ſolemn annual hunting, held by Duke Gondibert in commemoration of a great victory gained on this day by his grandfire. His train was adorned by many gallant and noble perſons, the friends of his family, and commanders in his army. The hunting, which is deſcribed with much poetical ſpirit, terminates in a combat. As Gondibert and his party are returning weary homeward, an antient ranger haſtily brings the tidings that Oſwald, who had lain in ambuſh with a body of choſen horſe, is advancing upon them. The Duke, rejecting all counſels of flight, prepares to receive his foes; and with an account of their principal leaders, and the order of their march, the canto concludes.

" A parley between the chiefs now ſucceeds, in which the character of each is well preſerved. Oſwald warmly accuſes his rival for uſurping his claims on the Princeſs and the kingdom. Gondibert defends himſelf with temper, and diſavows all ambitious deſigns. The other diſdains accommodation; and the conference ends in a generous agreement to decide their differences in ſingle fight.

" When every thing is prepared for the combat, Hubert, the brother of Oſwald, ſteps forth with a general challenge to the oppoſite party. This is inſtantly accepted, and ſerves for a prelude to ſo many others, that a general engagement ſeems likely to enſue; when Oſwald reproves their diſobedient ardour: and, upon Hubert's inſiſting to ſhare his fate from the rights of brotherhood, it is at length decided that three perſons of each party ſhould enter the liſts along with their generals. The duel then comes on, in the fourth canto; in which Oſwald, Hubert, Paradine and Dargonet, are ſeverally matched with Gondibert; Hurgonil, the lover of Orna, the Duke's ſiſter; and Arnold and Hugo, generous rivals in Laura. Deſcriptions of battle are ſo frequent in epic poetry that ſcarcely any circumſtances of variety are left to diverſify them. Homer and his imitators have attempted novelty in the multiplicity of their combats by every poſſible variation of weapon, poſture, and wound. They conſidered the human body with anatomical nicety; and dwelt with a ſavage pleaſure upon every idea of pain and horror that ſtudied butchery could excite. I ſhall leave it to the profeſſed admirers of antiquity to determine under what head of poetical beauty ſuch objects are to be ranged. The terrible is certainly a principal ſource of the ſublime; but a ſlaughter-houſe or a ſurgery would not ſeem proper ſtudies for a poet. D'avenant has drawn little from them. His battles are rendered intereſting chiefly by the character and ſituation of the combatants. When Arnold, the favoured lover of Laura, is ſlain by Paradine, Hugo, who had overthrown his antagoniſt, ſprings to avenge his rival, with theſe truly gallant expreſſions.

" Vain conqueror, ſaid Hugo then, return!
  Inſtead of laurel which the victor wears,
Go gather cypreſs for thy brother's urn,
  And learn of me to water it with tears.

" Thy brother loſt his life attempting mine;
  Which cannot for Lord Arnold's loſs ſuffice:
I muſt revenge, unlucky Paradine!
  The blood his death will draw from Laura's eyes.

" We rivals were in Laura; but tho' ſhe
  My griefs derided, his with ſighs approv'd,
Yet I, in love's exact integrity,
  Muſt take thy life for killing him ſhe lov'd.

" His generoſity, however, was fatal both to his foe and himſelf.

" Hubert, diſabled by a wound in his arm, is diſhonoured by receiving his life from his conqueror; upon which occaſion the poet thus beautifully apoſtrophiſes.

" O Honour, frail as life thy fellow flower!
  Cheriſh'd and watch'd and hum'rouſly eſteem'd,
Then worn for ſhort adornments of an hour;
  And is when loſt, no more than life redeem'd.

" The two chiefs are ſtill left cloſely engaging; and when Hurgonil approaches to aſſiſt his lord, he is warmly commanded to retire. At length, after many mutual wounds, Oſwald falls.

" The death of the Prince at the ſame time takes off all reſtraint from his party, and incites them to revenge. Led by the wounded Hubert, old Vaſco, and Borgio, they attack the hunters, who, beſides the fatigue of the chace, are repreſented as ſomewhat inferior in number. A furious battle, the ſubject of the fifth canto, now enſues. Gondibert ſhines forth in all the ſplendor of a hero. By his proweſs his friends are reſcued, and the oppoſite leaders overthrown in various ſeparate encounters; and by his military ſkill the brave veterans of Oſwald are defeated. The whole deſcription of the battle is warm and animated.

" In Gondibert's generous lamentation over the fallen, every heart muſt ſympathize with the following pathetic tribute to the rival lovers.

" Brave Arnold and his rival ſtrait remove,
  Where Laura ſhall beſtrew their hallow'd ground;
Protectors both, and ornaments of love;
  This ſaid, his eyes out wept his wideſt wound.

" Tell her now theſe, love's faithful ſaints, are gone
  The beauty they ador'd ſhe ought to hide;
For vainly will love's miracles be ſhown,
  Since lover's faith with theſe brave rivals dy'd.

" Say little Hugo never more ſhall mourn
  In noble numbers, her unkind diſdain;
Who now, not ſeeing beauty, feels no ſcorn;
  And wanting pleaſure, is exempt from pain.

" When ſhe with flowers Lord Arnold's grave ſhall ſtrew,
  And hears why Hugo's life was thrown away,
She on that rival's hearſe will drop a few,
  Which merits all that April gives to May.

" The Duke now draws off his remaining friends towards Bergamo: but on the journey, overcome by fatigue and loſs of blood, he falls into a deadly ſwoon. His attendants, amidſt their anxiety and confuſion upon this event, are ſurpriſed, in the ſixth canto, with the approach of a ſquadron of horſe. This, however, proves to be a friendly body, led by old Ulfin; who, after recovering the Duke by a cordial, declares himſelf to have been a page to his grandſire, and gives a noble relation of the character and exploits of his great maſter. The rumour of Oſwald's attack brought him to the relief of Gondibert; and we have a deſcription, which will be thought too much bordering upon the ludicrous, of the ſtrange confuſion among his maimed veterans, who in their haſte had ſeized upon each other's artificial limbs. This unſightly troop, with the deficiences of hands, arms, legs and eyes, can ſcarcely, with all the poet's art, be rendered a reſpectable object. Such inſtances of faulty judgment are frequent in the writings of an age which was characterized by vigour of imagination rather than correctneſs of taſte. Ulfin leads the Duke to the houſe of the ſage Aſtragon, where, with the approach of night, the canto and the firſt book conclude.

" In the beginning of the ſecond book, the poet carries us with Hurgonil and Tybalt and their noble lead, to Verona. The diſtant turrets firſt appearing, and then the great objects opening, one by one; the river, the palace, the temple, and the amphitheatre of Flaminius, form a landſcape truly noble and pictureſque. The view of the temple gives occaſion

occaſion to one of thoſe elevated religious ſentiments which dignify this poem.

" This to ſoothe heaven the bloody Clephes built;
As if heaven's king ſo ſoft and eaſy were,
So meanly hous'd in heaven, and kind to guilt,
That he would be a tyrant's tenant here.

" We have then a lively deſcription of a city morning; with the various and uncertain rumours of the late event, among the people. The reſt of the canto is employed in a debate, rather tedious, though intermixed with fine ſentiments, concerning the propriety of granting funeral rites to thoſe who had periſhed in the quarrel.

" The progreſs of the fatal news is traced in the next canto. Aribert appears ſitting in council in all the regal dignity. Tybalt relates the ſtory. The King in a majeſtic ſpeech complains of the toils and cares of empire, and predicts the baneful conſequences likely to enſue. A more intereſting ſcene is then diſcloſed, in which Tybalt declares the melancholy events of the combat to Rhodalind and the other Ladies of the court. Great art is ſhown in the delicate ambiguity by which they are prepared to receive the tidings. Laura is overpowered by her loſs; and calling on Arnold's name, is conveyed away by her female attendants. This tender ſcene of ſorrow is finely contraſted by the abrupt entrance of Gartha, in all the wild pomp of mingled rage and grief.

" No ſooner was the pity'd Laura gone,
But Oſwald's ſiſter, Gartha the renown'd,
Enters as if the world was overthrown,
Or in the tears of the afflicted drown'd.

" Unconquer'd as her beauty was her mind,
Which wanted not a ſpark of Oſwald's fire;
Ambition lov'd but ne'er to love was kind;
Vex'd thrones did more than quiet ſhades deſire.

" Her garments now in looſe neglect ſhe wore,
As ſuited to her wild diſhevell'd hair.

" In the fury of her paſſion ſhe breaks out into execrations againſt the innocent.

" Blaſted be all your beauties, Rhodalind!
Till you a ſhame and terror be to fight;
Unwing'd be Love, and ſlow as he is blind,
Who with your looks poiſon'd my brother's ſight!

" At length ſhe mounts her chariot, and flies with the wings of revenge to the veteran camp at Breſcia. The terror impreſſed on the people by her haſty departure is imaged with great ſublimity.

" She ſeem'd their city's Genius as ſhe paſs'd,
Who, by their ſins expell'd, would ne'er return.

" The third canto brings us to Breſcia, where Hubert's arrival with the dead body of Oſwald excites every emotion of ſurprize, grief and fury in the breaſts of the brave veterans. They ſpend the night in this ſtorm of contending paſſions; and at day-break aſſemble round the tent of Hubert, who by a noble harangue gives additional fire to their revenge. They inſtantly arm, and demand to be led to Bergamo; when Gartha arrives. She turns their vengeance againſt the court, where ſhe repreſents the triumph of Gondibert's faction, and the diſhonour caſt upon their own. The rage diſcovered in her countenance, overpowering the ſymptoms of grief, is painted with amazing grandeur in the following ſimile:

" The Sun did thus to threat'ned nature ſhow
His anger red, whilſt guilt look'd pale in all,
When clouds of floods did hang about his brow;
And then ſhrunk back to let that anger fall.

" This tempeſt is, however, allayed in the next canto by the arrival of the wiſe Hermegild; who, though grown aged in war and politics, is poſſeſſed with a youthful paſſion for Gartha. He ſolemnly binds his ſervices to their party, for the reward of Gartha's love; but perſuades them to ſubmit to more cautious and pacific meaſures. Gartha returns with him to the court; and the funeral of Oſwald with Roman rites, " Which yet the world's laſt law had not forbid," is deſcribed in the remaining part of the canto.

" From ſcenes of rage and tumult the poet then leads us to the quiet ſhades of philoſophy in the houſe of Aſtragon. This change is not better calculated for the reader's relief, than for a diſplay of the richneſs and elevation of the writer's mind. That the friend of Hobbes ſhould deſpiſe the learned lumber of the ſchools will not be thought extraordinary; but that he ſhould diſtinctly mark out ſuch plans of acquiring knowledge as have ſince been purſued with the greateſt ſucceſs, may well be deemed a remarkable proof of high and comprehenſive genius. In Aſtragon's domain is a retired building, upon which is written in large letters, GREAT NATURE'S OFFICE. Here ſit certain venerable ſages, ſtiled *Nature's Regiſters*, buſied in recording what is brought them by a throng called their *Intelligencers*. Theſe men are diverſly employed in exploring the haunts of beaſts, of birds, and of fiſhes, and collecting obſervations of their manners, their prey, their increaſe, and every circumſtance of their œconomy. Near this place is NATURE'S NURSERY, ſtocked with every ſpecies of plants, of which the ſeveral properties and virtues are diligently examined. Is it not ſtriking to find in the *houſe of Aſtragon* ſo exact a model of the *ſchool of Linnæus?*

" We are next led to the CABINET OF DEATH; a receptacle for ſkeletons and anatomical curioſities of every kind: and from thence, by a pleaſing analogy, to the library, or, as it is termed, the MONUMENT OF BANISH'D MINDS. The feelings of his gueſts on entering this room are thus deſcribed;

" Where, when they thought they ſaw in well-fought books
Th' aſſembled ſouls of all that men held wiſe,
It bred ſuch awful rev'rence in their looks
As if they ſaw the bury'd writers riſe.

" The poet then goes through a particular ſurvey of the authors, diſtinguiſhed into their ſeveral periods, countries, and profeſſions; in which he exhibits a great extent of learning, and, much more to his honour, a ſound and liberal judgment of what is truly valuable in learning. Of this, his account of the polemic divines will be thought no unfavourable ſpecimen.

" About this ſacred little book did ſtand
Unwieldy volumes, and in number great;
And long it was ſince any reader's hand
Had reach'd them from their unfrequented ſeat:

" For a deep duſt (which time does ſoftly ſhed,
Where only time does come) their covers bear;
On which grave ſpiders ſtreets of webs had ſpread,
Subtle, and ſlight, as the grave writers were.

" In theſe heaven's holy fire does vainly burn,
Nor warms, nor lights, but is in ſparkles ſpent;
Where froward authors with diſputes have torn
The garment ſeamleſs as the firmament.

" If the ſubjects of this canto appear more noble and elevated than thoſe which uſually employ the epiſodes of heroic poetry, that of the enſuing one muſt ſtrike with ſtill ſuperior dignity. Having acquainted us with the philoſophy of his admired ſage, the poet now, by a beautiful kind of allegory, inſtructs us in his religion. Aſtragon had dedicated three temples, to PRAYER, to PENITENCE, and to PRAISE. The *Temple of Prayer* is deſcribed as a building quite plain, open, and without bells; ſince nothing ſhould tempt or ſummon to an office to which our own wants invite us. The duty of *Penitence* being a ſeverity unpleaſing to nature, its *temple* is contrived, by its ſolemn and uncommon appearance, to catch the ſenſe. It is a vaſt building of black marble, hung with black, and furniſhed with that

" dim religious light" which poets have ſo finely employed to excite kindred ideas of gloom and melancholy: but none, I think, have painted it with ſuch ſtrength of colouring as our author:

" Black curtains hide the glaſs; whilſt from on high
A winking lamp ſtill threatens all the room,
As if the lazy flame juſt now would die:
Such will the ſun's laſt light appear at doom.

" A tolling bell calls to the temple; and every other circumſtance belonging to it is imagined with great propriety and beauty.

" But the poet's greateſt exertions are reſerved for his favourite *temple of Praiſe*. A general ſhout of joy is the ſummons to it. The building in its materials and architecture is gay and ſplendid beyond the moſt ſumptuous palace. The front is adorned with figures of all kinds of muſical inſtruments; all, as he moſt beautifully expreſſes it,

" That joy did e'er invent, or breath inſpir'd,
Or flying fingers touch'd into a voice.

" The ſtatues without, the pictures within, the decorations, and the choir of worſhippers, are all ſuited with nice judgment, and deſcribed with genuine poetry. This diſtinguiſhed canto concludes with theſe noble ſtanzas, the ſum and moral, as it were, of the whole.

" Praiſe is devotion fit for mighty minds;
The diff'ring world's agreeing ſacrifice;
Where heaven divided faiths united finds:
But Prayer in various diſcord upward flies.

" For Prayer the ocean is, where diverſly
Men ſteer their courſe, each to a ſev'ral coaſt;
Where all our intereſts ſo diſcordant be
That half beg winds by which the reſt are loſt.

" By Penitence when we ourſelves forſake,
'Tis but in wiſe deſign on pitcous heav'n;
In Praiſe we nobly give what God may take,
And are without a beggar's bluſh forgiv'n.

" Its utmoſt force, like powder's, is unknown;
And tho' weak Kings exceſs of Praiſe may fear,
Yet when 'tis here, like powder, dangerous grown,
Heav'ns vault receives what would the palace tear.

" The laſt thought will be termed, in this cold age, a conceit; and ſo may every thing that diſtinguiſhes wit and poetry from plain ſenſe and proſe.

" The wonders of the *houſe of Aſtragon* are not yet exhauſted.

" To Aſtragon heaven for ſucceſſion gave
One only pledge, and BIRTHA was her name.

" This maid, her father's humble diſciple and aſſiſtant, educated in the boſom of rural ſimplicity, is rendered a more charming object than even the renowned Rhodalind upon her throne.

" Courts ſhe ne'er ſaw, yet courts could have undone
With untaught looks and an unpractis'd heart;
Her nets the moſt prepar'd could never ſhun,
For Nature ſpread them in the ſcorn of Art.

" But I check my deſire of copying more from this exquiſitely pleaſing picture. My intention is to excite curioſity, not to gratify it. I hope I have already done enough for that purpoſe; and ſince the reſt of this unfiniſhed ſtory may be comprized in a ſhort compaſs, I ſhall proceed, with but few interruptions, to conclude a paper already ſwelled to an unexpected bulk.

" That the unpractiſed Birtha ſhould entertain an unreſiſted paſſion for the nobleſt of his ſex; and that Gondibert, whoſe want of ambition alone had ſecured him from the charms of Rhodalind, ſhould bow to thoſe of his lovely hoſteſs and handmaid, will be thought a very natural turn in the ſtory; upon which, however, the reader may foreſee the moſt intereſting events depending. The progreſs of their love, though ſcarcely known to themſelves, is ſoon diſcovered by the ſage Aſtragon. This is expreſſed by the poet with a very fine turn of a common thought.

" When all theſe ſymptoms he obſerv'd, he knows
From Alga which is rooted deep in ſeas,
To the high Cedar that on mountains grows,
No ſov'reign herb is found for their diſeaſe.

" The remainder of this poem, conſiſting of a third book written during the author's impriſonment, is compoſed of ſeveral detached ſcenes, in which the main plot lies ripening for future action. Rivals are raiſed in Birtha. Flattering advances from the court, and more open declarations of love from Rhodalind, are in vain employed to aſſail the conſtancy of Gondibert. Various conflicts of paſſion ariſe, and intereſting ſituations, well imagined, and painted in lively colours. Much is given, as in the former parts, to the introduction of elevated ſentiment; with one example of which I ſhall finiſh my quotations. Several well-born youths are placed about the perſon of Gondibert as his pages, whoſe education conſiſts of the following great leſſons from their lord.

" But with the early ſun he roſe, and taught
Theſe youths by growing Virtue to grow great;
Shew'd greatneſs is without it blindly ſought,
A deſperate charge which ends in baſe retreat.

" He taught them Shame, the ſudden ſenſe of ill;
Shame, nature's haſty conſcience, which forbids
Weak inclination ere it grows to will,
Or ſtays raſh will before it grows to deeds.

" He taught them Honour, Virtue's baſhfulneſs;
A fort ſo yieldleſs that it fears to treat;
Like power it grows to nothing, growing leſs;
Honour, the moral conſcience of the great.

" He taught them Kindneſs; ſoul's civility,
In which, nor courts, nor cities have a part;
For theirs is faſhion, this from falſhood free,
Where love and pleaſure know no luſt nor art.

" And Love he taught; the ſoul's ſtol'n viſit made
Tho' froward age watch hard, and law forbid;
Her walks no ſpy has trac'd, nor mountain ſtaid;
Her friendſhip's cauſe is as the loadſtone hid.

" He taught them love of Toil; Toil which does keep
Obſtructions from the mind, and quench the blood;
Eaſe but belongs to us like ſleep, and ſleep,
Like Opium, is our med'cine, not our food.

" The plot is at length involved in ſo many intricate and apparently unſurmountable difficulties, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive a ſatisfactory termination. Perhaps the poet was ſenſible of a want of power to extricate himſelf, and choſe thus to ſubmit to a voluntary bankruptcy of invention, rather than hazard his reputation by going farther. In his poſtſcript, indeed, he excuſes himſelf on account of ſickneſs and approaching diſſolution. However diſappointed we may be by his abrupt departure from ſcenes which he has filled with confuſion, we ought not to forget the pleaſures already received from them. " If (ſays he to his reader, with more than the ſpirit of a dying man) thou art one of thoſe who has been warmed with poetic fire, I reverence thee as my judge." From ſuch a judicature, this NOBLE FRAGMENT, would, I doubt not, acquire for him what the critic laments his having loſt, " the poſſeſſion of that true and permanent glory of which his large ſoul appears to have been full (46)."

Whilſt the preceding remarks will fully convince our readers, that there is a merit in the Gondibert, of which many of them had not, perhaps, the leaſt apprehenſion, we muſt, at the ſame time, declare our opinion, that nothing can ever render it a popular poem. Dr. Aikin acknowledges, that it is defective in the execution. It is but too obviouſly apparent, he ſays, that Sir William Davenant's ſenti-

(46) Miſcellaneous Pieces, in Proſe, by J. and A. L. Aikin, p. 154—189.

ments are frequently far fetched and affected, and his expreſſion quaint and obſcure; and that theſe faults, together with the want of harmony in verſification, will ſufficiently account for the neglect into which the work is fallen, though intereſting in its ſtory, and thick-ſown with beauties (47).

(47) *Ibid.* p. 152.

But though the Gondibert will ſtill continue to be generally neglected, this does not detract from the value of Dr. Aikin's criticiſm. Diſquiſitions of ſuch a kind are eminently uſeful. They preſerve the reputation of conſiderable men from ſinking wholly into oblivion, and they occaſion their works to be ſtudied by a few choice ſpirits, who are above being carried away by the torrent of literary faſhion. K.

D'AVENANT (CHARLES), the eldeſt ſon of Sir William Davenant, was born ſome time in the year 1656 (*a*), and received the firſt tincture of letters at the grammar ſchool of Cheame, in the county of Surry, under the care of Mr. George Aldrich, of Cambridge (*b*). He gave very early proofs of an active and ſprightly genius; and, though it muſt have been a great misfortune to him to loſe, as he did, his father, when ſcarcely twelve years of age, yet care was taken to ſend him to Oxford to compleat his ſtudies, where he became a Fellow-Commoner of Baliol-College in Midſummer Term 1671, but left that Univerſity without taking a degree (*c*). The firſt proof which the public received of his parts was a dramatic compoſition, written when he was about nineteen years of age, and which was received with great kindneſs by a very polite audience, and frequently acted afterwards with juſt applauſe (*d*) [*A*]. He had a conſiderable ſhare in the theatre in right of his father, which, probably, induced him to turn his thoughts ſo early to the ſtage; yet he was not long detained either by that, or by the ſucceſs of his play, in the flowery road of Poetry. On the contrary, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil Law, in which he had the degree of Doctor conferred upon him by the Univerſity of Cambridge (*e*). He was elected, with James St. Amand, Eſq; to repreſent the borough of St. Ives in Cornwall, in the firſt Parliament of King James II. which was ſummoned to meet May 19th, 1685 (*f*); and, about the ſame time, he was jointly empowered, with the Maſter of the Revels, to inſpect all plays, to preſerve the decorum of the Stage, by preventing any thing that might have a tendency to immorality from appearing thereon (*g*). He was alſo appointed a Commiſſioner of the Exciſe (*h*), and continued in that employment for nearly ſix years, that is, from 1683 to 1689; during which ſpace that branch of the revenue was managed with great advantage to the Crown, as well as with great honour and fidelity by ſuch as were intruſted with it, as he demonſtrated to the public by comparing their conduct, and the conſequences of it, with thoſe of their ſucceſſors; againſt which account, though there were ſome cavils raiſed, yet the facts contained therein could not be contradicted (*i*) [*B*]. His thorough acquaintance with

(*a*) As appears from the time at which he died, and his age at the time of his death.

(*b*) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 945.

(*c*) *Faſt. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 213.

(*d*) Langbaine's Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 116.

(*e*) From private information.

(*f*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 126. Willis's Notit. Parliament, vol. ii. p. 130.

(*g*) Langbaine's Eng. Dramatic Poets, p. 116.

(*h*) Animadverſions on a late ſeditious book, intituled *Eſſays on the Balance of Power*, &c. p. 5.

(*i*) See this matter diſcuſſed in note [*B*].

[*A*] *And frequently acted afterwards with juſt applauſe.*] This ſingle dramatick performance of our author has the following title:

I. CIRCE, *a Tragedy, acted at his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York's theatre*, Lond. 1677, 4*to*.

After the death of Sir William Davenant, thoſe miſchiefs, to which the theatre became expoſed in his life-time, began to threaten it's deſtruction. For the two companies, vying with each other, that of the Duke rather choſe to make their court to the town by rich dreſſes, beautiful ſcenes, ſurprizing machinery, and other decorations of that ſort, than play to thinner houſes than uſual, which ſerved only to heighten that falſe taſte, that has been always the bane of dramatick entertainments. To the introduction of theſe, this new piece was ſo far accommodated, that, notwithſtanding it's title, Mr. Langbaine ſays juſtly, that it was conſidered rather as an Opera; yet the ſubject ſuiting very well with the deſign, and the verſes being written with great eaſe and ſpirit, it was with all theſe helps generally, if not univerſally, admired (1). The reader muſt obſerve, that it was not printed till two years after it was firſt acted, upon which occaſion Mr. Dryden wrote a Prologue, and the Earl of Rocheſter an Epilogue, both beautiful pieces in their kind. In the former there was this fine apology for the author's youth and inexperience (2).

(1) Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 116.

(2) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq. vol. ii. p. 241.

Your *Ben* and *Fletcher* in their firſt young flight,
Did no *Volpone* nor no *Arbaces* write,
But hopp'd about, and ſhort excurſions made
From bough to bough, as if they were afraid;
And each was guilty of ſome ſlighted *maid*.
Shakeſpeare's own Muſe her *Pericles* firſt bore,
The Prince of *Tyre* was elder than the *Moor*.
'Tis miracle to ſee a *firſt* good play,
All *hawthorns* do not bloom on *Chriſtmas-day*.
A ſlender Poet muſt have time to grow,
And ſpread and burniſh as his brothers do;
Who ſtill looks lean ſure with ſome pox is curſt,
But no man can be *Falſtaff* fat at firſt.
Then damn not, but indulge, his rude eſſays;
Encourage him, and bloat him up with praiſe;
That he may get more bulk before he dies,
He's not yet fed enough for ſacrifice.
Perhaps if now your grace you will not grudge,
He may grow up to *write*, and you to *judge*.

[*B*] *Yet the facts therein could not be contradicted.*] It may be reaſonably believed, though, at this diſtance of time, it cannot be poſitively affirmed, that this gentleman had ſome leſſer employment in the Exciſe, before he was advanced to the rank of a Commiſſioner. It is to one of his adverſaries that we are indebted for this circumſtance, that Mr. Davenant came to the board at Midſummer 1683, when this part of the revenue, which for many years had been let to farm, came again into the hands of the Crown, and was delegated to ſix Commiſſioners (3). The hiſtory of their management, as given by Dr. Davenant himſelf, is what we have referred to in the text, and a ſmall part of which we ſhall tranſcribe here, from which the reader will diſcern, that, when this gentleman undertook to give the publick his ſentiments as to the management of the revenue, he was not either an ignorant or an impertinent pretender, but one who perfectly underſtood the matter which he promiſed to make plain, and pointed out the only method for correcting the errors of the adminiſtration that will ever be found practicable, *viz.* that of detecting the faults in particular departments, ſhewing whence they ariſe, and how they may be amended. Let the author now ſpeak for himſelf, and tell us how that commiſſion was executed while he remained a member (4).

(3) Remarks upon ſome wrong computations and concluſions, &c. p. 8.

'When the exciſe was put from a farm into a 'commiſſion, the Commiſſioners, at their firſt com-'ing in, did not make any material change of offi-'cers, deferring that till they had better knowledge 'of

(4) Diſcourſes on the public Revenues and Trade of England, vol. i. p. 77.

with the laws and conſtitution of the kingdom, joined to his great ſkill in figures, and his happineſs in applying that ſkill according to the principles advanced by Sir William Petty, for the perfecting Political Arithmetic, enabled him to enter deeply into the management of affairs, and procured him great ſucceſs as a political writer (*k*). In all his pieces he reaſons entirely upon Revolution principles, and pays the higheſt compliments to the perſonal virtues, and excellent abilities, of the Prince then upon the throne; notwithſtanding which ſuch as oppoſed him made no ſcruple of diſputing his principles, and of maintaining, that his real view was to ſubvert the government, though he pretended to ſupport it by expoſing the errors of the Miniſtry (*l*). His performances in this kind, during the reign of King William, were very numerous; and, as they met with high approbation then, ſo the importance of the ſubjects of which they treat, and the ſingular and ſolid learning they contain, make them very much eſteemed and valued even at this day. We ſhall give the reader the correcteſt catalogue we can of them in the notes [*C*]. It was in one

(*k*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 217.

(*l*) Animadverſions on a late ſeditious book, intituled, *Eſſays on the Ballance of Power*, &c. p. 5.

‘ of thoſe under them, and till they were more maſ-
‘ ters of their buſineſs; and by degrees, and with
‘ great caution, they weeded out ſuch unqualified,
‘ corrupt, or negligent officers, as had been partially
‘ brought in during the former management, which
‘ was ſupine enough towards the latter end. And
‘ whereas the method of keeping the ſtock-books,
‘ and way of charging the people, were different al-
‘ moſt in every collection, they ſettled one uniform
‘ method through the whole kingdom, taking that
‘ form for a pattern which had been made uſe of
‘ with moſt ſucceſs in the beſt managed collections,
‘ which were Yorkſhire, Wales, and the four northern
‘ counties.

‘ To ſee which method put in execution, and to
‘ ſee ſuch other directions performed as the Com-
‘ miſſioners ſhould afterwards give, they appointed
‘ four general Riders, and eight general Surveyors.
‘ But as a check above all, and which was ind ed
‘ the life of their whole affair, the Commiſſioners
‘ themſelves made frequent circuits round the king-
‘ dom, viewing every particular officer in his re-
‘ ſpective diviſion, without which the inferior officers
‘ would have run into ſloth, and the ſuperior into
‘ corruption. And in theſe circuits they could ob-
‘ ſerve who were remiſs, who diligent, who deſerved
‘ advancement, who wanted removing; and here
‘ they ſuited each man's diſtrict to his capacity, and,
‘ if their officers were corrupt, here they got true
‘ information of their proceedings.

‘ But theſe Commiſſioners had done little good
‘ abroad with their inſpection, if the officers had not
‘ been ſenſible, that they were overlooked by per-
‘ ſons ſkilful in the matter, and able to hit a fault;
‘ for that Commiſſioner who rides abroad not fully
‘ poſſeſſed of his buſineſs, ſhall be hourly impoſed
‘ upon by the inferior officers, and leave things in a
‘ worſe order than he found them. They rarely
‘ made any addition of officers to increaſe the King's
‘ charge, but upon their own view in theſe circuits,
‘ and upon a full conviction that ſuch increaſe of
‘ expence would turn to the King's account.

‘ They took care to employ reſponſible men for
‘ their Collectors, by which means their accounts
‘ have been made up with very little ſupers upon
‘ any officer. In ſix years time they had got toge-
‘ ther twelve hundred Gaugers, active and ſkilful,
‘ and ſuch a ſet of men, as perhaps, no Prince had
‘ ever a better employed in his revenue. And as to
‘ the commiſſion itſelf, it was firſt compoſed of per-
‘ ſons who all of them, ſome way or other, had been
‘ before converſant in the exciſe, and who agreed
‘ very well together; for in ſix years of that manage-
‘ ment, not one thing was ever put to the vote
‘ among them.

‘ They were generally perſons not above their
‘ employments, and who had no other buſineſs but
‘ the King's to follow; and they had a large ſalary
‘ which put them beyond corruption. Their manage-
‘ ment was impartial: no man was turned out to let
‘ in another, but upon ſtrong proof, and the report
‘ of a Commiſſioner or General Officer upon the ſpot.
‘ So that he who was ſkilful and diligent, looked
‘ upon himſelf as in for life, for which reaſon they
‘ were ſerved heartily and with affection.

‘ Their management was uncorrupt; no place was
‘ ſold, or ſuffered to be ſold, under them; by which
‘ they could pick and chooſe the beſt, and were en-
‘ tirely maſters of their inferior officers. They were
‘ ſteady and conſtant in their proceedings, not giving
‘ out general orders one week and contradicting them
‘ the next.

‘ They did not vex the people any where with un-
‘ reaſonable fines; and knowing the revenue in ſome
‘ meaſure to be precarious, they were not ſevere in
‘ London in exacting arrears, for fear that if they
‘ ſhould bring any diſtreſs and trouble upon the Lon-
‘ don brewery, it would occaſion the making ill
‘ drink, and ſo drive the people to brew themſelves,
‘ which would deſtroy the duty.

‘ Theſe Commiſſioners did believe, that their
‘ ſkill, fidelity, and diligence, would always re-
‘ commend them to any government, and keep them
‘ in their employments: they therefore quitted their
‘ private buſineſs and profeſſions, to devote them-
‘ ſelves wholly to the King's ſervice, managing his
‘ revenue with the ſame care, affection, and fruga-
‘ lity, as the father of a family would uſe in the
‘ ordering his own affairs, which occaſioned my Lord
‘ Rocheſter, (no incompetent judge in thoſe mat-
‘ ters) at his leaving the Treaſury, to take parti-
‘ cular notice to the late King, how well that branch
‘ had been conducted.

‘ But, after all, the ſucceſs with which this
‘ management was attended, is chiefly to be attri-
‘ buted to the wiſdom and ſteady conduct of thoſe
‘ noble perſons, who, while they governed at the
‘ head of the Treaſury, in their ſeveral turns, did
‘ more at Whitehall towards keeping this branch in
‘ order, than was done in Broad-ſtreet. When the
‘ principal officers and Commiſſioners of every reve-
‘ nue were in a manner of their chooſing, and under
‘ their direction, they took care that the King ſhould
‘ be well and diligently ſerved, and the publick
‘ taſted the benefit of that great power which was
‘ truſted with them. They had notice how each
‘ perſon attended or underſtood his buſineſs; they
‘ called every month to know what Commiſſioners
‘ were abroad ſurveying in the country; they looked
‘ into all tranſactions weekly, and took an exact ac-
‘ count every quarter how the duty proceeded; and,
‘ in ſhort, the ſtrict eye which the Treaſury kept
‘ over the Commiſſioners, rendered them watchful
‘ over their inferior officers; all which together made
‘ the revenue flouriſh.’

To this high character of theſe Commiſſioners, he adds, by way of contraſt, a very different one of thoſe who ſucceeded them, and in reſpect to this he was very vigorouſly oppoſed by one, who had ſome particular reaſons for vindicating their conduct whom the Doctor had expoſed; but even this writer (5) does not at all contradict what had been advanced in reference to the behaviour of the firſt ſet of Commiſſioners while they were in office.

(5) Remarks upon ſome wrong computations and concluſions, &c. p. 4.

[*C*] *The correcteſt catalogue we can of them in the notes.*] A certain writer tells us, that Dr. Davenant having laid wagers that the army of the allies would not ſucceed in Flanders, and particularly that they would not be able to take Namur (6), his loſing them provoked him to draw his pen againſt the government, ſo that, if he is believed, private pique, and particular prejudices, were the ſource of this gentleman's publick ſpirit. His books however are penned in a manner very different from this, and ſeem to ſpeak

(6) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 118.

one of theſe books that the author ſuffered himſelf to be ſo carried away by his zeal, as to treat the Church, or, at leaſt, ſome Church-men, in ſo diſreſpectful a manner, as to draw upon himſelf

ſpeak the writer very heartily deſirous that the war then carried on ſhould be attended with ſucceſs, and the power of France humbled, without exhauſting the ſtrength of this nation. Such is the apparent view of his firſt political work.

II. *An Eſſay upon Ways and Means of ſupplying the War*, Lond. 1695, 8*vo*.

In this treatiſe he diſcovered his great capacity in the art of computation, and with much induſtry and pains pointed out the means of judging truly of the nature of funds, upon which important ſubjects he wrote with ſo much ſtrength and perſpicuity, as gained him great reputation, and ſufficiently recommended to the publick whatever pieces came abroad by the author of *The Eſſay on Ways and Means*, which was the method Dr. Davenant took to diſtinguiſh moſt of his ſucceeding writings, as well as if he had put his name to them, which however, for ſome prudential reaſons, he declined.

III. *An Eſſay on the Eaſt India Trade*, London, 1697, 8*vo*.

This, which was no more than a pamphlet, wore the form of a letter to the moſt honourable John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamſhire. In it the author gives a ſhort and clear view of the importance of trade in general, and afterwards enters very fairly and freely into the nature of the trade to the Eaſt Indies, which he confeſſes to be detrimental to the inhabitants of Europe in general, but ſhews, that it may be advantageous to ſome particular nations, that it is ſo to England, and that the monopoly of this trade in the hands of the Dutch, might be worth to them ſix millions ſterling annually. He likewiſe gives his reaſons, why the prohibitions then intended of Eaſt India and Perſia wrought ſilks, would be deſtructive to that trade in general, and hazard it's being utterly loſt to the kingdom.

IV. *Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues, and of the Trade of England; by the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means. Part* I. *To which is added, A Diſcourſe upon improving the Revenue of the State of Athens, written originally in Greek by Xenophon, and now made Engliſh from the Original, with ſome Hiſtorical Notes; by another hand.* Lond. 1698, 8*vo*.

In this piece, the author undertakes to diſcover his ſenſe upon the following very important topicks, *viz.* Of the uſe of political arithmetick, in all conſiderations about the revenue and trade. On credit, and the means and methods by which it may be reſtored. On the management of the King's revenues; Whether to farm the revenues may not, in this juncture, be moſt for the publick ſervice? On the publick debts and engagements.

The Diſcourſe on the Revenue of the State of Athens, was written by the famous Walter Moyle, Eſq; and addreſſed by him to Dr. Davenant, in which addreſs there occurs a paſſage, which ſhews that there were ſome thoughts of ſending over our author in quality of Director-General to the Eaſt Indies, and is alſo a clear teſtimony, what that great man's notions were in reference to the real intentions, as well as great importance, of our author's writings. Speaking of what might be expected upon the concluſion of a peace with France, he ſays (7), 'Trade 'being of ſuch mighty conſequence to the intereſt of 'the nation, will, we hope, meet with due encouragement and protection from our laws, and 'will be ſettled under the ableſt management and 'the wiſeſt regulation. Theſe branches of our commerce, which have been impaired or loſt by the 'pyratick war, and the fatal interruption of our 'navigation, may be retrieved by the peace; and 'other trades, and particularly that with France, 'which the negligence, or the miſtaken counſels of 'the laſt reigns, had ſettled upon a foot ſo deſtructive 'to our intereſt, may be eſtabliſhed to our advantage 'in a new treaty of commerce. The great trade to 'the Eaſt Indies, with ſome few regulations, might 'be eſtabliſhed upon a bottom more conſiſtent with 'the manufactures of England; but in all appear'ance this is not to be compaſſed, unleſs ſome pub'lick ſpirited man (*), with a maſterly genius, be 'placed at the head of our affairs in India; and tho' 'we, who are his friends, are loth to loſe him, 'twere 'to be wiſhed for the good of the kingdom, that the 'gentleman whom common fame, and the voice of 'the world, have pointed out as the ableſt man for 'ſuch a ſtation, would employ his excellent judg'ment and talents that way, in the execution of ſo 'noble and uſeful a deſign. The general intereſt of 'a nation ought to be the care of particular men, 'the main bent of their ſtudies, and the chief pur'ſuit of their enquiries: every man ought to ſet his 'helping hand to ſuch a work, and your own gene'rous labours upon this ſubject have ſet an excellent 'pattern to the reſt of the world.'

(*) Dr. Davenant himſelf.

V. *Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, which more immediately treat of the foreign traffick of this kingdom. By the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means. Part* II. Lond. 1698, 8*vo*.

In this excellent work, the author has undertaken to explain four very important points, ſo as to render them perfectly intelligible even to common underſtandings. The firſt is the nature of foreign trade, in which he not only ſhews that it is really beneficial to this kingdom, but how it comes to be ſo, and what are the proper methods of enquiring, whether foreign trade is beneficial or not within any given period whatever. The ſecond point is as to the care and protection of trade, in which a multitude of curious points are incidentally illuſtrated. The third point he labours, is that of the plantation trade, and in reference to this there are more uſeful obſervations advanced, and more important facts laid down, than are to be met with in the ſame compaſs in any book publiſhed in our language. The advantages and diſadvantages which may be derived from the Eaſt India trade, or which it may be expoſed to, is our author's topick in his fourth diſcourſe, at the beginning of which he gives the following account of what he would have underſtood to be the ſcope and intention of all his writings (8). 'The author's aim is 'to deliver things plainly, without the diſguiſe of 'hard words and terms, which rubbiſh being re'moved, the precious ore will ſooner appear that is 'to be found in ſtudies of this nature. His ends 'are compaſſed if he can ſet out intricate matters in 'an eaſy manner, hoping thereby to induce the young 'Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom to take a 'pleaſure in theſe ſort of contemplations, and he 'wiſhes this preſent performance did in any degree 'anſwer the deſire he has of ſerving the publick.

'Tis a great delight to him to obſerve, that many 'of our young Nobility and Gentry have expreſſed 'an inclination to inform themſelves of the ſtate of 'England, and that learning begins to be more in 'faſhion than of late years, people being not aſhamed 'now of underſtanding Greek and Latin. Nothing 'did more help to advance the Roman greatneſs, 'than that their youth were bred up to an early 'knowledge of their country's buſineſs, to which 'they attained by progreſſive ſteps, through ſeveral 'offices of the State, wherein they gained the ex'perience that fitted them at laſt for the magiſtracies 'of chiefeſt truſt and importance. They qualified 'themſelves for the publick ſervice, by ſeaſoning 'betimes their underſtandings with the love of let'ters; for, in thoſe days, whoever pretended to 'intermeddle in matters of government, did firſt 'cultivate his mind with wiſdom and the precepts of 'Philoſophy, by which afterwards he might ſteer 'his actions, giving to the ſearch into uſeful arts or 'ſublimer ſtudies thoſe hours, which, in this age, 'are conſumed in riots and vain pleaſures.

'The young Nobility and Gentry not yet tainted, 'are the beſt hopes of a diſeaſed Commonwealth. 'The warmth and ſpirit of ſuch, muſt aſſiſt their 'meaſures who deſire and are able to promote a right

(7) In his introduction to the tranſlation of that diſcourſe of Xenophon.

(8) Diſcourſe on the public Revenues, and on the Trade of England, vol. ii. p. 320.

himſelf a very unuſual mark of cenſure from one of the Houſes in Convocation (*m*) [*D*]. It

(*m*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 222.

'adminiſtration. And in national aſſemblies, it has 'been generally obſerved, that the young men are 'leaſt infected with corruption, and that they would 'always follow truth, but for the falſe lights which 'crafty guides ſet up with a purpoſe to miſlead them, 'for, while we are young, we are either aſhamed, 'or have not leiſure, to play the knave; but we 'come to it as age and diſcretion grow upon us.

'The writer's aim is to ſtir up the youth of the 'kingdom to bend their thoughts to the ſtudy of 'trade and the publick revenues, that, being maſters 'of the general notions of trade thereunto relating, 'they may not be miſled by crafty and intereſted 'Merchants, or by ambitious and deſigning Politi-'cians. When the youth of a nation have well in-'formed their own reaſon, they follow her dictates, 'deliberating well and wiſely for their King and 'country, without being hurried to and fro by the 'whirlwind of a prevailing faction.'

In anſwer to this performance, more eſpecially to what is advanced therein concerning the exciſe, there was publiſhed a pamphlet under the following title:

Remarks upon ſome wrong Computations and Concluſions, contained in a late tract, intituled, Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, *in a Letter to Mr. D. S.* London, 1698, 8*vo*.

VI. *An Eſſay upon the Probable Methods of making the People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade. By the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means.* London, 1699, 8*vo*.

In this diſcourſe he inſiſts upon the following heads, *viz.* Of the people of England. Of the land of England, and it's product. Of our payments to the publick, and in what manner the balance of trade may be thereby affected. That a country cannot increaſe in wealth and power but by private men doing their duty to the publick, and but by a ſteady courſe of honeſty and wiſdom, in ſuch as are truſted with the adminiſtration of affairs.

VII. *A Diſcourſe upon* GRANTS *and* RESUMPTIONS, *ſhewing how our anceſtors have proceeded with ſuch Miniſters, as have procured to themſelves Grants of the Crown Revenue, and that the Forfeited Eſtates ought to be applied towards the Payment of Publick Debts. By the author of the Eſſay on Ways and Means.* Lond. 1700, 8*vo*.

In anſwer to this came out a very large and accurate work intituled,

JUS REGIUM: *or, The King's Right to grant Forfeitures and other Revenues of the Crown, fully ſet forth, and traced from the beginning. His Majeſty vindicated as to his Promiſe, concerning his Diſpoſal of the Forfeited Eſtates. The manifold Hardſhips of the Reſumption, and the little Advantage we ſhall reap by it, plainly demonſtrated.* Lond. 1701, 8*vo*.

VIII. *Eſſays upon the Ballance of Power; the Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances; Univerſal Monarchy. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Records referred to in the ſecond Eſſay.* London, 1701, 8*vo*.

A very large and full anſwer to this work was publiſhed, under the title of

Animadverſions on a late factious book, intituled, Eſſays upon the Ballance of Power, &c. *with a Letter containing a Cenſure upon the ſaid book, wherein the King, the Miniſtry, and the Church of England, are cleared from the malicious Aſperſions caſt upon them by the Enemies of this Government.* Lond. 1701, 8*vo*.

(9) P. 5. The author of this pamphlet tells us (9), that Dr. Davenant made himſelf conſpicuous, and ſecured a great party in the nation, by his early quarrel to the government, upon account of the mal-adminiſtration of affairs, which he would perſwade the world to be the reſult of his love to his country, when we all know his ſpleen has no other cauſe, than his having no more a ſhare in the management of one of the branches of the revenue.

IX. *The true picture of a Modern Whig, in two Parts.* Lond. 1701, 1702, 8*vo*.

There is nothing but general report, founded upon the likeneſs of the ſtile and other circumſtantial evidence, to prove that this bitter pamphlet fell from the pen of our author, and, if it did, he muſt be allowed to have been the greateſt maſter of invective that ever wrote in our language.

[*D*] *From one of the Houſes in Convocation.*] Our author, who is ſaid by his enemies to have been a very warm party-man himſelf, and blamed for calculating moſt of his writings for the ſervice of a party, makes it however the chief point in moſt of his books, and in that eſpecially which drew upon him this misfortune, to ſhew, that no country can be happy while party ſubſiſts in it, and that government can never be well adminiſtered while in the hands of a party. To ſhew that this was the caſe at that time, more eſpecially in the Church, he delivers himſelf in the following extraordinary flow of reſentment (10):

(10) P. 39, 40.

'As to religion, ſays he, 'tis notorious that many of thoſe lately in play, have uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſcountenance all Revealed Religion. They were more enraged at the Church party for believing in the Apoſtles Creed, than from the Tory principles ſome of them had advanced. Nothing but the ſubverſion of all divine worſhip, could make way for that immorality which they intended to put in practice. All ſort of Divines forbid the arts and ways by which they purpoſed to thrive; they were therefore to unſettle men in their opinions about religious matters, by which they hoped to prepare the minds, eſpecially of the vulgar, to have different thoughts of vice and virtue than what they had heretofore entertained, which if they could have compaſſed, they did not doubt to be well eſteemed of, as being the reverſe of what honeſt and virtuous men ought to be, and acting quite oppoſite to what all religions have enjoined. They would have been ſafe indeed, and it would cover all their crimes, if nothing could be thought foul, treacherous, or diſhoneſt, by which a man was to reap advantage, and if the people could have been once brought to think every thing good which they ſaw to proſper. Upon theſe grounds they have done their utmoſt to turn all religion to a jeſt. Do not we all know, that, in the midſt of their prophane mirth, a modeſt Chriſtian durſt hardly put in a word in favour of the ſecond perſon of the Trinity, without expoſing himſelf to laughter? To hear 'em talk ſometimes, one would imagine they believed a true Chriſtian could not be a friend to the government. Good God! what a ſtrange mixture of men have we lately ſeen upon the ſtage? irreligious Phanaticks, and arbitrary Republicans! *Are not a great many of us able to point out to ſeveral perſons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the higheſt truſt, and often to rich* BENEFICES *and* DIGNITIES, *but the open enmity which they have, almoſt from their cradles, profeſſed to the divinity of Chriſt.*'

What was done upon this will beſt appear, from tranſcribing part of the Journal of the Upper Houſe of Convocation (11).

(11) The Hiſt. of the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, Lond. 1702. 4*to*. P. 75.

Seſſio x. Die Sabbati 22 Martii.

The Moſt Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers being met in the Jeruſalem Chamber, made their accuſtomed prayers to Almighty God. Which being done, the ſaid Moſt Reverend produced a certain printed book, intituled, *Eſſays upon the Ballance of Power*, and after the reading of a certain paragraph in the fortieth page of the ſaid book, the Preſident and his Suffragans agreed, That the following paper ſhould be fixed over ſeveral doors in Weſtminſter-abbey.

March 22, 1700.

Whereas this day a book intituled *Eſſays upon* I. *The Ballance of Power.* II. *The Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances.* III. *Univerſal Monarchy*, &c. was brought into the Jeruſalem Chamber, where his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the reſt of Suffragan Biſhops of his province, were aſſembled in Convocation:

It is not at all ſtrange that one, who wrote upon ſuch topics, and with ſo much freedom as he did, who cenſured boldly the meaſures he diſapproved, and had ſometimes the good fortune to find his ſentiments eſpouſed by the repreſentatives of the nation, ſhould feel the reſentments of men in power, or be expoſed to very harſh treatment from thoſe who endeavoured to refute him, in order to gain their favour (*n*). But a different behaviour might be expected from ſuch as undertake to write hiſtory, and who ought therefore to be very ſecure of their facts, before they deliver them as ſuch to the public and to poſterity: yet a certain writer bears very hard upon Dr. Davenant, for his conduct as a Member of Parliament in the reign of King William; tells us, that his circumſtances were ſuch as would have prevented him from having a ſeat after the act for qualifications took place; that the narrowneſs of them made it more than ſuſpected he was bribed by Count Tallard, the French Miniſter; and inſtances, in a particular vote, where Dr. Davenant himſelf acknowledged he had given it againſt his conſcience (*o*). Yet we find our author complaining in his books of being ſhut out of active life, and having no other way to benefit his country but by his pen (*p*), which would have been very ſtrange language, if, at the ſame time, he had ſitten in Parliament; but the truth of the matter is, that he did not obtain a ſeat in the reign of King William till the year 1698, when he was elected, with Francis Stonehouſe, Eſq; for the borough of Great Bedwin, as he was afterwards in the year 1700 (*q*); at which time alſo he wrote as warmly againſt France as any man; ſo that if the French Miniſter really allowed him a penſion, he beſtowed his money very ill; and the improbability of the fact makes better evidence neceſſary to prove it, than the bare aſſertion of an author very apt to be angry, and to believe, and ſay, any thing of thoſe with whom he is angry. This is farther certain, that, in 1704, Dr. Davenant wrote a book, to ſhew the neceſſity of peace at home while a neceſſary war was carried on abroad; which he dedicated to Queen Anne (*r*), and which was ſuppoſed to be written at the deſire of Lord Halifax; though the Hiſtorian before-mentioned tells us, that he deſpiſed the author, and would never have any confidence in him (*s*). This drew upon him the reſentment of that party by whom he had been formerly eſteemed, and who beſtowed upon him as ill language, or rather worſe, than he had received from his former opponents (*t*). He was afterwards appointed Inſpector-General of the Exports and Imports (*u*), in which employment he gave a very high teſtimony of his abilities; ſo that, to ſpeak with impartiality, he ought to be eſteemed a perſon who ſerved his country faithfully when in office, and uſefully when out. As for his remaining works they will be mentioned in the notes [*E*]. It is preſumed, that the care taken in repreſenting fairly and fully the perform-

(*n*) State-Tracts in the reign of William III. vol. ii. p. 734, 735. 740, 741, 742.

(*o*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 216, 217.

(*p*) Diſcourſe on Grants and Reſumptions, p. 41.

(*q*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 19.

(*r*) See an account of it in note [*E*].

(*s*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 217.

(*t*) A Defence of the two laſt Parliaments, p. 35.

(*u*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1705. Appendix, p. 88.

Convocation: in the 40th page of which book are theſe words, *Are not a great many of us able to point out*, &c.

It is deſired by the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops, that the author himſelf whoever he be, or any one of the great many to whom he refers, would point out to the particular perſons whom he or they know to be liable to that charge, that they may be proceeded againſt in a judicial way, which will be eſteemed a great ſervice to the Church; otherwiſe the abovementioned paſſage muſt be looked upon as a publick ſcandal.

THO. TYLLOTT,
Clericus Superioris Domus Convocationis.

[*E*] *They will be mentioned in the notes.*] In this note we are to ſpeak of ſuch of our author's writings, as he publiſhed after the time that he is ſuppoſed to have reconciled himſelf to the Miniſtry.

X. *Eſſays upon Peace at home and War abroad, in two parts, by Charles Davenant, L. L. D.* Lond. 1704, 8*vo*.

Whatever the motives might be which induced our author to compoſe and publiſh this piece, it is very certain that it is one of the wiſeſt and weightieſt that ever fell from his pen. That he was not aſhamed in any degree of this undertaking, appears from his putting his name to the book: and that he was as far from taking ſhame to himſelf on the ſcore of his former writings or behaviour, appears very clearly from the following paragraphs in his Dedication to the Queen, which are therefore highly deſerving the reader's notice.

'That for many years there have been parties in this kingdom is too evident, but 'twas what the beſt Patriots all along deplored, though formerly the miſchief was hardly to be avoided: endeavours to keep up a great land force in times of peace, neglect of trade, general profuſion, the ſpoils ſome had made upon the publick, and their alienating crown lands to an immenſe value both here and in Ireland, could not but provoke them who were to feel the weight of preſent taxes and of future debts.

In a free nation ſuch conduct will ever inflame the minds of men, and excite all true lovers of their country to exert their utmoſt ſtrength in it's reſcue. Theſe conteſts, to promote good government, and to carry on a bad one, divided the realm. The corruptions of the age were attacked with virtuous courage at firſt by thin ſquadrons, whoſe numbers increaſed from time to time, till at laſt they were ſtrong enough to make ſuch a ſtand, as prevented univerſal ruin. In the mean while, miſmanagement was ſupported with more warmth than perhaps was either juſt or decent. And theſe ſtruggles were no ſmall interruptions to your immediate predeceſſor in his counſels, and in his buſineſs of the war.

And 'tis no wonder the face of the waters is not yet quite ſmooth: after a high ſtorm there will remain an agitation of the waves for many hours. Ambition may be ſtill at work, and ſome may yet be graſping at power, which they hope to compaſs by the aids and voices of their faction: but God has enriched your princely heart with ſuch prudence, as ſoon diſcerns what moſt conduces to the happineſs of the nations over which your ſceptre is extended.'

XI. *Reflections upon the Conſtitution and Management of the Trade to Africa, through the whole Courſe and Progreſs thereof, from the Beginning of the laſt Century to this Time; wherein the Nature and uncommon Circumſtances of that Trade are particularly conſidered, and all the Arguments urged alternately, by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now propoſed by them, for carrying on the ſame to a national Advantage, impartially ſtated and conſidered. By all which a clear view is given of ſuch a Conſtitution, as (if eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament) would in all probability render the African Trade a permanent, creditable,*

performances of Dr. Davenant, whoſe merit, as a political writer, whatever his failings might be, has been always acknowledged, will prove acceptable to the public; the rather, becauſe hitherto ſuch accounts as have been given of his life and writings have been but very imperfect. He died in poſſeſſion of his employment November 6th, 1714 (*w*).

(*w*) Help to Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 296. *Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana*, p. 293.

able, and advantageous Trade to Britain. Lond. 1709, fol. in three parts.

There is indeed no name to any of theſe treatiſes, but it was very well known at the time they were publiſhed by whom they were written, and therefore in a large collection of tracts, in the hands of a perſon perfectly well acquainted with literary hiſtory, they had this title given them (12), *Dr. Davenant's Reflections on the Trade to Africa, 3 parts*, 1709. It muſt be acknowledged, that, excluſively of the reaſonings and arguments advanced in this performance, and which have been frequently copied ſince; there are abundance of material facts, and curious pieces of Hiſtory, which will render them always admired, and valued by thoſe who are deſirous of underſtanding the ſubject thoroughly, which they are intended to explain.

(12) Catalogue of the Library of Anthony Collins, Eſq. vol. ii. p. 14.

XII. *A Report to the Honourable the Commiſſioners for putting in execution the Act, intituled*, an Act for the taking, examining, and ſtating the publick Accounts of the kingdom, *from* Charles Davenant, LL.D. *Inſpector-General of the Exports and Imports.* Lond. 1712, 8*vo*. Part I.

XIII. *A ſecond Report to the Honourable the Commiſſioners, &c.* Lond. 1712, 8*vo*.

The laſt of theſe Reports is dated from the Inſpector-General's office, Dec. 10, 1711 (13), and the deſign of both is, to give a general account of the trade of the kingdom from 1663 to 1710. This was the laſt work of our author, and contains in it a collection of facts of ineſtimable value to ſuch as are willing to diſtinguiſh between rumour, or common opinion, and the true ſtate of things, in reference to the commerce of Great Britain with her neighbours.

(13) At the concluſion of that Report.

C.

*** [The firſt part of Dr. Davenant's diſcourſes on the public Revenues and the Trade of England, was ſmartly attacked, in a piece, entitled, "Remarks upon ſome wrong computations and concluſions contained in a late tract, &c." To this publication, which appeared in 1698, was prefixed the following motto, taken from the Doctor himſelf: "Miſerable is that country where the men of buſi-"neſs do not reckon right."

Dr. Davenant's "true picture of a modern Whig" was carried on in a dialogue between Mr. Whiglove and Mr. Double, two under Spur-Leathers to the late miniſtry. The ſame deſign was afterwards proſecuted by him in another work, of which no notice has been taken by any of his former Biographers. It appeared in 1710, in two volumes, octavo, and is entitled, "New Dialogues upon the preſent poſ-"ture of Affairs, the Species of Money, national "Debts, public Revenues, Bank and Eaſt India "Company, and the Trade now carried on between "France and Holland. By the author of the "Eſſay on Ways and Means." The nature of this performance, as well as the circumſtance mentioned in the title page, aſcertains it to be Dr. Davenant's. It is evidently a continuation of the true picture of a modern Whig. Tom Double, metamorphoſed into Sir Thomas Double, compoſes a part of the Dramatis Perſonæ, and the attack upon the Whig party is purſued. The work is alſo full of that public information by which Davenant's writings are ſo much diſtinguiſhed.

For the preceding intelligence, and the ſubſequent character of Dr. Davenant's productions, the preſent Editor of the Biographia is endebted to his ingenious friend, Sir John Sinclair, Bart. who has amply ſhewn, by his own valuable performances, that no one is better capable of judging upon the ſubject. "Davenant," ſays Sir John, "is certainly a moſt "valuable political author; and conſidering that the "modern ſyſtem of politicks, founded on a ſpirit of "commerce, on public credit, on paper circulation, "and on ſkill in finance, was then in a manner in "its infancy, he undoubtedly was a writer whoſe "progreſs was more advanced than could have been "expected at that time. It appears from his works, "that he had acceſs to official information, from "which he derived many advantages. He ſeems, "however, to have depended too much upon politi-"cal Arithmetic, or the ſtrength of figures, which "ought only to be reſorted to, when the fact itſelf "cannot be aſcertained, being only a ſuccedaneum "when better evidence cannot be procured. He "was unfortunately, alſo, a party writer, and ſaw "every thing in the manner the beſt calculated to "promote the views and purpoſes of his political "friends at the time. Every thing they did was "right, whilſt every action of their enemies was "ill-intended and ruinous. He poſſeſſed a very "conſiderable command of language, and is ſome-"times too prolix; but on the whole there are cer-"tainly very few that can rival him as a political "author."

In 1771, was publiſhed, in five volumes, octavo, "The political and commercial works of that cele-"brated writer Charles Davenant, L. L. D. relat-"ing to the Trade and Revenue of England, the "Plantation Trade, the Eaſt-India Trade, and the "African Trade. Collected and reviſed by Sir "Charles Whitworth, Member of Parliament. To "which is annexed, a copious Index." This publication has greatly contributed to the diffuſion and utility of the Doctor's writings.

K.

D'AVENANT (WILLIAM), younger brother to the former, and fourth ſon to Sir William Davenant; was educated at Magdalen Hall, in the Univerſity of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, July 19th, 1677 (*a*). He tranſlated into Engliſh from the French a book, intituled, *Animadverſions upon the famous* Greek *and* Latin *Hiſtorians*, written by the celebrated Mr. la Mothe le Vayer (*b*), who was Tutor to the French King Louis XIII; which was very well received. He took the degree of Maſter of Arts July 5th, 1680 (*c*), and about the ſame time entering into holy orders, was preſented to a living in the county of Surrey, by his patron Robert Wymondſole, of Putney, Eſq; with whom he travelled into France; and in the ſummer of the year 1681, as he was diverting himſelf by ſwimming in a river near Paris, he was unfortunately drowned in the ſight of his Pupil, to the great regret of all who knew him, having added to great natural parts, by an aſſiduous application to ſtudy, as much ſound learning and true knowledge as could be expected in a perſon ſo young.

(*a*) Wood's *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 205.
(*b*) Printed at Oxford, 1698. 8*vo*.
(*c*) *Faſti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 213.

C.

*** [DAVIES (SIR JOHN), an eminent Lawyer, Poet, and Political Writer, was born at Chiſgrove, in the pariſh of Tiſbury, in Wiltſhire (*a*). He was the third ſon of John Davies, who is ſaid by Anthony Wood to have been a wealthy Tanner; but in the books, which record the admiſſion of the ſon into the Society of the Middle Temple, it is ſaid that the father was "late of New Inn, Gentleman (*b*)." Young Davies, in 1585, when he was

(*a*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol i. fol. 505.
(*b*) Life of Sir John Davies, prefixed to his Hiſtoric. Tracts, edit. 8*vo*. 1786, p. 1.

was in the fifteenth year of his age, was entered a Commoner of Queen's College, Oxford. Here he had the advantage of a good Tutor, and being poſſeſſed of excellent natural abilities, and applying himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies, he made a conſiderable proficiency in literature. At the beginning of the year 1588, he removed to the Middle Temple; but he appears to have returned occaſionally to Oxford; for in 1590, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*). At the Temple, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law; but he was more diſtinguiſhed by his abilities, than by the regularity of his manners. "He in-"terrupted," it is ſaid, "the quiet of the Inn, by miſdemeanours, for which he was "fined, and by diſorders, for which he was removed from commons (*d*)." However, in July, 1595, he was called to the bar; but in February, 1597-8, he was expelled the Society of the Middle Temple. Wood ſays, "that he being a high-ſpirited young man, "did, upon ſome little provocation, or punctilio, baſtinado Richard Martin, afterwards "Recorder of London [*A*], in the Common-hall of the Middle Temple, while he was at "dinner. For which act being forthwith expelled, he retired for a time in private, lived "in Oxon in the condition of a ſojourner, and followed his ſtudies, though he wore a "cloak (*e*)." Davies's miſconduct appears to have retarded his progreſs at the bar, and involved him in difficulties which led him to ſerious reflexion [*B*]. But he ſeems never to have been inattentive to literature. Beſides the ſtudy of the law, he alſo particularly applied himſelf to poetry, and wrote, under the title of "Hymns of Aſtrea," twenty-ſix acroſtics, in honour of Queen Elizabeth. Theſe pieces contain much poetry, and much flattery, and are greatly ſuperior to the generality of compoſitions of this kind. His poetical talents now excited the attention of the Court, and when Sir Robert Cecil was to make an entertainment for the Queen, Mr. Davies was ſummoned to furniſh his ſhare of gratulations (*f*). But in 1599, he publiſhed, in 4*to*. his *Noſce Teipſum*, or Poem on the Immortality of the Soul [*C*], a performance of conſiderable merit, and which completely eſtabliſhed his poetical reputation.

(*c*) Wood's *Faſti*, p. 139.

(*d*) Life, prefixed to his Hiſtorical Tracts, p. 2.

(*e*) *Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra.*

(*f*) Life, *ubi ſupra*, p. 6.

Mr.

[*A*] *Richard Martin, afterwards recorder of London.*] The writer of Davies's Life, prefixed to his Hiſtorical Tracts, obſerves, that 'Davies and Martin were both poets, and both wits, a race more 'forward to offend than patient to ſuffer: and the 'facetiouſneſs of Martin, which ſet the Temple table 'in a roar, and is ſaid to have charmed King James, 'probably incited the indignation rather than the 'mirth of Davies (1).' Wood ſays, that 'there was 'no perſon in his time more celebrated for ingenuity 'than Richard Martin, none more admired by Selden, Serjeant Hoſkins, Ben Johnſon, &c. than he; 'the laſt of which dedicated his comedy to him, 'called *the Poetaſter*. King James was much delighted with his facetiouſneſs, and had ſo great 'reſpect for him, that he commended him to the 'citizens of London to be their Recorder (2).' He publiſhed ſome poems, and ſeveral of his ſpeeches in Parliament were alſo printed. He died in 1618, when he had not been elected to the office of Recorder much more than a month (3).

(1) Life, p. 3.

(2) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. fol. 441.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

[*B*] *Difficulties which led him to ſerious reflexion.*] In the introduction to his *Noſce Teipſum* are the following ſtanzas:

'If aught can teach us aught, *affliction's* looks,
'(Making us pry into ourſelves ſo near)
'Teach us to *know ourſelves* beyond all books,
'Or all the learned ſchools that ever were.

'This miſtreſs lately pluck'd me by the ear,
'And many a golden leſſon hath me taught;
'Hath made my ſenſes quick, and reaſon clear;
'Reform'd my will, and rectify'd my thought.

'So do the winds and thunders cleanſe the air;
'So working ſeas ſettle and purge the wine;
'So lopp'd and pruned trees do flouriſh fair;
'So doth the fire the droſſy gold refine.

'Neither Minerva, nor the learned Muſe,
'Nor rules of art, nor precepts of the wiſe,
'Could in my brain thoſe beams of ſkill infuſe,
'As but the glance of this dame's angry eyes.

'She within lifts my ranging mind hath brought,
'That now beyond myſelf I will not go;
'Myſelf am center of my circling thought,
'Only myſelf I ſtudy, learn, and know (4).'

(4) Poetical Works of Sir John Davies, p. 9, 10.

[*C*] *Poem on the Immortality of the Soul.*] To the ſecond edition of this poem, printed in 4to. in 1602, is the following title: '*Noſce teipſum*. This oracle 'expounded in two Elegies. I. Of Human Knowledge. II. Of the Soul of Man, and the Immortality thereof.' A third edition was printed, in folio, in 1688; and a fourth was publiſhed, in 8vo. in 1697, by N. Tate, who ſays in the preface, 'The author of this poem merits a laſting honour; 'for, as he was a moſt eloquent lawyer, ſo, in the 'compoſition of this piece, we admire him for a 'good poet and exact philoſopher. 'Tis not rhyming that makes a poet, but the true and impartial 'repreſenting of virtue and vice, ſo as to inſtruct 'mankind in matters of greateſt importance. And 'this obſervation has been made of our countrymen, 'that Sir John Suckling wrote in the moſt courtly 'and gentleman-like ſtyle; Waller in the moſt ſweet 'and flowing numbers; Denham with the moſt 'accurate judgment and correctneſs; Cowley with 'pleaſing ſoftneſs, and plenty of imagination: 'None ever uttered more divine thoughts than Mr. 'Herbert; none more philoſophical than Sir John 'Davies.'

In this poem the following illuſtration is given of the faculties of *ſeeing* and *hearing*, and of the uſes made of thoſe faculties by the human ſoul:

'Firſt, the two EYES, which have the *ſeeing* pow'r,
'Stand as one watchman, ſpy, or ſentinel,
'Being plac'd aloft, within the head's high tow'r;
'And tho' both ſee, yet both but one thing tell.

'Theſe mirrors take into their little ſpace
'The forms of moon and ſun, and ev'ry ſtar,
'Of ev'ry body, and of ev'ry place,
'Which with the world's wide arms embraced are.

'Yet their beſt object, and their nobleſt uſe,
'Hereafter in another world will be,
'When God in them ſhall heavenly light infuſe,
'That face to face they may their Maker ſee.

'Here are they guides, which do the body lead,
'Which elſe would ſtumble in eternal night:
'Here in this world they do much knowledge read,
'And are the caſements which admit moſt light.

Mr. Davies's attachment to the muſes did not prevent the continuance of his application to the ſtudies and buſineſs of his profeſſion; and in Trinity term, 1601, by the intereſt of Lord Elleſmere, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, after having made proper ſubmiſſions, he was again reſtored to his Chamber in the Middle Temple (g). He was alſo choſen a Member of the Houſe of Commons, for Corfe-caſtle in Dorſetſhire, in the laſt Parliament of Elizabeth, which aſſembled on the 27th of October, in the ſame year. He appears to have been an active and uſeful Member of Parliament, and a ſupporter of the privileges of the Houſe. He particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the great debate about [D] monopo-

(g) *Ibid.* p. 8. *Ath. Oxon.* ut *ſupra.*

' They are her fartheſt reaching inſtrument,
' Yet they no beams unto their objects ſend;
' But all the rays are from their objects ſent,
' And in the eyes with pointed angles end.

' If th' objects be far off, the rays do meet
' In a ſharp point, and ſo things ſeem but ſmall:
' If they be near, their rays do ſpread and fleet,
' And make broad points, that things ſeem great withal.

' Laſtly, nine things to *ſight* required are;
' The *pow'r* to ſee, the *light*, the *viſible* thing,
' Being not too *ſmall*, too *thin*, too *nigh*, too *far*,
' *Clear* ſpace and *time*, the form diſtinct to bring.

' Thus ſee we how the *ſoul* doth uſe the *eyes*,
' As inſtruments of her quick power of ſight:
' Hence doth th' arts *optic*, and fair *painting* riſe;
' *Painting*, which doth all gentle minds delight.

' Now let us hear how ſhe the EARS employs:
' Their office is, the troubled air to take;
' Which in their mazes forms a ſound or noiſe,
' Whereof herſelf doth true diſtinction make.

' Thoſe wickets of the ſoul are plac'd on high,
' Becauſe all ſounds do lightly mount aloft;
' And that they may not pierce too violently,
' They are delay'd with turns and windings oft.

' For ſhould the voice directly ſtrike the brain,
' It would aſtoniſh and confuſe it much;
' Therefore theſe plaits and folds the ſoul reſtrain,
' That it the organ may more gently touch.

' As ſtreams, which with their winding banks do play,
' Stopp'd by their creeks, run ſoftly thro' the plain:
' So in th' ear's labyrinth the voice doth ſtray,
' And doth with eaſy motion touch the brain.

' This is the ſloweſt, yet the daintieſt ſenſe;
' For e'en the ears of ſuch as have no ſkill,
' Perceive a diſcord, and conceive offence;
' And knowing not what's good, yet find the ill.

' And tho' this ſenſe firſt gentle muſic found,
' Her proper object is *the ſpeech of men*;
' But that ſpeech chiefly which God's heralds found,
' When their tongues utter what his ſpirit did pen.

' Our *eyes* have lids, our *ears* ſtill ope we ſee,
' Quickly to hear how ev'ry tale is prov'd:
' Our eyes ſtill move, our ears unmoved be;
' That tho' we hear quick, we be not quickly mov'd.

' Thus by the organs of the *eye* and *ear*,
' The *ſoul* with knowledge doth herſelf endue:
' Thus ſhe her *priſon* may with pleaſure bear,
' Having ſuch *proſpects* all the world to view (5).'

(5) Poetical Works of Sir John Davies, p. 46—49. edit. 1773.

It is obſervable that Sir John Davies, in this poem, introduces ſome arguments grounded on the doctrine of original ſin, and which he illuſtrates and ſupports from the principles of the law of England (6). In the courſe of the poem he has given the different arguments in defence of the immateriality and immortality of the ſoul, and adorned and illuſtrated thoſe arguments with a great variety of poetical images. Of the ſtrong deſire and expectation of future happineſs implanted in the human mind, he thus expreſſes himſelf:

(6) *Ibid.* p. 35, 36.

' Doubtleſs, all ſouls have a ſurviving thought,
' Therefore of death we think with quiet mind;
' But if we think of being turn'd to nought,
' A trembling horror in our ſouls we find.'—

' Hence ſprings that univerſal ſtrong deſire,
' Which all men have of immortality:
' Not ſome few ſpirits unto this thought aſpire,
' But all men's minds in this united be.

' Then this deſire of nature is not vain,
' She covets not impoſſibilities;
' Fond thoughts may fall into ſome idle brain,
' But one aſſent of all, is ever wiſe.

' From hence that gen'ral care and ſtudy ſprings,
' That launching, and progreſſion of the mind,
' Which all men have ſo much of future things,
' That they no joy do in the preſent find.

' From this deſire, that main deſire proceeds,
' Which all men have ſurviving fame to gain,
' By *tombs*, by *books*, by memorable *deeds*;
' For ſhe that this deſires, doth ſtill remain.

' Hence, laſtly, ſprings care of poſterities,
' For things their kind would everlaſting make:
' Hence is it, that old men do plant young trees,
' The fruit whereof another age ſhall take.

' If we theſe rules unto ourſelves apply,
' And view them by reflection of the mind,
' All theſe true notes of immortality,
' In our heart's tables we ſhall written find (7).'

(7) *Ibid.* p. 76, 79, 80.

In the compoſition of this poem, it is obſerved, in the preface to Tate's edition, that "our author is "beholden to none but himſelf." It has, however, been conjectured, and the ſuppoſition ſeems not improbable, that Sir John Davies derived ſome hints for his work from the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of Philip de Mornay's treatiſe on the truth of the Chriſtian religion, of which an Engliſh tranſlation was printed at London in 4to. in 1587. It is ſaid in a note to the edition of the *Noſce Teipſum*, printed with Sir John Davies's other poetical works in 1773, that this poem is, "without diſpute, except Spenſer's "Faery Queen, the beſt that was written in Queen "Elizabeth's, or even in King James the Firſt's "time."

[D] *Debate about Monopolies.*] Queen Elizabeth had granted to her ſervants and courtiers a great number of patents for various monopolies, which were found to be very pernicious to the nation, and which were in conſequence ſtrongly and juſtly oppoſed. A petition from the parliament was preſented to the Queen, complaining of theſe patents; but ſhe perſiſted in defending her monopoliſts againſt the people. A bill was, therefore, brought into the Houſe of Commons, for the abolition of all theſe monopolies; and as the petition to the Queen had been unſucceſsful, a law was properly inſiſted on, as the only certain expedient for correcting theſe abuſes. But the courtiers maintained, that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the Commons could not hope for ſucceſs in any other way but by petition to her Majeſty (8).

(8) D'Ewes's Journal of Debates in Parliament, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 649.

lies,

lies, inſiſting, that the Houſe ought to proceed againſt them by Bill, and not by Petition [*E*].

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Davies accompanied Lord Hunſdon into Scotland, when that Nobleman went thither to congratulate King James, on his acceſſion to the Throne of England [*F*]. Being introduced into his Majeſty's preſence, the King inquired of Lord Hunſdon the names of the Gentlemen who were with him; and his Lordſhip naming among them John Davies, who ſtood behind, the King immediately aſked, whether he was *Noſce Teipſum*, alluding to the title of his poem on the immortality of the ſoul. Lord Hunſdon informed him that he was the ſame; upon which the King, as Wood informs us, "graciouſly embraced him, and thenceforward had ſo great a favour for him, "that ſoon after he made him his Solicitor, and then his Attorney-General in Ireland (*b*)."

(*b*) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. fol. 506.

It was in 1603, that Mr. Davies was ſent as Solicitor-General to Ireland, and his appointment to the office of Attorney-General took place ſoon after. During his reſidence in that kingdom, he travelled through all the provinces of it, and made himſelf very accurately acquainted with the ſtate of the people and of the country. He was alſo appointed one of the Juſtices of Aſſize [*G*], and appears to have diſcharged the duties of his office

[*E*] *By bill, and not by petition.*] 'Mr. Davies 'moved the Houſe firſt, That he for his part thought 'the proceeding by bill to be moſt convenient; for 'the precedent in the 50 Edvardi 3. warranteth the 'ſame: And, therefore, (ſaid he) let us do generouſly and bravely, like parliament men; and 'ourſelves ſend for them, and their patents, and 'cancel them before their faces; arraign them, as 'in times paſt, at the bar, and ſend them to the 'Tower; there to remain, until they have made a 'good fine to the Queen, and made ſome part of 'reſtitution to ſome of the pooreſt that have been 'oppreſſed by them.(9).'

(9) Townſhend's Hiſt. Collections of the Four laſt Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, p. 244.

When the Queen found, that the debates grew high in the Houſe of Commons concerning the monopolies, and that the diſcontents of the people concerning them were very great, ſhe ſent for the Speaker, and deſired him to inform the Houſe, that ſhe would immediately cancel theſe obnoxious patents. She alſo iſſued a proclamation againſt the monopolies that were complained of; upon which a deputation was ſent to return her Majeſty thanks. Elizabeth made a ſpeech on this occaſion to the Speaker, and the members who accompanied him, in which were the following paſſages: 'I do aſſure you, that there is 'no Prince that loveth his ſubjects better, or whoſe 'love can countervail our love. There is no jewel, 'be it of never ſo rich a price, which I prefer before 'this jewel, I mean your love; for I do more eſteem 'it than any treaſure or riches.'—'Of myſelf I muſt 'ſay this, I never was any greedy, ſcraping graſper, 'nor a ſtrait faſt-holding Prince, nor yet a waſter; 'my heart was never ſet on worldly goods, but only 'for my ſubjects good. What you do beſtow on me, 'I will not hoard it up, but receive it to beſtow on 'you again. Yea, mine own properties I count 'yours, to be expended for your good.'—'Since I 'was Queen, yet did I never put my pen to any 'grant, but that upon pretext and ſemblance made 'unto me, that it was both good and beneficial to 'the ſubjects in general, though a private profit to 'ſome of my antient ſervants who had deſerved well. 'But the contrary being found by experience, I am 'exceedingly beholden to ſuch ſubjects as would 'move the ſame at firſt. And I am not ſo ſimple to 'ſuppoſe, but that there be ſome of the lower Houſe, 'whom theſe grievances never touched; and for 'them I think they ſpeak out of zeal to their countries, and not out of ſpleen or malevolent affection, 'as being parties grieved; and I take it exceeding 'grateful from them, becauſe it gives us to know 'that no reſpects or intereſts had moved them, other 'than the minds they bear to ſuffer no diminution of 'our honour, and our ſubjects love unto us. The 'zeal of which affection tending to eaſe my people, 'and knit their hearts unto me, I embrace with a 'princely care: far above all earthly treaſure I 'eſteem my people's love, more than which I deſire 'not to merit (10).'

(10) D'Ewes, *ut ſupra*, p. 659.

[*F*] *To congratulate King James, on his acceſſion, &c.*] While Davies was in Scotland on this occaſion, he received a letter from Mr. Francis Bacon, afterwards the celebrated Viſcount of St. Alban's, in which is the following paſſage:

"I commend myſelf to your love, and the well "uſing my name; as well in repreſſing and anſwering for me, if there be any biting or nibbling at "it in that place, as in imprinting a good conceit "and opinion of me, chiefly in the King, of whoſe "favour I make myſelf comfortable aſſurance, as "otherwiſe in that court: and not only ſo, but "generally to perform to me all the good offices "which the vivacity of your wit can ſuggeſt to "your mind, to be performed to one, with whoſe "affection you have ſo great ſympathy, and in whoſe "fortune you have ſo great intereſt. So deſiring "you to be good to *concealed poets* *, I continue

"Your aſſured friend,

"Fr. Bacon (11)."

(*) Bacon ſeems to ſpeak of himſelf here as a *concealed poet*, as having made ſome poetical attempts which he did not think proper openly to avow.

(11) Lord Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 222. edit. 4*to*. 1765.

There appears at this time to have been a conſiderable intimacy between Bacon and Davies; and a letter is ſtill preſerved from the former to the latter, written when Davies was Attorney-General in Ireland, in which Bacon ſays, 'I would be glad to hear 'often from you, and to be adverti ſed how things 'paſs, whereby to have ſome occaſion to think ſome 'good thought; though I can do little, at leaſt it 'will be a continuance in the exerciſe of our friendſhip, which on my part remaineth encreaſed, by 'that I hear of your ſervice, and the good reſpect I 'find towards myſelf (12).' It is obſerved by the writer of Davies's life, that "this correſpondence "continued while Davies could be of uſe to Bacon; "but it ceaſed when Bacon had advanced before "Davies in the rank of their profeſſion. Such is "the inſtability of friendſhips between men who run "for the ſame prize; whether for the diſtinctions "of literature, or for the honours of life (13)."

(12) Life of Davies, prefixed to his Hiſtorical Tracts, p. 10.

(13) *Id. ibid.*

[*G*] *He was alſo appointed one of the juſtices of aſſize.*] Sir John Davies himſelf informs us, that in Ireland, ſoon after the acceſſion of King James I. 'By a general act of ſtate, called the Act of Obli'vion, publiſhed by proclamation under the Great 'Seal, all offences againſt the Crown, and all par'ticular treſpaſſes between ſubject and ſubject, done 'at any time before his Majeſty's reign, were (to all 'ſuch as would come in to the juſtices of aſſize by a 'certain day, and claim the benefit of this act) par'doned, remitted, and utterly extinguiſhed, never 'to be revived or called in queſtion. And by the 'ſame proclamation, all the Iriſh (who, for the moſt 'part, in former times, were left under the tyranny 'of their lords and chieftains, and had no defence 'or juſtice from the Crown) were received into his 'Majeſty's immediate protection. This bred ſuch 'comfort and ſecurity in the hearts of all men, as 'thereupon enſued the calmeſt and moſt univerſal 'peace that ever was ſeen in Ireland. The public 'peace being thus eſtabliſhed, the ſtate proceeded 'next to eſtabliſh the public juſtice in every part of 'the realm: and to that end, Sir George Cary (who 'was a prudent governor, and a juſt, and made a 'fair entry into the right way of reforming this 'kingdom) did, in the firſt year of his Majeſty's 'reign, make the firſt Sheriffs that ever were made 'in Tyrone and Tyrconnel; and, ſhortly after, ſent

office with great diligence and ability. He returned, however, occaſionally to England; and, in Trinity term, 1606, was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law, and on the 11th of February, 1607, received the honour of knighthood (*i*). The ſame year the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, having determined to make a judicial progreſs through the counties of Monaghan, Fermannagh, and Cavan, joined Sir John Davies with the Chief Juſtice, as one of the Judges of aſſize, for performing this unwelcome ſervice (*k*). An elaborate account of this circuit [*H*] was drawn up by Sir John Davies, and addreſſed to Robert Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury, who had contributed to his advancement in Ireland.

(*i*) Life prefixed to his Hiſtorical Law Tracts, p. 12.

(*k*) *Id. ibid.*

In

'ſent Sir Edmund Pelham, chief baron, and myſelf 'thither, the firſt juſtices of aſſize that ever ſat in 'thoſe countries; and in that circuit we viſited all 'the ſhires of that province beſides: which viſita-'tion, though it was ſomewhat diſtaſteful to the 'Iriſh Lords, was ſweet and moſt welcome to the 'common people; who, albeit they were rude and 'barbarous, yet did they quickly apprehend the 'difference between the tyranny and oppreſſion un-'der which they lived before, and the juſt govern-'ment and protection which we promiſed unto them 'for the time to come (14).'

(14) Hiſtorical Tracts, p. 209, 210.

[*H*] *An elaborate account of this circuit, &c.*] This was firſt printed, from a copy among the Harleian MSS. in the edition of his Hiſtorical Tracts, publiſhed in 1786. The following title is prefixed to it: "A letter from Sir John Davies, Knight, At-"torney-General of Ireland, to Robert Earl of "Saliſbury, touching the ſtate of Monaghan, Fer-"mannagh, and Cavan; wherein is a diſcourſe con-"cerning the Corbes and Irenaghs of Ireland." In this letter, after having given ſome account of the condition in which the counties of Monaghan, Fermannagh, and Cavan were, Sir John Davies ſays, 'I thought it not impertinent to ſhew unto your 'Lordſhip how unſettled the poſſeſſion of thoſe 'counties were, before my Lord-Deputy began his 'journey; that it may appear, how needful it was, 'that the Lord-Deputy ſhould deſcend in perſon to 'viſit thoſe counties, whereby he might have op-'portunity to diſcover and underſtand the true and 'particular ſtate, both of the poſſeſſions and poſſeſ-'ſors thereof, before he gave warrants for paſſing 'the ſame by letters patent unto any; and thereby 'prevent that error, which had formerly been com-'mitted in paſſing all Tyrone to one, and Tyrconnel 'to another, and other large territories to Odogherly 'and Randal M'Sorley, without any reſpect of the 'King's poor ſubjects who inhabit and hold the lands 'under them; whereby the patentees are made little 'Kings, or rather tyrants over them: inſomuch as 'they now being wooed and prayed by the ſtate, 'cannot yet be drawn to make freeholders for the 'ſervice of the commonwealth, which, before the 'paſſing of their patents, they would gladly and 'humbly have yielded unto. The ſtate, therefore, 'of the three counties before named, ſtanding in 'ſuch terms as I have before expreſſed; my Lord-'Deputy, accompanied with the Lord-Chancellor, 'the Lord Chief-Juſtice, Sir Oliver Lambert, and 'Sir Garret Moore, and being alſo waited upon by 'myſelf, who was for this ſervice joined in commiſ-'ſion of aſſize and gaol delivery with the Chief Juſ-'tice, began his journey the nineteenth day of July 'laſt, being Saturday, and lodged that night and 'the next at the Abbey of Mellifont, Sir Garret 'Moore's houſe. On Monday night his Lordſhip 'camped in the field, upon the borders of Ferney, 'which is the inheritance of the Earl of Eſſex; and 'albeit we were to paſs through the waſteſt and 'wildeſt parts of all the North, yet we had only for 'our guard ſix or ſeven ſcore foot, and fifty or three 'ſcore horſe, which is an argument of a good time, 'and of a confident deputy. For in former times '(when the ſtate enjoyed the beſt peace and ſecurity) 'no Lord-Deputy did ever venture himſelf into 'thoſe parts without an army of eight hundred or 'one thouſand men. The third night after our 'departure from Mellifont, we came to the town of 'Monaghan, which doth not deſerve the name of a 'good village, conſiſting of divers ſcattered cabins, 'or cottages, whereof the moſt part are poſſeſſed by 'the caſt ſoldiers of that garriſon. In the north-'moſt part thereof there is a little fort, which is 'kept by the foot company of Sir Edward Blaney, 'who is ſeneſchal or governor of that county by 'patent. In the midſt of this village, there is a 'foundation of a new caſtle, which being raiſed ten 'or twelve feet from the ground, and ſo left and 'neglected for the ſpace of almoſt two years, is now 'ready to fall into ruin again; albeit his Majeſty's 'charge in building hath already been twelve hun-'dred pounds at leaſt. My Lord-Deputy was as 'much diſpleaſed at the ſight thereof, as the chief 'Lords of the country are pleaſed and comforted 'therewith; becauſe if it were erected and finiſhed 'in that form as was intended, it would at all times 'be a bridle unto their inſolency: for the M'Ma-'hounes undoubtedly are the proudeſt and moſt bar-'barous ſept among the Iriſh; and do ever ſooneſt 'repine, and kick, and ſpurn at the Engliſh govern-'ment. My Lord-Deputy having pitched his tents 'about a quarter of a mile from the town, did pre-'ſently diſtinguiſh the buſineſs that was to be done; 'the determining of matters of the crown, and the 'hearing of perſonal petitions touching debt and 'treſpaſs, he left wholly to the juſtices of the aſſize 'and gaol delivery; and reſerved only to himſelf, 'and the Lord Chancellor, the conſideration of ſuch 'petitions as ſhould be made unto him, touching 'the lands and poſſeſſions of that country (15).'

(15) Hiſtorical Tracts, p. 239, 240, 241.

Sir John Davies alſo takes notice in this letter of a commiſſion which had been ſent from England, one object of which was, "to take order for the re-"edifying and the repairing of the churches, and "for the placing of ſufficient incumbents therein."— 'This point of that commiſſion,' ſays he, 'was not 'before time put in execution any where, albeit it 'was ſundry times moved at the council table, that 'ſomewhat might be done therein: but my Lords 'the Biſhops that ſit at the board, being not very 'well pleaſed that laymen ſhould intermeddle with 'eccleſiaſtical matters, did ever anſwer that motion 'in this manner: Let us alone with that buſineſs; 'take you no care for that; we will ſee it effected, 'we warrant you. Notwithſtanding there hath been 'ſo little care taken, as that the greateſt part of the 'churches within the pale lie ſtill in their ruins; ſo 'as the common people (whereof many without 'doubt would conform themſelves) have no place to 'reſort unto, where they may hear divine ſervice. 'This conſideration moved us to inquire of the ſtate 'of the church in theſe unreformed counties. The 'inquiſition preſented unto us in this county was in 'Latin, becauſe the principal jurors were vicars and 'clerks. It appeared, that the churches for the 'moſt part are utterly waſte; that the King is patron 'of all; and that the incumbents are Popiſh prieſts, 'inſtituted by Biſhops authorized from Rome; yet 'many of them, like other old prieſts of Queen 'Mary's time, in England, ready to yield to con-'formity (16).'

(16) *Ibid.* p. 251, 252.

In this letter is alſo the following paſſage: 'As 'for the vicarages, they are ſo poorly endowed, as 'ten of them being united will ſcarce ſuffice to 'maintain an honeſt miniſter. For the churches, 'they are for the moſt part in ruins; ſuch as were 'preſented to be in reparation, are covered only 'with thatch. But the incumbents, both parſons 'and vicars, did appear to be ſuch poor, ragged, 'ignorant creatures (for we ſaw many of them in 'the camp), as we could not eſteem any of them 'worthy of the meaneſt of thoſe livings, albeit many 'of them are not worth above 40s. per annum. This

country

In 1708, he was sent to England, together with the Chief Justice, in order to represent to King James the effects which the establishment of public peace, and the several judicial progresses throughout Ireland, had produced in that kingdom. On this occasion he was highly applauded for his public services, and was particularly well received by the Chancellor, Lord Ellesmere, and by the Earl of Salisbury (*l*). After his return to Ireland, he continued to be very active in the measures adopted for the civilization of Ireland; and in 1610, wrote a letter to the Earl of Salisbury [*I*], containing an account of the measures that had been adopted for establishing a new plantation, or colony, in Ulster [*K*]. In 1612, he published, in *4to.* "A Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was "never entirely subdued [*L*], and brought under obedience of the Crown of England, "until

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 13.

'country doth lie within the diocese of Kilmore, 'whose Bishop (Robert Draper) was and is parson of 'Trym, in Meath, which is the best parsonage in 'all the kingdom; and is a man of this country 'birth, worth well nigh 400l. a year. He doth 'live now in these parts, where he hath two bishop-'rics; but there is no divine service or sermon to 'be heard within either of his dioceses. His Lord-'ship might have saved us this labour of inquiry, 'touching matters ecclesiastical, if he had been as 'careful to see the churches repaired, and supplied 'with good incumbents, as he is diligent in visiting 'his barbarous clergy, to make benefit out of their 'insufficiency, according to the proverb, which is 'common in the mouth of one of our great Bishops 'here: *That an Irish priest is better than a milch* (17) Ibid. p. 274, 275. '*cow* (17).'

[*I*] *A letter to the Earl of Salisbury.*] This was first published, from a manuscript in the British Museum, in the edition of his Historical Tracts, printed in 1786.

[*K*] *A new plantation, or colony, in Ulster.*] It is observed by the writer of Davies's life, that 'this 'salutary work had been long in contemplation, 'lest, as Bacon expresses it, Ireland, *civil*, should 'become more dangerous than Ireland, *savage*. 'And it was at length carried into execution, by 'settling a more industrious race from England and 'Scotland, with a success which at once conferred 'celebrity on the Prince, and happiness on the (18) Life, p. 14. 'kingdom (18).' Of the plantation in Ulster, Mr. Hume gives the following account: 'The whole 'province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by 'the attainder of rebels, a company was established 'in London, for planting new colonies in that fertile 'country. The property was divided into moderate 'shares, the largest not exceeding 2000 acres. Te-'nants were brought over from England and Scot-'land; the Irish were removed from the hills and 'fastnesses, and settled in the open country; hus-'bandry and the arts were taught them; a fixed 'habitation secured; plunder and robbery punished; 'and, by these means, Ulster, from being the most 'wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon 'became the best cultivated and most civilized (19).' (19) History of England, vol. v. p. 576, 577. edit. 8vo. 1763. Sir John Davies says, 'His Majesty did not utterly 'exclude the natives out of this plantation, with a 'purpose to root them out, as the Irish were ex-'cluded out of the first English colonies; but made 'a mixed plantation of British and Irish, that they 'might grow up together in one nation: only, the 'Irish were in some places transplanted from the 'woods and mountains, into the plains and open 'countries, that, being removed (like wild fruit 'trees), they might grow the milder, and bear the 'better and sweeter fruit (20).' (20) Historical Tracts, p. 222, 223.

[*L*] *A discovery of the true causes, &c.*] At the beginning of this piece, Sir John says, 'During the 'time of my service in Ireland (which began in the 'first year of his Majesty's reign) I have visited all 'the provinces of that kingdom, in sundry journies 'and circuits. Wherein I have observed the good 'temperature of the air; the fruitfulness of the soil; 'the pleasant and commodious seats for habitation; 'and safe and large ports and havens lying open for 'traffic, into all the west parts of the world; the 'long inlets of many navigable rivers, and so many 'great lakes and fresh ponds within the land; (as 'the like are not to be seen in any part of Europe) 'the rich fishings, and wild fowl of all kinds; and 'lastly, the bodies and minds of the people, endued 'with extraordinary abilities of nature. The obser-'vation whereof hath bred in me some curiosity, to 'consider, what were the true causes why this king-'dom, whereof our Kings of England have borne 'the title of Sovereign Lords, for the space of four 'hundred and odd years (a period of time wherein 'divers great monarchies have risen from barbarism 'to civility, and fallen again to ruin) was not in all 'that space of time thoroughly subdued and reduced 'to obedience of the Crown of England, although 'there hath been almost a continual war between 'the English and the Irish: and why the manners 'of the mere Irish are so little altered since the days 'of King Henry the Second, as appeareth by the 'description made by Giraldus Cambrensis, (who 'lived and wrote in that time) albeit there have 'been, since that time, so many English colonies 'planted in Ireland, as that, if the people were 'numbered at this day by the poll, such as are 'descended of English race, would be found more in 'number than the antient natives (21).' (21) *Ibid.* p. 1, 2.

Sir John afterwards observes, that 'the defects 'which hindered the perfection of the conquest of 'Ireland were of two kinds, and consisted, first, in 'the faint prosecution of the war; and next, in the 'looseness of the civil government. For the hus-'bandman must first break the land before it be 'made capable of good seed; and when it is thorough-'ly broken and manured, if he do not forthwith 'cast good seed into it, it will grow wild again, and 'bear nothing but weeds. So a barbarous country 'must be first broken by a war, before it will be 'capable of good government; and when it is fully 'subdued and conquered, if it be not well planted 'and governed after the conquest, it will often re-'turn to the same barbarism (22).' (22) *Ibid.* p. 3, 4.

Much of the poverty of Ireland, and many of the disorders in it, he attributes to the *Brehon law*, and custom of *Tanistry*, which prevailed in that kingdom. 'If we consider,' says he, 'the nature of the 'Irish customs, we shall find that the people which 'doth use them, must of necessity be rebels to all 'good government, destroy the commonwealth where-'in they live, and bring barbarism and desolation 'upon the richest and most fruitful land of the world. 'For, whereas by the just and honourable law of 'England, and by the laws of all other well-governed 'kingdoms and commonwealths, murder, man-'slaughter, rape, robbery, and theft, are punished 'with death, by the Irish custom, or Brehon law, 'the highest of these offences was punished only by 'fine, which they called an *ericke*. Therefore, when 'Sir William Fitz-Williams (being Lord-Deputy) 'told Maguyre, that he was to send a Sheriff into 'Fermannagh, being lately before made a county; "Your Sheriff (said Maguyre) shall be welcome to "me, but let me know his *ericke* (or the price of his "head) aforehand; that if my people cut it off, I "may cut the *ericke* upon the country." As for 'oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, the 'weaker had never any remedy against the stronger: 'whereby it came to pass, that no man could enjoy 'his life, his wife, his lands, or goods in safety, 'if a mightier man than himself had an appetite to 'take the same from him. Wherein they were little 'better than Cannibals, who do hunt one another; 'and he that hath most strength and swiftness, doth 'eat and devour all his fellows.

'Again, in England, and all well-ordered com-

" until the beginning of his Majesty's happy reign." He dedicated this valuable and curious performance to the King; and the same year in which it was published he was made King's Serjeant (*m*).

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 15.

During

' monwealths, men have certain estates in their lands ' and possessions, and their inheritances descend from ' father to son, which doth give them encouragement to build and to plant, and to improve their ' lands, and to make them better for their posterities. But by the Irish custom of *Tanistry*, the ' chieftains of every country, and the chief of every ' Sept, had no longer estate than for life in their ' chiefries, the inheritance whereof did rest in no ' man. And these chiefries, though they had some ' portions of land allotted unto them, did consist ' chiefly in cuttings and cosheries, and other Irish ' exactions, whereby they did spoil and impoverish ' the people at their pleasure. And when their ' chieftains were dead, their sons or next heirs did ' not succeed them, but their Tanistres, who were ' elective, and purchased their elections by strong ' hand; and by the Irish custom of *Gavelkind*, the ' inferior tenanties were partable amongst all the ' males of the Sept, both bastards and legitimate: ' and after partition made, if any of the Sept had ' died, his portion was not divided among his sons, ' but the chief of the Sept made a new partition of ' all the lands belonging to that Sept, and gave ' every one his part according to his antiquity.

' These two Irish customs made all their possessions ' uncertain, being shuffled and changed, and removed ' so often from one to another, by new elections and ' partitions; which uncertainty of estates hath been ' the true cause of such desolation and barbarism in ' this land, as the like was never seen in any country ' that professed the name of Christ. For, though ' the Irish be a nation of great antiquity, and wanted ' neither wit nor valour; and though they had received the Christian faith above 1200 years since; ' and were lovers of music, poetry, and all kind of ' learning, and possessed a land abounding with all ' things necessary for the civil life of man; yet ' (which is strange to be related) they did never ' build any houses of brick or stone, some few religious houses excepted, before the reign of King ' Henry the Second, though they were Lords of this ' island for many hundred years before, and since ' the conquest attempted by the English: albeit, ' when they saw us build castles upon their borders, ' they have only, in imitation of us, erected some ' few piles for the Captains of the country: yet I ' dare boldly say, that never any particular person, ' either before or since, did build any stone or brick ' house for his private habitation, but such as have ' lately obtained estates, according to the course of ' the law of England. Neither did any of them in ' all this time plant any gardens or orchards, inclose ' or improve their lands, live together in settled ' villages or towns, nor made any provision for posterity; which being against all common sense and ' reason, must needs be imputed to those unreasonable customs, which made their estates so uncertain ' and transitory in their possessions. For who would ' plant, or improve, or build upon that land, which ' a stranger, whom he knew not, should possess after ' his death? for that (as Solomon noteth) is one of ' the strangest vanities under the sun. And this is ' the true reason why Ulster, and all the Irish counties, are found so waste and desolate at this day; ' and so would they continue to the world's end, if ' these customs were not abolished by the law of ' England (23).'

(23) Historical Tracts, p. 134—138.

But Sir John Davies admits, that the prevalence of these usages and customs in Ireland, was in great part the result of the improper conduct of the English government, which had refused to admit the generality of the native Irish to the benefit of the law of England. ' It is evident,' says he, ' by all the records of this kingdom, that only the English colonies, and some few Septs of the Irish, which were ' enfranchised by special charters, were admitted to ' the benefit and protection of the laws of England; ' and that the Irish generally were held and reputed ' aliens, or rather enemies to the Crown of England; ' insomuch as they were not only disabled to bring ' any actions, but they were so far out of the protection of the law, as it was often adjudged no ' felony to kill a mere Irishman in time of peace (24).'

(24) *Ibid.* p. 83.

Sir John also observes, that ' by divers heavy ' penal laws, the English were forbidden to marry, ' to foster, to make gossips with the Irish, or to have ' any trade or commerce in their markets or fairs. ' Nay, there was a law made no longer since than ' the twenty-eighth year of Henry the Eighth, that ' the English should not marry with any person of ' Irish blood, though he had gotten a charter of ' denization, unless he had done both homage and ' fealty to the King in the chancery, and were also ' bound by recognizance with sureties, to continue a ' loyal subject (25).'

(25) *Ibid.* p. 92.

In another place, speaking of the state of the English colonies in Ireland in the reign of Edward III. Sir John Davies says, ' The English of this realm, ' before the coming over of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, were at that time become mere Irish in ' their language, names, apparel, and all their manner of living, and had rejected the English laws, ' and submitted themselves to the Irish, with whom ' they had many marriages and alliances, which ' tended to the utter ruin and destruction of the ' commonwealth: therefore, alliance by marriage, ' nurture of infants, and *gossipred* with the Irish, ' are by the statute of Kilkenny made high treason. ' Again, if any man of English race should use an ' Irish name, Irish language, or Irish apparel, or ' any other guise or fashion of the Irish; if he had ' lands or tenements, the same should be seized till ' he had given security to the Chancery, to conform ' himself in all points to the English manner of living; and, if he had no lands, his body was to be ' taken and imprisoned, till he found sureties as ' aforesaid. Again, it was established and commanded, that the English in all their controversies ' should be ruled and governed by the common law ' of England; and if any did submit himself to the ' Brehon law, or March law, he should be adjudged ' a traitor.'—' Again, it was made penal to the ' English to permit the Irish to *creaght* or graze upon ' their lands; to present them to ecclesiastical benefices; to receive them into any monasteries, or religious houses, or to entertain any of their minstrels, rhymers, or news-tellers (26).'

(26) Historical Tracts, p. 169, 170, 171.

' This then,' says Sir John, ' I note as a great ' defect in the civil policy of this kingdom; in that ' for the space of three hundred and fifty years at ' least, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor ' the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto ' them, though they earnestly desired and sought the ' same. For as long as they were out of the protection of the law, so long as every Englishman ' might oppress, spoil, and kill them without countroul, how was it possible they should be other than ' outlaws and enemies to the Crown of England? ' If the King would not admit them to the condition ' of subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge ' and obey him as their sovereign? when they might ' not converse or commerce with any civil man, nor ' enter into any town or city, without peril of their ' lives; whither should they flee, but into the woods ' and mountains, and there live in a wild and barbarous manner? If the English magistrates would ' not rule them by the law which doth punish treason, and murder, and theft with death, but leave ' them to be ruled by their own Lords and laws, ' why should they not embrace their own Brehon ' law, which punisheth no offence but with a fine or ' ericke? If the Irish be not permitted to purchase ' estates of freeholds or inheritance, which might ' descend to their children, according to the course ' of our common law, must they not continue their ' custom of *tanistry*? which makes all their possessions

During the ſame year, a Parliament was aſſembled in Ireland, of which Sir John Davies was elected a Member, and he was alſo appointed Speaker; but his election to that office was diſputed [*M*]. His election, however, being afterwards confirmed, he addreſſed a very learned ſpeech to the Lord-deputy Chicheſter [*N*], in 1613, when he was preſented and

'ſions uncertain, and brings confuſion, barbariſm,
(27) *Ibid.* p. 96, 97. 'and incivility (27).'

This performance of Sir John Davies's, which contains information reſpecting the affairs and adminiſtration of Ireland, of the moſt important and authentic kind, has been ſeveral times printed both in Ireland and in England. It was laſt printed with his Hiſtorical Tracts in 1786.

[*M*] *His election to that office was diſputed.*] Of the calling of this parliament, and the diſpute concerning Sir John Davies's election to the office of Speaker, the following account is given by the writer of his life prefixed to his Hiſtorical Tracts: 'Amidſt the diſtractions of civil war, and the repoſe 'of ſubſequent periods of improvement, no parliament had been called in Ireland during the laſt 'ſeven and twenty years; yet, never were legiſlative 'acts more neceſſary. The Iriſh nation was divided 'into two parties, whoſe power was nearly equal. 'The Roman Catholics formed the great body of 'the people: the Proteſtants compoſed probably not 'more than one fourth. The laws, however, im'poſed on the objects of their jealouſy many diſ'abilities: and the Proteſtants of conſequence en'joyed all official profit, and all political power. 'When the people and the government ſtand thus 'oppoſed to each other, diſſatisfaction muſt ever 'predominate. Such was the ſtate of Ireland, when 'manifeſt utility induced the Lord-Deputy to iſſue 'writs for a new election in 1612. Both parties 'exerted the artifices and the violences, which ac'company popular elections, when the minds of the 'electors are ſtrongly agitated by hopes or appre'henſions. The Roman Catholic party carried their 'elections chiefly in the counties; the Proteſtant 'party in the boroughs, ſeveral of which had been 'lately erected, during the progreſs of plantation. 'Sir John Davies was elected for the county of Fer'mannagh; being the firſt repreſentative which it 'had ever choſen. The Houſe of Commons con'ſiſted now of two hundred and twenty-five mem'bers. Of theſe there appeared, when the Houſe 'met, of the Proteſtant party, one hundred and 'twenty-one; of the Roman Catholic, one hundred 'and one. This approximation to equality had been 'alone ſufficient to create great intrigues and alter'cation in any popular aſſembly. But, among the 'members who were then aſſembled to chuſe a 'Speaker, and who were animated by a ſenſe of 'antient antipathy, and of recent oppoſition, the 'tumult approached nearly to the bloody ſcenes of a 'Poliſh diet. Sir John Davies was propoſed as 'Speaker by the Court: Sir John Everard, who 'had been an Iriſh judge, but reſigned, becauſe he 'would not take the oath of ſupremacy, was ſup'ported by the Roman Catholic party. The Houſe 'divided. The court members went out, according 'to parliamentary form. But their opponents, con'ſidering themſelves as the majority of legal re'preſentatives, placed Sir John Everard in the chair 'as duly elected. And nothing remained for the 'real majority but to remove the intruder, or to 'place the true Speaker in the ſame chair. The 'perſeverance of the majority induced the minority 'to ſecede from an aſſembly, which they thus found 'they could not rule. All parties had been ſo much 'accuſtomed in that country to attempt every thing 'by force, that the parliament-men had not yet 'learnt to defeat, or to qualify, diſagreeable mea'ſures by ſly intrigue, pertinacious debate, or by 'cloſe diviſions. The great body of the people ap'plauded the ſeceders. And the Lord-Deputy Chi'cheſter, whoſe prudence was equal to his firmneſs, 'prorogued the parliament, in order to ſuffer men's 'minds to cool, and to enable the ſeceding members
(28) Life, p. 16, 17, 18. 'to lay their complaints before the King (28).'

The diſpute concerning the Speaker of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons was afterwards determined, by the King and Privy-Council of England, in favour of Sir John Davies. In a ſpeech made by James at this time to the Iriſh agents, at Whitehall, is the following paſſage: 'There were in the lower Houſe 'two bodies, and but one head; a greater monſter 'than two heads upon one body. And whereas you 'ſhould have made an humble and dutiful anſwer to 'the commendation which I made of a Speaker, you 'the recuſant party (being the fewer) when the 'greater number went out to be numbered, ſhut the 'door, and thruſt one into the chair as a Speaker '*manu forti*. After this, the recuſants of both 'Houſes depart from the parliament. The like was 'never heard of in France, Spain, or any other 'kingdom of Chriſtendom (29).' In the ſame ſpeech the King alſo ſays, 'In contending for a 'Committee, before you agreed of a Speaker, you 'did put the plough before the horſe, ſo as it went 'on untowardly, like your Iriſh ploughs (30).'

(29) Coxe's Hiſt. of Ireland, Part ii. p. 27.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 28.

[*N*] *He addreſſed a very learned ſpeech to the Lord-Deputy Chicheſter.*] This ſpeech was firſt publiſhed by Dr. Thomas Leland, in the ſecond volume of his Hiſtory of Ireland. He has pointed out ſome miſtakes in it; but ſtyles Sir John Davies "an able and "judicious inquirer into the affairs of Ireland (31)." It is obſerved by the writer of our author's life prefixed to his Hiſtorical Tracts, that "this is un"queſtionably one of the moſt learned and inſtructive "orations that ever was pronounced by the Speaker "of the parliament in either kingdom. It was ſea"ſonable too, at a time when parliaments had been "ſo long diſuſed. He minutely traces the hiſtory of "the Iriſh legiſlature, which, from the epoch of "Poyning's act, was extremely complex; and he "throws many rays of light on a ſubject, which was "in thoſe days involved in peculiar obſcurity (32)."

(31) Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 489.

(32) Life, p. 20.

Towards the cloſe of this ſpeech Sir John Davies flattered King James as groſsly in proſe, as he had formerly flattered Queen Elizabeth in verſe. He ſays to the Lord-Deputy, 'Right Honourable Lord, 'though you have no need of my praiſe, yet it is 'moſt needful in reſpect of the place you hold, that 'your Lordſhip ſhould be adorned with all praiſe'worthy virtues. You had need be a moſt virtuous 'and worthy Deputy, ſince you ſit in the throne, 'and repreſent the perſon of the moſt virtuous and 'excellent King in the world. For he that doth 'fight with the ſword of a King, and write with the 'pen of a King; he that hath the juſtice, mercy, 'and bounty of a King in his hands, had need be 'furniſhed with thoſe noble powers and virtues as 'are fit for the rule and government of a kingdom, 'eſpecially if he hold the place of ſuch a King as 'our moſt renowned and gracious ſovereign is, who 'is the greateſt and beſt King that now reigneth 'upon the face of the earth. I call him the greateſt 'King, not ſo much for the largeneſs and extent of 'his territories, nor for the multitude of his ſub'jects, though he be in poſſeſſion of three great 'kingdoms, and doth command more martial and 'able men than any King in Europe at this day. 'But I will call him indeed the greateſt King, for 'his exceeding great meaſure of goodneſs and virtue, 'and for the great grace and favour that his Majeſty 'ſtandeth in with the divine Majeſty, the King of 'Kings. For if that man be accounted the greateſt 'ſubject of a kingdom that is in higheſt favour with 'a King upon earth, why ſhould not that King be 'the greateſt King on earth, that is in greateſt 'favour with the King of Heaven? And that our 'moſt gracious ſovereign ſtandeth in higheſt favour 'with Almighty God, doth not only appear by the 'innumerable bleſſings poured from heaven upon 'him, and upon his kingdoms for his ſake, but by 'the ſpecial providence and care God hath always 'had of his ſacred perſon, by protecting and deliver'ing him from his enemies. Again, I will call his 'Majeſty the beſt King, for that he is a moſt juſt 'King,

and approved as Speaker. It is obſerved by Dr. Leland, that this was the firſt Houſe of Commons formed in Ireland "by a *general* repreſentation, inſtead of being confined to "Members ſent by the counties and boroughs of the Pale (*n*)." In this Parliament, the King's right to the Crown of Ireland was recognized; an Act of General Indemnity was paſſed, with an exception of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and O'Dogharty; ſome antient laws were repealed, which had prohibited intercourſe between the Engliſh within the Pale, or five counties round Dublin, and the Iriſh without; acts were paſſed for the improvement of the police; and an entire ſubſidy was granted, to relieve the King from the continual expence of ſupporting the Iriſh Government (*o*).

(*n*) Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 489.

(*o*) Life of Sir John Davies, *ut ſupra*, p. 21.

In 1614, Sir John Davies publiſhed "A Declaration of our Sovereign Lord the King, "concerning the Title of his Majeſty's Son, Charles, Prince of Wales, and Duke of "Cornwall." The ſame year he was elected a Member of the Society of Antiquaries (*p*). In 1615, he publiſhed, at Dublin, in folio, his Reports of Caſes adjudged in the King's Courts in Ireland; to which he prefixed a Preface, addreſſed to Lord Elleſmere, Lord-Chancellor of England, which is juſtly eſteemed one of the beſt prefaces that ever was prefixed to a law-book. It contains a very learned and eloquent eulogium on the Common Law of England [*O*], and a Vindication of its Profeſſors. Soon after the publication

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 21.

'King, and juſtice is the beſt of all kingly virtues; 'and for that alſo he is a moſt bountiful King, reſembling therein the divine goodneſs, ever ſpreading and communicating his riches unto others, 'which we muſt needs remember in this kingdom; 'for we cannot forget it without ingratitude, ſince 'we all know that his Majeſty doth not only expend 'the whole revenue of this land upon itſelf, but 'ſpares yearly out of England a great maſs of treaſure, to ſupport the extraordinary charge thereof, 'out of which the greater number of us here preſent, by entertainments, penſions, or rewards, do 'taſte every day of his Majeſty's bounty.

'Laſtly, his Majeſty ought to be called the beſt 'King, as well for his ſweet inclination to peace, 'whereby he doth make happy both his own dominions, and alſo his neighbour kingdoms round 'about him, as for his ſingular piety and religion 'towards God, which is the beſt and higheſt praiſe 'that can be given to any Prince. But I ſhould 'launch forth into a main ſea, that hath neither 'bottom nor ſhore, if I ſhould proceed farther in the 'praiſe of ſuch a Prince, whoſe worthineſs exceeds 'all degrees of compariſon. It is a theme too high, 'and too large for me to handle: it becometh me 'better to give thanks than praiſe (33).'

(33) Hiſtorical Tracts, p. 314, 315, 316, 317.

[*O*] *Eulogium on the Common Law of England.*] The Common Law of England, ſays he, 'is nothing 'elſe but the common cuſtom of the realm; and a 'cuſtom which hath obtained the force of a law, is 'always ſaid to be *Jus non ſcriptum*, for it cannot be 'made or created, either by charter, or by parliament, which are acts reduced to writing, and are 'always matter of record, but being only matter of 'fact, and conſiſting in uſe and practice, it can be 'recorded and regiſtered no where, but in the 'memory of the people. For a cuſtom taketh beginning, and groweth to perfection in this manner: when a reaſonable act once done is found to 'be good and beneficial to the people, and agreeable to their nature and diſpoſition, then do they 'uſe it, and practiſe it, again and again, and ſo by 'often iteration, and multiplication of the act, it 'becometh a cuſtom, and being continued without 'interruption time out of mind, it obtaineth the 'force of a law. And this cuſtomary law is the moſt 'perfect, and moſt excellent, and without compariſon the beſt, to make and preſerve a common-'wealth; for the written laws which are made either 'by the edicts of Princes, or by Counſels of eſtate, 'are impoſed upon the ſubject before any trial or 'probation made, whether the ſame be fit and 'agreeable to the nature and diſpoſition of the 'people, or whether they will breed any inconvenience or no. But a cuſtom doth never become a 'law to bind the people, until it hath been tried 'and approved time out of mind, during all which 'time there did thereby ariſe no inconvenience; for 'if it had been found inconvenient at any time, it 'had been uſed no longer, but had been interrupted, and conſequently it had loſt the virtue and 'force of a law. Therefore, as the law of nature, 'which the ſchoolmen call *Jus commune*, and which 'is alſo *Jus non ſcriptum*, being written only in the 'heart of man, is better than all the written laws in 'the world to make men honeſt and happy in this 'life, if they would obſerve the rules thereof: ſo 'the cuſtomary law of England, which we do likewiſe call *Jus commune*, as coming neareſt to the 'law of nature, which is the root and touchſtone of 'all good laws, and which is alſo *Jus non ſcriptum*, 'and written only in the memory of man (for every 'cuſtom, though it took beginning beyond the 'memory of any living man, yet it is continued and 'preſerved in the memory of men living) doth far 'excel our written laws, namely our ſtatutes or acts 'of parliament: which is manifeſt in this, that 'when our parliaments have altered or changed any 'fundamental points of the common law, thoſe 'alterations have been found by experience to be ſo 'inconvenient for the commonwealth, as that the 'common law hath in effect been reſtored again, in 'the ſame points, by other acts of parliament, in 'ſucceeding ages. And as our cuſtomary *unwritten* 'law doth excel our parliament laws, which are 'written, ſo for the government of the common-'weal of England (which is as well inſtituted and 'eſtabliſhed as any commonwealth in Chriſtendom,) 'our native common law is far more apt and agreeable, than the civil or canon law, or any other written law in the world beſides: howſoever ſome of our 'countrymen, who are *civet in aliena republica, & hoſpites in ſua*, may perhaps affirm the contrary. But certain it is, that the great and wiſe men of England, in 'the parliament of Merton, did not prefer a foreign law 'before their own, when motion being made by the 'clergy, that children born before marriage might 'be adjudged legitimate, they all made anſwer with 'one voice, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. And again, 'in 11 R. 2. when a new courſe of proceeding in 'criminal cauſes, according to the form of the civil 'law, was propounded in that unruly parliament, 'anſwer was made by all the eſtates, that the realm 'of England neither had been in former times, nor 'hereafter ſhould be, ruled and governed by the 'civil law, *Rot. Parliam.* 11 R. 2. in *Archiv. Turris.* 'And here I may obſerve, for the honour of our 'nation, and of our anceſtors, who have founded 'this common-weal wherein we live, and enjoy ſo 'many felicities, That England having had a good 'and happy genius from the beginning, hath been 'inhabited always with a virtuous and wiſe people, 'who ever embraced honeſt and good cuſtoms, full 'of reaſon and conveniency, which being confirmed 'by common uſe and practice, and continued time 'out of mind, became the common law of the land. 'And though this law be the peculiar invention of 'this nation, and delivered over from age to age by 'tradition (for the common law of England is a 'tradition, and learned by tradition as well as by 'books) yet we may truly ſay, That no human law, 'written or unwritten, hath more certainty in the 'rules and maxims, more coherence in the parts 'thereof, or more harmony of reaſon in it: nay, we

tion of this work, Sir John Davies appears to have quitted Ireland; and he ſeems to have been induced to leave that kingdom, in conſequence of a change in its Adminiſtration [*P*]. After his return to England, he was appointed to act as one of the Juſtices of Aſſize in ſeveral circuits (*q*). He was alſo elected a Member of the Houſe of Commons, for Newcaſtle-under-line, in the Parliament which was aſſembled at the beginning of the year 1621. On the fifth of February, that year, he made a ſpeech in behalf of a ſupply to be granted to the King (*r*); but he ſeems not often to have ſpoken in Parliament at this period [*Q*]. He was, however, about to have been placed in a ſtation of higher dignity, when he was carried off by an apoplexy, in the night of the ſeventh of December, 1626, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age. He had ſupped that night with the Lord-keeper Coventry, having been previouſly appointed Lord Chief Juſtice of England [*R*], in the room of Sir

(q) *Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra.*

(r) Parliamentary Hiſtory of England, vol. v. p. 329, 330.

‘ may confidently aver, that it doth excel all other ‘ laws in upholding a free monarchy, which is the ‘ moſt excellent form of government, exalting the ‘ prerogative royal, and being very tender and watchful to preſerve it, and yet maintaining withal the ‘ ingenuous liberty of the ſubject. Briefly, it is ſo ‘ framed and fitted to the nature and diſpoſition of ‘ this people, as we may properly ſay it is *connatural* ‘ to the nation, ſo as it cannot poſſibly be ruled by ‘ any other law. This law, therefore, doth demonſtrate the ſtrength of wit and reaſon, and ſelf-ſufficiency, which hath been always in the people ‘ of this land, which have made their own laws out ‘ of their wiſdom and experience (like a ſilk-worm ‘ that formeth all her web out of herſelf only) not ‘ *begging* or *borrowing* a form of a common-weal, ‘ either from Rome or from Greece, as all other ‘ nations of Europe have done, but having ſufficient ‘ proviſion of law and juſtice within the land, have ‘ no need *Juſtitiam & judicium ab alienigenis emendicare*, as King John wrote moſt nobly to Pope ‘ Innocent the Third, *Matth. Pariſ.* Hiſtor. magn. ‘ p. 215. *En populus ſapiens & intelligens, gens magna:* as it is ſaid of God's choſen people, ‘ 4 Deut. Neither could any one man ever vaunt ‘ that like Minos, Solon, or Lycurgus, he was the ‘ firſt lawgiver to our nation: for neither did the ‘ King make his own prerogative, nor the judges ‘ make the rules or maxims of the law, nor the common ſubject preſcribe and limit the liberties which ‘ he enjoyeth by the law. But as it is ſaid of every ‘ art or ſcience, which is brought to perfection, ‘ *Per varios uſus artem experientia fecit*; ſo it may be ‘ properly ſaid of our law, *Per varios uſus legem experientia fecit:* Long experience, and many trials ‘ of what was beſt for the common good, did make ‘ the COMMON LAW (34).”

(34) Preface Dedicatory to Sir John Davies's Reports, p. 3, 4, 5, 6. edit. 1628.

[*P*] *In conſequence of a change in its adminiſtration.*] It is obſerved by the writer of our author's life, that, in 1616, ‘ the Lord-Deputy Chicheſter was ſucceeded ‘ by Sir Oliver St. John; the chief juſtice, Sir John ‘ Denham, by Sir William Jones; and Worthington ‘ was recommended by Bacon, as Attorney-General, ‘ in the room of Sir John Davies (35).’

(35) Life, p. 23.

[*Q*] *He ſeems not often to have ſpoken in parliament at this period.*] It is remarked by the writer of his life, that ‘ Sir John Davies ſeldom ſpoke, except on ‘ the affairs of Ireland, being, from his office of ‘ King's ſerjeant, perhaps more than from principle, ‘ a favourer of the court. When it was moved to ‘ acquaint the King with the grievances of Ireland, ‘ conſidering how much blood and treaſure it had ‘ coſt this kingdom, Sir John ſaid, It is expreſsly in ‘ the law-books ſet down, that Ireland is a member ‘ of the Crown of England; yet this kingdom here ‘ cannot make laws to bind that kingdom; for they ‘ have there a parliament of their own. Sir Edward ‘ Coke, who was the experienced leader of that ‘ Houſe, ſuggeſted, that they ought to conſider, ‘ firſt, *what we may do*; and ſecondly, *what it fit to be done in a parliamentary courſe.* Ireland, ſays ‘ he, was never totally reduced till the coming of ‘ this King; for there was ever a back door in the ‘ north of that kingdom. If Ireland be not ſafe, we ‘ cannot be ſure; but if Ireland be ſafe, our navy ‘ well furniſhed, and the low-countrymen our faſt ‘ friends, we need not fear the Pope, or the Devil. ‘ It is both fit and lawful for us to complain for ‘ Ireland: that on ſuch complaints the King doth ‘ order a reformation, and thoſe things which may ‘ not be reformed but by a parliament, his Majeſty ‘ doth put in a courſe, by giving order for a parliament in Ireland, to remedy the abuſes there. ‘ Conſidering recent tranſactions, this is ſurely a ‘ remarkable debate. Sir John Davies was the firſt, ‘ we ſee, who, in the Houſe of Commons, contended, that the parliament of England could not make ‘ laws to bind the people of Ireland, becauſe they ‘ had a parliament of their own. And Sir Edward ‘ Coke, when giving his opinion, *as to what they might do*, admits rather than denies a poſition, ‘ which having been at length formally acknowledged, hath eſtabliſhed the independence of the ‘ Iriſh nation.

‘ It is a remark, which does no little credit to ‘ Ireland, that ſcarcely any man ever enjoyed the ‘ offices of her government, who did not prove for ‘ ever after her ſtrenuous defender. Sir John Davies ‘ again evinced how much he was a zealous friend, ‘ by defending her intereſts in an affair, which was ‘ then of full as much importance to her. A bill ‘ was introduced, in April 1621, againſt the importation of Iriſh cattle into England, and prohibiting the exportation of coin from this kingdom ‘ to Ireland. It is curious to trace the ſentiments ‘ of members, from their ſpeeches on two ſubjects, ‘ which were in thoſe days little underſtood. Mr. ‘ Wentworth approved of the bill, as far as it went ‘ to prevent the export of coin; but would not have ‘ victuals reſtrained, which would undo the poor, to ‘ enrich the gentleman. Sir John Ipſley ſaid, that ‘ there is half as much ſpent by thoſe of Ireland, ‘ here in England, as they received for Iriſh cattle, ‘ as there is no houſehold ſtuff uſed in Ireland, but ‘ what comes out of England. Sir Robert Philips ‘ inſiſted, that the price of victuals in Somerſetſhire ‘ is, notwithſtanding the importation of Iriſh cattle, ‘ which mar the breed of England, as dear as ever; ‘ yet it hath cauſed the export of twenty thouſand ‘ pounds out of Somerſetſhire only. Sir Edward ‘ Sackville remarked, that it is not *cheapneſs*, but ‘ *money*, which enricheth the kingdom; and if Iriſh ‘ cattle be brought in, and our money ſent out, we ‘ ſhall ſtill be poor. On the contrary, Sir John ‘ Davies contended, that cattle being the principal ‘ commodity of Ireland, and its wool coarſe, if we ‘ bar the importation of cattle, we ſhall impoveriſh ‘ that kingdom, and diſcourage its tillage; by which ‘ means, that country would be again reduced to ‘ barbariſm: that no money being current in Ireland ‘ but Engliſh, and there being no mint, as in the ‘ time of King John and Edward the Fourth, if we ‘ prevent the import of cattle, and not petition the ‘ King for a coinage, or a currency of foreign coin, ‘ the new planters in thoſe parts will ſoon leave the ‘ kingdom. He hoped, that the Houſe would not ‘ deal worſe with Ireland, which was a member of ‘ this crown, than we do with the low countries, ‘ which carry away infinite ſums for their Frieſland ‘ horſes, that are chiefly uſed here for coaches. The ‘ bill was thereupon re-committed, and finally loſt ‘ (36).’

(36) *Ibid. ut ſupra*, p. 25, 26, 27.

[*R*] *Appointed Lord Chief Juſtice of England.*] Anthony Wood ſays, that ‘ being conſtituted Lord ‘ Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, he had his ‘ robes made in order to be ſettled in that high ‘ office, as his daughter hath ſeveral times reported, ‘ but died ſuddenly, before the ceremony of ſettlement or inſtallation could be performed (37).’

(37) *Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra.*

Randolph Crew (*s*). He was buried in the Church of St. Martin in the Fields, where a monument was fixed on a pillar near his grave, with an inſcription on it, giving him the following character: *Vir ingenio compto, rarâ facundiâ, oratione cum ſolutâ, tum numeris aſtrictâ, fæliciſſimus: Juridicam ſeveritatem morum elegantiâ, et amœniore eruditione mitigavit: Patronus fidus, Judex incorruptus, ingenuæ pietatis amore, et anxiæ ſuperſtitionis contemptu, juxta inſignis* (*t*). 'He was a man of fine genius, and of uncommon eloquence; 'and an excellent writer both in proſe and in verſe. He tempered the ſeverity of the 'lawyer by the elegance of his manners, and the accompliſhments of polite literature. 'He was a faithful advocate, and an incorrupt judge; and equally remarkable for his con-'tempt of ſuperſtition, and his attachment to ſincere and genuine piety.'

(*s*) Life, p. 29.

(*t*) *Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra.*

Sir John Davies was a very able and learned Lawyer; and the pieces written by him concerning Ireland are extremely valuable. They are written with great perſpicuity, and are the reſult of deep knowledge, and diligent inveſtigation. He was one of the beſt proſe writers of his time; and his poetical pieces have conſiderable excellence: but he ſeems not hitherto to have obtained a reputation adequate to his merit. A new edition of his poetical works, conſiſting of his "Poem on the Immortality of the Soul; the Hymns of "Aſtrea; and Orcheſtra, a Poem on Dancing [*S*];" was publiſhed, in ſmall 8*vo.* in 1773, by Mr. Thomas Davies. In 1786, his Diſcovery of the true cauſes why Ireland was never entirely ſubdued, &c. his two letters to the Earl of Saliſbury, and his ſpeech to the Lord-Deputy Chicheſter, were publiſhed together in one volume, 8*vo.* under the title of "Hiſtorical Tracts by Sir John Davies." To theſe a life of him was prefixed, to which we have been much indebted in the courſe of this article.

Beſides the works already mentioned, Sir John Davies was the author of an Abridgment of Sir Edward Coke's Reports, in Law French, which was tranſlated into Engliſh after his deceaſe, and publiſhed in 1651. His own Reports, which were at firſt publiſhed in Law French, in folio, were alſo afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, and reduced to an octavo ſize (*u*). He was alſo author of a piece, intitled, "*Jus imponendi vectigalia*: or, "the learning touching cuſtoms, tonnage, poundage, and impoſitions on merchandizes, "&c (*w*)." Some of his charges to Grand Juries, as a Judge of Aſſize, are preſerved among the Harleian MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum.

(*u*) Life, p. 31.

(*w*) *Ath. Oxon. ut ſupra.*

Sir John Davies married Eleanor Touchet, youngeſt daughter of George Lord Audley, Earl of Caſtlehaven, by whom he had one ſon, who was an idiot, and died young, and a daughter named Lucy, who was married to Ferdinando Lord Haſtings, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon. Sir John's Lady was a very ſingular character, and dealt much in prophecies [*T*], which brought on her very rigorous treatment after the death of her huſband, whom

[*S*] *Orcheſtra, a Poem on Dancing.*] This poem conſiſts of more than one hundred and thirty ſtanzas; but it is unfiniſhed. The following are the five firſt ſtanzas;

I.

'Where lives the man that never yet did hear
'Of chaſte Penelope, Ulyſſes' Queen?
'Who kept her faith unſpotted twenty year,
'Till he return'd that far away had been,
'*And many men, and many towns had ſeen:*
'Ten year at ſiege of Troy he ling'ring lay,
'And ten year in the midland ſea did ſtray.

II.

'Homer, to whom the muſes did carouſe
'A great deep cup with heav'nly nectar fill'd,
'The greateſt, deepeſt cup in Jove's great houſe,
'(For Jove himſelf had ſo expreſsly will'd)
'He drank off all, nor let one drop be ſpill'd;
'Since when his brain that had before been dry,
'Became the well-ſpring of all poetry.

III.

'Homer doth tell in his abundant verſe
'The long laborious travels of the man,
'And of his Lady too he doth rehearſe
'How ſhe illudes with all the art ſhe can,
'Th' ungrateful love which other Lords began:
'For of her Lord, falſe fame had long ſince ſworn,
'That Neptune's monſters had his carcaſe torn.

IV.

'All this he tells, but one thing he forgot,
'One thing moſt worthy his eternal ſong,
'But he was old, and blind, and ſaw it not,
'Or elſe he thought he ſhould Ulyſſes wrong,
'To mingle it his tragic acts among:
'Yet was there not in all the world of things,
'A ſweeter burthen for his muſes wings.

V.

'The courtly love Antinous did make,
'Antinous that freſh and jolly knight,
'Which of the gallants that did undertake
'To win the widow, had moſt wealth and might,
'Wit to perſuade, and beauty to delight.
'The courtly love he made unto the Queen,
'Homer forgot, as if it had not been (38).'

(38) Poetical Works, p. 137, 138, 139.

In the panegyric on dancing, addreſſed by Antinous to Penelope, are the following lines:

'*Dancing*, bright Lady, then began to be,
'When the firſt ſeeds whereof the world did ſpring,
'The fire, air, earth and water did agree,
'By love's perſuaſion, nature's mighty King,
'To leave their firſt diſorder'd combating;
'And in a dance ſuch meaſure to obſerve,
'As all the world their motion ſhould preſerve.

'Since when they ſtill are carried in a round,
'And changing come one in another's place,
'Yet do they neither mingle nor confound,
'But ev'ry one doth keep the bounded ſpace
'Wherein the dance doth bid it turn or trace:
'This wond'rous miracle doth love deviſe,
'For dancing is love's proper exerciſe (39).'

(39) *Ibid.* p. 143.

[*T*] *Dealt much in prophecies.*] An account was publiſhed of her prophecies in 1649, in 4to. under the title of *Strange and wonderful prophecies.* She was reported to have foretold the death of her huſband. Anthony Wood, ſpeaking of the time of Sir John Davies's death, ſays, 'It was then commonly 'rumoured, that his prophetical Lady had foretold 'his death in ſome manner, on the Sunday going be-'fore. For while ſhe ſat at dinner by him, ſhe ſud-'denly burſt out with tears: whereupon he aſking 'her what the matter was, ſhe anſwered, "Huſband, "theſe are your funeral tears;" to which he made 'reply,

whom she survived many years. She died in 1652, in the parish of St. Bride's, and was interred near the remains of her husband in St. Martin's Church (x).] T. (x) *Id. ibid.*

'reply, "Pray, therefore, spare your tears now, and "I will be content that you shall laugh when I am "dead (40)."

(40) *Ath. Oxon. ut supra.*

Lady Davies also foretold the death of Archbishop Laud, but appears to have been mistaken as to the time. Dr. Heylin, speaking of attacks made by several men against Archbishop Laud in the year 1634, says, 'That the other sex might whet their tongues 'upon him also, the Lady Davies, the widow of Sir 'John Davies, Attorney-General for King James in 'the realm of Ireland, scatters a prophecy against 'him. This Lady had before spoken something unluckily of the Duke of Buckingham, importing, 'that he should not live till the end of August, which 'raised her to the reputation of a cunning woman 'amongst the ignorant people: and now she prophesies of the new Archbishop, that he should live but 'few days after the fifth of November; for which, 'and other prophecies of a more mischievous nature, 'she was after brought into the Court of High Commission; the woman being grown so mad, that she 'fancied the spirit of the prophet Daniel to have 'been infused into her body. And this she grounded 'on an anagram which she made of her name, viz. 'ELEANOR DAVIES, REVEAL O DANIEL: 'and though the anagram had too much by an L, 'and too little by an S; yet she found *Daniel* and '*Reveal* in it, and that served her turn. Much pains 'was taken by the Court to dispossess her of this 'spirit; but all would not do, till Lamb, then Dean 'of the Arches, shot her through and through, with 'an arrow borrowed from her own quiver: for whilst 'the Bishops and Divines were reasoning the point 'with her out of Holy Scripture, he took a pen into 'his hand, and at last hit upon this excellent anagram, viz. DAME ELEANOR DAVIES, NEVER 'SO MAD A LADIE: which having proved to be 'true by the rules of art, "Madam," said he, "I "see you build much on anagrams, and I have found "one which I hope will fit you." 'This said, and 'reading it aloud, he put it into her hands in writ'ing; which happy fancy brought that grave Court 'into such a laughter, and the poor woman there'upon into such a confusion, that afterwards she grew 'either wiser, or was less regarded (41).'

(41) *Cyprianus Anglicus*, or Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 166.

It appears that Lady Davies about this time made a journey into Holland, where she published one of her prophecies at Amsterdam, and inscribed it to the Elector Prince Charles of the Rhine. But after her return to England, she was prosecuted in the High Commission Court, particularly for what was called "an enthusiastical petition to King Charles;" and appears to have been treated with great rigour and cruelty. She was fined three thousand pounds, and closely imprisoned two years in the Gatehouse, Westminster. She is also said to have been confined several years in Bethlem Hospital, and in the Tower of London; and she complained, that, during part of her imprisonment, she was not allowed the use of a Bible, nor permitted to have the attendance of a female servant (42).]

(42) Oldys's MSS. Collections.

DAVIES (JOHN), a learned Critic in the XVIIIth century, was born in London April 22, 1679. His father was a Merchant, or Tradesman, in that city, who died while his children were young; and his mother (*a*), a daughter of Sir John Turton, Knight [*A*]. Our author was educated in grammar learning at the Charterhouse-school; and admitted, June 8, 1695, into Queen's-College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1698. He was, on the 7th of July 1701, elected Fellow of that College (*b*); and the year following took the degree of Master of Arts. In 1709 he had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the University. Having now distinguished himself by his many excellent qualifications, he was collated in 1711, by Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Ely, that great patron of learning and learned men, to the rectory of Fen-Ditton near Cambridge, and to a Prebend in the Church of Ely (*c*). The same year he took the degree of Doctor in Laws. Upon the death of Dr. James, he was chosen in his room Master of Queen's College, March 23, 1716-17: and created Doctor in Divinity in 1717, when King George I. was at Cambridge (*d*). This learned person died March 7, 1731-2, in the fifty-third year of his age; and was buried in the middle of Queen's-College-Chapel. Soon after, a handsome flat marble stone was laid over his grave, with an inscription [*B*]. As the several things which he hath published, are in Greek, or Latin, we will, for that reason, give an account of them only in the note [*C*]. We shall not attempt this learned and industrious man's character, lest it should

(*a*) She was living in the year 1743.

(*b*) In the room of Mr. Ashton, Master of Jesus-College.

(*c*) The fifth stall; into which he was installed Sep. 24, 1711. Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, &c. by Brown Willis, Esq. edit. 1730. 4*to*. p. 385.

(*d*) For most of these particulars we are obliged to Mr. Sedgwick, late Master of Queen's College, and to the learned Dr. W. Richardson, late Master of Emanuel.

[*A*] *A daughter of Sir John Turton, Knt.*] John Turton, Esq; was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law, April 11, 1689; constituted one of the Barons of the Exchequer, May 9, following; when he was knighted: and, on the 27th of June 1696, removed to the King's Bench, of which he was made one of the Justices (1).

(1) See *Chronica Juridiciali*, &c. under those years.

[*B*] *A handsome flat marble stone was laid over his grave, with an inscription.*] At the top, are the Doctor's arms, *viz.* Or, between a chevron three mullets, sable; impaling those of his wife (Edwards) And beneath is the following inscription:

Hic sitæ sunt reliquiæ
Joannis Davies,
L. L. *et* S. T. D.
Hujus Collegii Præsidis,
ac Elienſis Canonici.
Natus est Londini *Aprilis*
die XXII. MDCLXXIX.
Denatus in his Ædibus
Martii die VII. MDCCXXXI.
Plura dici noluit vir optimus.

[*C*] *As the several things which he hath published, are in Greek or Latin, we will, for that reason, give an account of them only in the note.*] Ist then, he published in 1703, a new edition of Maximus Tyrius, under this title: *Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes, Gr. & Lat. ex interpretatione Heinsii, recensuit Jo. Davisius, &c. 8vo.* II. He gave a new edition of Julius Cæsar; *C. Julii Cæsaris* [*& A. Hirtii*] *quae exstant omnia. Ex recensione Joannis Davisii, Coll. Regin. Cantab. Socii, cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, ac notis Pet. Ciacconii, Fr. Hottomanni, Joan. Brantii, Dionys. Vossii, & aliorum. Accessere Metaphrasis Graeca Librorum Septem de Bello Gallico, necnon Indices necessarii.* 4*to*. Cantab. 1706 and 1727. III. And of Minucius Felix; *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. Ex recensione Joannis Davisii; Cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, ac Notis integris Des. Heraldi & Nic. Rigaltii, necnon selectis aliorum. Accedit Commodianus, aevi Cyprianici Scriptor, cum observationibus antehac editis, aliisque nonnullis, quae jam primum prodeunt.* Cantab. 1707 and 1712, 8*vo*. IV. Next, he undertook to publish new and beautiful editions of M. T. Cicero's Philosophical pieces, by way of supplement to what the most

ſhould ſuffer from our imperfect repreſentation. However, thus far we will venture to ſay, that his works have been received, in general, with great applauſe [*D*]; and moſt of them have paſſed through ſeveral editions.

moſt learned Grævius had publiſhed of that excellent author, but had been hindered by death from finiſhing. He put out therefore in 1708, 1. his Tuſculan Diſputations, under this title; *M. Tullii Ciceronis Tuſculanarum Diſputationum Libri* V. *Cum Commentario Joannis Davisii*, 8*vo*. Cantab. 1709 (2), and again in 1723, 1730, 1738. The 1ſt and the laſt edition have at the end Dr. Ric. Bentley's *Emendationes*. The other pieces of Tully were publiſhed by our author in the following order; 2. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Natura Deorum Libri tres. Cum Notis integris Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionyſ. Lambini, Fulv. Urſini, & Joannis Walkeri. Recenſuit, ſuiſque Animadverſionibus illuſtravit ac emaculavit Joannes Daviſius, &c.* Cantab. 1718 (3), 1723 and 1733, 8*vo*. 3. *M. Tullii Ciceronis libri de Divinatione & de Fato. Recenſuit & ſuis Animadverſionibus illuſtravit ac emendavit Joannes Daviſius. Accedunt integrae Notae Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionyſ. Lambini, & Fulv. Urſini, una cum Hadriani Turnebi Commentario in Librum de Fato*, Cantab. 1721, 1730, 8*vo*. 4. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Academica. Recenſuit, Variorum Notis ſuas immiſcuit, & Hadr. Turnebi Petrique Fabri Commentarios adjunxit Joannes Daviſius, &c.* Cantab. 1725, 1736, 8*vo*. 5. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Legibus Libri tres. Recenſuit, ac Petri Victorii, Paulli Manucii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionyſii Lambini, & Fulvii Urſini Notis ſuas adjecit Joannes Daviſius, &c. Accedit Hadriani Turnebi Commentarius.* Cantab. 1727, 8*vo*. 6. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Finibus Bonorum & Malorum Libri quinque. Ex recenſione Joannis Daviſii, &c. Cum ejuſdem Animadverſionibus, & Notis integris Petr. Victorii, P. Manucii, Joach. Camerarii, D. Lambini, ac Fulvii Urſini.* Cantab. 1728, 1741, 8*vo*. He had alſo gone as far as the middle of the third Book of Cicero's Offices, in order for a new edition of that moſt valuable work: but being prevented by death from finiſhing it, he recommended it in his will to the care of that great patron of learning Richard Mead, M. D. who put it into the hands of Dr. Thomas Bentley, that he might fit it for the preſs. But the houſe where Dr. Bentley lodged (in the Strand, London) being ſet on fire thro' his careleſſneſs, as 'tis ſaid, in reading after he was in bed, Dr. Davies's notes and emendations periſhed in the flames, and ſo were irrecoverably loſt (4). V. Another thing publiſhed by our learned author, was, *Lactantii Firmiani Epitome Divinarum Inſtitutionum ad Pentadium fratrem. Eam ex vetuſtiſſimo MS^to Taurinenſi nuper editam recenſuit, & ſuis animadverſionibus illuſtravit, ac emendavit Joannes Daviſius.* Cantab. 1718, 8*vo*.

(2) The dedication of this book to Bp. Moore is dated Oct. 15, 1708.

(3) The dedication of this book to Dr. Richard Bentley is dated July 26, 1717.

(4) *Vide Præfat. Ciceron. de Nat. Deor.* edit. 1733.

[*D*] *His works have been received, in general, with great applauſe.*] Both at home and abroad. Abbé d'Olivet in particular, the French Tranſlator of *Cicero de Natura Deorum*, gives our author juſt commendations for his beautiful edition of that book (5). But he ſeems afterwards to have altered his opinion, as appears from the harſh judgment he paſſes upon Dr. Davies, in the Preface to his new edition of Tully's Works (6), which we ſhall here ſubjoin for the ſake of the curious and learned reader. *Joannes Daviſius Anglus.* His viginti annis pleraque Ciceronis *Philoſophica* edidit, operis Græviani perfectorem ſe profeſſus. Verùm, ut erumpat aliquando ex me vera vox, & dicam ſine circuitione quod ſentio, *Homini homo quid præſtat!* Quæ in Grævio modeſtia! quam ingenuus pudor! In altero quæ confidentia! aut, ne dixerim mollius, quæ procacitas! Tamen fateor, & libenter quidem, fuit in eo ingenium perſpicax, acutum, ſolers: itaque locos aliquot feliciter explicuit. At minime ferendus eſt, qui antiquis lectionibus è textu exterminatis, ſuis autem in earum locum ſomniis, ſi diis placet, inducendis, novum velit architectari Ciceronem: adeo ut, ſi qua ejus volumina ſecundis tertiiſve curis retractata in lucem redierint, ultima editio ſit etiam peſſima: ſuſcepto quaſi certamine cum populari ſuo Richardo Bentleio, quem ſuarum ad Tuſculanas emendationum approbatorem amplificatoremque habuerat, uter eſſet in contaminandis veterum exemplaribus licentior. M.

(5) In the Pref. to vol. i. of his *Entretiens de Ciceron ſur la Nature des Dieux* edit. Paris 1721, 8*vo*. p. xvii. See alſo the Letter immediately following, from Mr. Le Preſident Bouhier, p. xxv, xxvi.

(6) Paris, 4*to*. vol. i. Pref. p. xi.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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